



The Meir Amit Intelligence and  
Terrorism Information Center

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**Conspicuous among the passengers and organizations aboard the Mavi Marmara were Turkish and Arab Islamic extremists led by IHH.**

**They were joined by extremist European left activists and volunteers who answered the call to help the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and were not partners in IHH's violent plans.<sup>1</sup>**

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**(Full Version)**



The Turkish passenger ship Mavi Marmara, the flagship of the flotilla. It is decorated with the Turkish flag and the logo of the Turkish Islamist organization IHH, the moving spirit behind the flotilla (next to the Turkish flag) (Photo from mycatbirdseat.com, May 22, 2010).

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<sup>1</sup> This is an executive summary of a detailed report analyzing the human, ideological and organizational components of the passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara. The document itself shortly will be issued separately.

## Executive Summary

1. This objective of this report is to examine the **561 passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara, their identity and the ideology, nature and goals of the organizations behind them**, based on the large amount of evidence accumulated since the flotilla. Even if our information is not complete, it clearly provides a picture of their most prominent common characteristics.

2. **The Mavi Marmara, the flagship of the last flotilla, was launched, along with two cargo ships, by an extremist Turkish Islamist organization called IHH, which played a key role in the extensive preparations for the voyage. The IHH operatives, some of whom boarded the ship in Istanbul without undergoing a security check, were those who were the most active assailants in the violent, premeditated confrontation with the IDF** (while the IDF took control of five other ships – as well as the *Rachel Corrie* – without exceptional incident).

3. An examination of the Mavi Marmara passengers and organizations **sheds light on the coalition the flotilla's activists and organizations belonged to. They came from many countries and differed in nature and ideology, from extreme Islamic to the extreme left**. Most, but **not all**, were united by a common hostility to Israel (and sometimes to the Jewish people), **support for Hamas and its ideology, and hostility to their perception of the liberal West, as it is today**.

4. **The analysis contained in this report is based on the Mavi Marmara's passenger list** seized aboard the ship, categorized according to national affiliation and port of embarkation (See Appendix I). The analysis of the passengers' identity and the dozens of participating organizations is based on a great amount of varied information: statements made by Mavi Marmara passengers during questioning, documents found on the Mavi Marmara and other ships in the flotilla, open source media information (including the Turkish media), open source information from the participating organizations and information from Israeli security sources.

5. Of the **561 Mavi Marmara passengers, 380 were from non-Arab Islamic countries** (mostly Turkey) 107 from Arab-Islamic countries and 74 from the West. Examination provided the following insights:

A. **The flotilla was basically a Turkish project. More than 60% of the passengers, 353, were Turkish**. There were Turkish passengers, including IHH activists, aboard two other ships, the *Gazze* and the *Defney*, as well.

B. The largest Arab delegations were from **Algeria** (32 participants) and **Jordan** (31 participants).

C. Only 13% of the passengers were from **Western countries**. **The largest delegation was British** (28 participants). Conspicuous among the Western passengers were **activists of Arab-Muslim origin**. Some had previously participated in the land and sea convoys to the Gaza Strip and some were involved in anti-Israel activity in their home countries.

6. **Ideologically, many Mavi Marmara passengers belonged to extremist Islamist organizations, especially the Turkish IHH and other Islamist organizations operating in Turkey. There were also Arab and Western activists affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood.** There were Western radical left activists, who were in the minority. There were also volunteers, motivated by an authentic desire to help the Gazans. **This melting-pot coalition was led by IHH and united by their common hostility to Israel** (and sometimes to the Jewish people), **support for Hamas** (not for the Palestinian Authority), and **hostility to the West and its values**.

7. **The flotilla had the following goals:**

A. **It was the showpiece of a broad international coalition whose main political objectives were to isolate Israel, wage a smear campaign against it, increase international pressure and finally to turn it into a pariah state and delegitimize its existence.**

B. An examination of the documents and statements issued by IHH and the Free Gaza Movement (FGM), the two most prominent organizations participating in the flotilla, shows unequivocally that the **objective of the flotilla was not to bring humanitarian assistance** to the residents of the Gaza Strip, but rather **entirely political**.<sup>2</sup> An internal FGM document, the IHH website and a statement made by Bülent Yildirim two months before the flotilla to an audience of Islamist supporters give witness to a series of political-propaganda goals: to show support for Hamas, to force Israel to change unilaterally its policy of closure of the Gaza Strip (while completely ignoring the security considerations which led to it), to create a media circus regarding the so-called "siege" and **to isolate Israel**.

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<sup>2</sup> **Hamas also admitted that the objectives of the flotilla were not only humanitarian.** Ismail Haniya, when asked about the fact that after the flotilla incident Israel had eased the closure of the Gaza Strip, said that "The basic problem is not the aid itself, despite its great importance and the Palestinians' need for it, but the subject is the siege, which we demand be fully lifted. **We refuse to separate the two and turn the problem into only a humanitarian one**" (Interview with the **Al-Islam Al-Youm** website, June 26, 2010) (ITIC emphasis).

C. The FGM and IHH had their own particular motives. There are indications that IHH also intended **to further complicate the troubled relations between Israel and Turkey, which have been problematical in any case since Prime Minister Erdogan rose to power**, by violently opposing the IDF while emphasizing the Turkish aspect of the flotilla. **The FGM also had its own motive** for wanting the flotilla to succeed (according to an internal document), **to improve its ability to raise funds for its activities** in view of its financial difficulties.

#### 8. The organized violence aboard the Mavi Marmara:

A. From the beginning, IHH prepared to employ extreme violence against the IDF and implement **a plan which included preparing battle positions, equipping the operatives with and offensive and defensive weapons, and briefing them before the battle**. To that end weapons and equipment were loaded aboard the Mavi Marmara and improvised weapons were made during the voyage. The latter included **lengths of iron pipe, wooden clubs, axes, knives, Molotov cocktails and slingshots**. Information in our possession indicates that **there were one or two guns aboard the Mavi Marmara and that at least one was fired at the IDF soldiers** as soon as they descended from the helicopter. **In addition, IHH operatives took three guns from IDF soldiers and turned them against the forces**. Eight IDF soldiers were wounded; two of them were shot (one with ammunition not in IDF use – i.e., which belonged to IHH – and the other with a weapon taken from a soldier).

B. **An examination of the names** of the Turks killed indicates that **almost all of them (eight of the nine) belonged to IHH** or were from political parties or other organizations affiliated with it. **Most of them (seven of the nine) had announced in one way or another before the violent confrontation that they intended to dies as shaheeds**. It is difficult to assesses the degree of enthusiasm and authentic commitment of each of those who sought to fulfill his aspiration to become a shaheed, but their stated intention provides **a clear indication of the nature of the hard core of the operatives who confronted the IDF forces aboard the Mavi Marmara**.

C. **An examination of the names of the 53 wounded in the confrontation** whose names appear on the list issued by IHH, **show that all except one were Turks. Most belonged to IHH or Turkish Islamic organizations collaborating with it. None of them belonged to pro-Palestinian or Western or Arab-Muslim human rights organizations with the exception of one man** (who was not seriously wounded) **from Indonesia**.

## 9. Employing extreme violence while paying lip-service to non-violence:

A. **The flotilla's organizers often made a point of representing themselves as pro-peace and human rights activists** (the flotilla was called the "Freedom Flotilla") whose activities were non-violent. **In reality**, there is a great deal of information illustrating the fact that IHH **planned and prepared for a violent confrontation with the IDF soldiers**. IHH has a history of violent behavior, which was made evident during its confrontation during the previous overland convoy, in which the organization's leader Bülent Yildirim participated, with the Egyptian security forces in January 2010.

B. **Apparently most of the human rights activists aboard the Mavi Marmara, including those who had joined the IHH coalition, were not aware of the high level of violence IHH intended to employ during the voyage.**<sup>3</sup> However, **we have proof from an internal FGM document attesting to the fact that the organization considered that "the only way for Israel to stop [the flotilla] is to use force."**<sup>4</sup> The organization proposed various scenarios for **possible tactical responses**, such as surrounding the ship with iron bars, strewing the decks with sharp obstacles and having activists barricade themselves in the wheel house and engine room. **The level of FGM violence was far below that of the organized violence prepared and implemented by IHH** (which included the use of guns). However, it was contrary to the instructions the FGM gave its activists, which unequivocally forbid the use of any form of violence, physical or verbal. The **expression *non-violent resistance***, as used by human rights organizations, is **apparently open to wide interpretation**.

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<sup>3</sup> From public statements made, there were some activists who did have an idea of what would happen. Kenneth O'Keefe, **a former Marine who sailed aboard the Mavi Marmara and participated in the confrontation, told an Israeli correspondent that from the beginning it was clear that the Turkish operatives intended to fight the IDF and that there was no question of passive resistance: "I knew before we set out that the Turks are not like the other Westerners, that there would be no** passive resistance in this case. The Turks are a tough people. They are people you don't mess with too much. In the United States or Britain people are asleep, there is no danger of rebellion. The Turks are different. I knew that if the Israelis boarded that ship, it would be a disaster. Not only from the aspect of the people who would be killed, but that it would also be a disaster for the Israelis." When asked if he saw them sawing beams, he said, "I knew we would defend the ship. That was stated publicly a great many times. **You have to be an idiot to board that ship and think it will be a ship of passive resistance.**" (ITIC emphasis) Noam Sheizaf *Haaretz* weekend magazine, September 24, 2010, <http://www.haaretz.com/weekend/magazine/rough-passage-1.315481>.

<sup>4</sup> For further information and the full text of the document, see the June 27, 2010 bulletin, "Inside documents of the Free Gaza movement seized in the recent flotilla expose considerable discrepancies between its strategy and tactics and its public stance. The documents prove, among other things, the attempts to conceal the aid to the Hamas administration since Hamas is designated as a terrorist organization in the US" at [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/html/ipc\\_e0101.htm](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/html/ipc_e0101.htm).



The placard reads, "To reach to Gaza never mind the price" (Picture seized by IDF soldiers aboard one of the ships). Bülent Yildirim, speaking to supporters two months before the flotilla set sail, said that in every scenario, including an Israeli attempt to take over the ship, the IHH was determined to protect the flotilla and to continue to the Gaza Strip to "break the siege."

10. In effect, **during its preparations for the flotilla, IHH's approach was pragmatic while the organization indulged in doublespeak.**

A. **When speaking to its supporters in Turkey, the IHH leader did not conceal its extremist Islamist ideology and presented the flotilla as part the struggle waged by Islam against the so-called combined "attack" carried out by the countries and powers around the world** (the United States, NATO, Russia and China). In the same breath IHH praised Hamas and used belligerent, extremist Islamist terminology.

B. However, **on its website and in several statements to the press and interviews given by its senior members (primarily in English), IHH stressed it was providing "humanitarian assistance,"** using the terminology publicly employed by NGOs and pro-Palestinian Western organizations.

11. **Involvement in global terrorism of the organizations and activists participating in the flotilla:**

A. **The Turkish IHH, which organized the flotilla in close cooperation with the Turkish government and played a major role in attacking the IDF aboard the ship, supported the global jihad in the past.** Reliable information indicates **that alongside its extensive humanitarian activity, in the past IHH had ongoing relations with Al-Qaeda and global jihad networks in the Middle East and beyond,** and for that reason was in the crosshairs of previous Turkish regimes. Its ties to terrorism were manifested chiefly through **the provision of logistic support for transferring weapons and funds to**

**terrorist operatives**, including terrorists planning **a terrorist attack in the United States, which was prevented** (the "millennium attack in Los Angeles, January 2000).

**B. One of the IHH operatives aboard the Mavi Marmara participated in the terrorist attack of a Russian ferry in 1996, intended to secure hostages as bargaining chips** for the release of Chechens from Russian prisons (although IHH as an organization was not involved in the attack).

**C. We have no evidence that the other organizations participating in the flotilla have been involved in the global jihad**, although it is possible that a number of radical Islamic operatives aboard the Mavi Marmara (and other ships) had ties, in one way or another, to global jihad organizations.

## 12. **Support for Hamas:**

**A. IHH and the FGM, the two most prominent organizations behind the flotilla, have a common past of support for Hamas. They have transferred money and material aid to the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip and given it political-propaganda support.** Other organizations from Turkey and the Arab-Muslim world which participated in the flotilla gave aid to Hamas in the past, mostly financial (directly or through the Union of Good) and material, and **by joining the campaign to smear Israel in Arab-Muslim world and in the West.**

**B. In addition, many of the extremist Islamist organizations which were represented aboard the Mavi Marmara share Hamas' ideology, inspired by its parent movement, the Muslim Brotherhood:** They are hostile to Israel, reject the peace process, oppose the Palestinian Authority, hate the West and its values and support the path of "jihad" (i.e., violence and terrorism) as the way to "liberate Palestine." **Some of the leftist activists in the West who belong to the coalition hold similar anti-West anti-Israel positions, but their perspective is completely different.**

**C. Organizations operating in the United States and other countries where Hamas has been designated as a terrorist organization are careful not to publicly support the movement and instead use the acceptable pretexts of supporting the Palestinians in Gaza or of providing humanitarian assistance for the needy.** The FGM instructed its activists in that spirit, as was illustrated by internal documents seized aboard the Mavi Marmara.

## 13. **The battle for hearts and minds and the importance of media backing:** The organizers of the flotilla were well aware of the great importance of media coverage

in furthering their aforementioned political goals. They made sure that correspondents, cameramen and Internet personnel were aboard the flotilla. **The Turkish delegation alone had 33 correspondents and there were dozens of others who participated in the Arab-Muslim and Western delegations.** An examination of the media personnel revealed that **most of them worked for Arab-Muslim media** (including extremely popular media, such as Al-Jazeera TV), but the leading Western newspapers and television channels were not represented.

14. **The Turkish government's support of the flotilla:** The flotilla's organizers have tried to represent it as the fruit of a joint effort of various NGOs without government support. In reality, **the flotilla received outright Turkish government support, without which it is doubtful whether such a large operation could have been realized. In addition the Turkish government did not make an effective effort to prevent the flotilla from sailing,** despite the fact that its organizers took into consideration that they were exposing themselves to significant risks should they enter into a confrontation with Israel. For example:

A. Information in our possession, based, among other things, on documents seized aboard the ships, the results of questioning the passengers, and the Turkish media, **indicates extensive involvement of the Turkish government in the flotilla.** That involvement increased, and **metamorphosed from behind the scenes involvement during the first stages of the flotilla's planning to open, blatant involvement during and after the last stages.**

B. According to the minutes of a meeting of the coalition's representatives on May 16 (Appendix B), IHH's vice president, who chaired the meeting, said that **"Government did not announce openly support for the mission at first; but [in the] last few days, [we have been] getting direct support from PM and other ministers. During F2F discussions, [they] openly said that if we have any difficulties, gov[ernment] will extend what support they can"** (ITIC emphasis). In addition, he recently said publicly **that the Turkish government and its intelligence service did not undertake any action or ask the organization to cancel the flotilla or return to port at any stage.**

C. **From the beginning, Istanbul was the nerve center of the intensive, IHH-led preparations for the flotilla,** which began half a year before it was launched. The Mavi Marmara sailed from Istanbul after a well-attended ceremony which was fully covered by the media. A similar ceremony was held in Antalya. **IHH and other Islamic Turkish organizations which participated in the flotilla were well-connected to the**



**Islamic regime in Turkey.** Turkish governmental support was manifested in organizing the flotilla, **providing its organizers with governmental capabilities such as logistics and funds, and by swathing it in governmental political-propaganda protection** (manifested in the Turkish government's media attack regarding Israel's takeover of the ship and Turkish pressure exerted on Israel). It can be assumed that the purchase of the Mavi Marmara from a company owned by the Istanbul municipality (Prime Minister Erdogan was at one time Istanbul's mayor) and the purchase of the two cargo ships was accomplished, directly or indirectly, with government financial support.

D. According to our information, IHH leader **Bülent Yildirim and other senior figures in IHH have close relations with Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan and his AKP party.** IHH works in close collaboration with a Turkish government institute called TIKA, the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency. TIKA, which was established in 1992, answers to the prime minister's office and is an influential branch of the Turkish government, the Muslim world in general and among the Turkish-speaking communities in particular.

15. **The degree of involvement or support of Arab-Muslim regimes:** The degree of that involvement **differed from one country to another.** There were countries which gave their blessings to the activists and **those whose nationals aboard the Mavi Marmara indicated a kind of defiance of the regime.** For example, **the large Algerian delegation was composed mainly of members of a moderate Islamic party** which generally cooperates with the regime. The **Yemini** delegation included members of the parliament belonging to the extremist Islamic Al-Salah party, which is part of the regime. The **Syrian** delegation did not include members of the regime **but received the regime's blessing** in the form of a meeting with Bashar Assa'ad when they returned. The large delegations from **Indonesia and Malaysia** were composed of members of pro-Palestinian NGOs and received the blessings of their various regimes. The **Jordanian** delegation, on the other hand, included **Muslim Brotherhood activists** and members of the labor unions which oppose the regime, and the **Egyptian delegation had members of the Egyptian parliament who also belonged to the Muslim Brotherhood, which opposes the regime.**

## **Contents**

16. This report contains two sections and three appendices:

**A. Section I – Cross section of the passengers:**

- 1) Passenger distribution according to nationality and religion.
- 2) Passenger distribution according to organizational affiliation.

**B. Section II – The most prominent activists and organization aboard the Mavi Marmara (distribution according to country):**

- 1) Turkey and other (non-Arabic) Muslim countries
- 2) Western countries

**C. Appendices:**

- 1) **Appendix I** – A list found aboard the Mavi Marmara of passengers, arranged according to nationality.
- 2) **Appendix II** – An analysis of the minutes of the meeting held by the flotilla organizers on May 16, 2010.
- 3) **Appendix III** – A list of the Turkish passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara and other ships and their organizational and political party affiliations.

## Section I – Cross section of the passengers:

### Passenger distribution according to nationality and religion

1. The total number of flotilla passengers was **712** (according to the Israeli Interior Ministry lists). There were **561** aboard the Mavi Marmara representing **34 countries**, most of them, a total of 353, from **Turkey**. Twenty-eight were from **Britain**, 32 from **Algeria** and 31 from **Jordan**.

2. **Nationally and religiously** the Mavi Marmara passengers fall into **three main categories**:

1) There were **380 passengers** from non-Arab **Muslim countries**: Most of them, 353, were **Turkish**. Thirty-eight boarded the boat in Istanbul and the rest in Antalya. There were 12 passengers from **Indonesia**, 12 from **Malaysia** and three from **Pakistan**. **Iranian representation was conspicuously absent**.

2) There were **107 passengers** from **Arab countries**: Thirty-two were from **Algeria** and 31 from **Jordan**. There were 16 from **Kuwait**, five from **Morocco**, **four each** from **Bahrain, Yemen and Syria**, **three** from both **Egypt and Lebanon**, **two each** from so-called "Palestine," i.e., **Gaza Strip**, and **Mauritania** and **one** from **Oman**. Conspicuous by their absence were **Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Sudan**.

3) There were **74 passengers** from **Western countries**. The largest was the 28-man **British delegation**. There were eight from **Germany**, five from **Israel** (all Israeli Arabs, including one member of the Israeli Parliament), **three each** from the **United States, Canada, Spain, Norway, Macedonia, Australia and Belgium**. There were **two each** from **Ireland, Sweden and Greece**, and **one each** from **France, Kosovo, South Africa, Bosnia and New Zealand**.

3. The passengers on the other boats included six representatives from both **Italy** and the **Philippines**, four from the **Czech Republic**, two each from **Bulgaria** and **Holland**, and one from **Cuba**. A total of 40 countries sent representatives to the flotilla.

### Passenger distribution according to organizational affiliation

4. The Mavi Marmara passengers fall into **three main categories, according to organizational affiliation**:

1) There were **91 IHH operatives, activists and volunteers** on board the Mavi Marmara, who played a major role in preparing and conducting the flotilla. Thirty-eight boarded the ship in Istanbul, the rest in Antalya (among the latter were **IHH leader**

**Bülent Yıldırım**, senior organization members, operatives who participated in the fighting, public relations personnel and media correspondents).

2) There were **more than 200 male and female activists belonging to NGOs, most of them from Turkey and some from the Arab-Muslim world and Western countries**. Prominent among them were **members of radical Islamic organizations, especially Turkish Islamist organizations and the Muslim Brotherhood (from both Arab and Western countries)**. There were also **activists from Western pro-Palestinian human rights organizations**, some from the radical left, who joined IHH and the other Islamic organizations, **united in their common hostility to Israel and sometimes also to the West**.

3) **There were several hundred volunteers who had answered the call of IHH and other pro-Palestinian and pro-Hamas organizations to participate in the flotilla**, whether because of ideological solidarity or whether out of a genuine desire to provide the Palestinians with humanitarian support.

5. Among the Mavi Marmara passengers were those who belonged to **a few specific categories**:

1) There were **dozens of embedded media people** (correspondents, photographers, Internet personnel), many of whom belonged to **Islamic-oriented media**, including two representatives of Hamas' two television channels. There were no representatives from the leading Western television networks. The media personnel were distributed as follows:

A. There were 33 correspondents from the Turkish media. **The newspapers represented were mainly those of Islamist orientation**, such as *Yeni Şafak*, *Vakit*, *Zaman* and *Şafak*. **Absent were prominent secular newspapers** such as *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet*.



Propaganda campaign: the ceremony before the Mavi Marmara sets sail from Antalya on May 27. Front row center: Bülent Yildirim, and to the left, as an attraction for the media, Israeli Parliament member Hanin Zouabi. To the right is Archbishop Hilarion Capucci, who served a prison term in Israel for weapons smuggling.

B. An IHH notice released on the Internet after the flotilla listed **the prominent media represented on the flotilla**: TRT (an official Turkish media network), **Press TV** (the Iranian English-language television channel), **Al Hiwar** (a London-based television channel affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood), **TV NET** (a Slovenian satellite television channel), **Doğan News Agency** (an Istanbul-based Turkish news agency), **TeleSUR** (a Caracas-based satellite channel serving Latin America), **Kuwait News Agency**, **Al-Jazeera TV** in English, **Venezuela TV** (a subscriber-only cable TV channel apparently produced by ex-pats in the United States), **Suara News** (an Indonesian news agency), **Hidayatullah** (an Islamic Indonesian news agency), **The Brunei Times** (an independent English-language daily newspaper in Brunei, South East Asia), **Al-Aqsa TV** (a Hamas' satellite channel), **Al-Jazeera Internet**, **Al-Quds TV**<sup>5</sup> (a Hamas satellite channel), **Al-Fakhura** (a pro-Hamas Qatar-based satellite channel established after Operation Cast Lead), **AJ TV** (a Pakistani television channel), **Gulf News Agency** (a Gulf Emirates news agency) and **Radio 786** (a South African Islamic radio station)

2. **Dozens of parliament members** and celebrities from various countries were present, including a female Israeli Parliament member. They were present for media and political exposure in their home countries. According to an IHH notice, there were members of parliaments from **Germany, Kuwait, Israel, Ireland, "Southern Cyprus"** (i.e., the Turkish

<sup>5</sup> According to additional information, there was also a representative from Al-Jazeera TV Documentary aboard the Mavi Marmara, as well as a correspondent from France's international TV5 channel.

**part of the island), Yemen, Egypt and Algeria.** Most of them were aboard the Mavi Marmara, with only a few aboard the other ships.

**3. Fifteen passengers boarded the Mavi Marmara from the Free Gaza Movement's ships Challenger 1 and Challenger 2.** They were a **mixture of pro-Hamas and human rights activists, mostly from Europe.** There were members of parliaments and ordinary civilians. Five were German, three were Norwegian, two were American, one each were British, Greek, Malaysian and Canadian, and the nationality of one was unknown. Most of them belonged to the FGM and transferred to the Mavi Marmara (for unclear reasons, either by plan or necessity caused by technical difficulties aboard the two ships).

**4. There were 15 crew members who did not participate in the violent confrontation, some of whom even tried to restrain the IHH operatives** (during questioning in Israel, the captain and chief officer said that they were unaware of IHH's intention to initiate a violent confrontation with the IDF).

## Section II – The most prominent activists and organization aboard the Mavi Marmara

### Turkey and other (non-Arabic) Muslim countries



6. **Sixty percent (353 of 561) of the passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara, the flotilla's flagship, were Turkish, most of them recruited by IHH and their affiliated radical Islamist organizations.** The flotilla was organized and set sail with the support and political, propaganda – and in our assessment, logistic – aid of the Turkish government.



Propaganda campaign: the ceremony in Istanbul before the Mavi Marmara sets sail on May 22.

7. **There were four main categories of Turkish passengers:**

1) **Ninety-one IHH activists and operatives** (about one fourth of the Turkish passengers). Of them, 57 were listed as rank and file activists, and 34 as belonging to NGOs ("civilian organizations") and as "volunteers" (See Appendix III). **Turkish-based IHH organized the flotilla and solicited activists from other Islamist**

**organizations** (which shared IHH's ideology and cooperated with it). **Beyond Turkey's borders IHH established a vast network to coordinate** with anti-Israeli organizations and activists around the globe **by setting up a "coalition" of five organizations which prepared and coordinated the flotilla.**

2) **Activists belonging to Turkish Islamist organizations**, which espouse a radical Islamic ideology similar to that of IHH and cooperate with it, answered the media campaign to join the flotilla. **Some of them participated in the violent confrontation with the IDF and a large number of them were among the dead and wounded.** Prominent among them were members of the **Felicity Party (Saadet Partisi, SP)** and various associations including **Ismailaya, Mazlumder, Ozgurder** and **Endemlilir**. **The ruling AKP party was careful not to include its own parliament members** in order to obscure the government's direct involvement and represent the flotilla as the product of NGOs.

3) **Turkish media personnel, 33 in number**, made up almost 10% of the total number of Turkish passengers. Their names appear on the list of Turkish passengers under the separate heading of "Media."

4) **There were also non-affiliated volunteers** who answered the call of IHH and other organizations to join the flotilla to aid the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, and **became involved willy-nilly in the violent confrontation** (as some of them stated). Most of them apparently were not aware of IHH's true intentions.

## IHH



IHH logo

8. **IHH is a Turkish humanitarian assistance foundation whose orientation is radical-Islamist and anti-West, and which has close ties to the current Turkish government. IHH also has close ties with Hamas** and provides it with financial aid and political and propaganda support.



9. **In the past IHH aided Al-Qaeda and the global jihad** by providing them with logistic support (funds and smuggling and transporting weapons).<sup>6</sup> When a Western correspondent asked **IHH spokesman Ahmet Emin Dağ**, who was on board the Mavi Marmara, to respond to the accusation that his organization was a front for financing Islamist terrorist groups, he said, "If you're looking through the glasses of the West...and you think those people who struggle for independence **against Serbia, in Afghanistan during the Russian invasion, in Iraq against the American invasion, Palestinians against Israel**, then you can look at it that way, **but we don't consider them terrorist groups.**"<sup>7</sup>

10. In the same interview Dağ said that while IHH did not support suicide bombing attacks, "...given the situation the Palestinians are in, we see it as a normal, natural result of the situation imposed on them by Israel."<sup>8</sup> Basing his opinion on the revoked UN decision, he called Zionism "racism." When asked about the Hamas charter, which calls for the destruction of the State of Israel, he answered that "different groups can think differently, Islamic Jihad can think differently."<sup>9</sup>

11. IHH's radical Islamist ideology was expressed in a speech by Bülent Yildirim, IHH leader, during a large support demonstration for the flotilla in one of Istanbul's suburbs on March 31, two months before it sailed. **He described the Israeli-Hamas conflict as part of what he represented as a general attack on the Muslim world**, and accused the United States, NATO, Russia, China, Israel and other countries of killing Muslims. He said that the "liberation" of Jerusalem was a condition for the Muslim takeover of the world, saying that **"if the owners of Al-Quds were Muslims, the control of the entire world would be in Muslim hands."** In his speech he proposed various possible IHH scenarios for the flotilla, stressing the organization's determination to reach the Gaza Strip in each, even if Israel used force against one of the ships.

12. **To that end IHH had prepared a plan for a violent confrontation with the IDF. The hard core of operatives who would fight the IDF included IHH operatives and others from affiliated Islamist organizations** (most of those killed and wounded were from those organizations). According to our information, the operatives of IHH's hard core boarded the ship

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<sup>6</sup> For further information about IHH and its activities, see the May 27, 2010 bulletin, "IHH, which plays a central role in organizing the flotilla to the Gaza Strip, is a Turkish humanitarian relief fund with a radical Islamic anti-Western orientation" at [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/hamas\\_e105.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/hamas_e105.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> Claire Belinski, *Weekly Standard* website, <http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/visit-turkey-islamist-ihh?page=3>.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/visit-turkey-islamist-ihh?page=4>.

in Israel. The other IHH operatives, including Bülent Yildirim, joined the ship in Antalya. When questioned, the passengers revealed that there was a clear division between the hard core of IHH operatives (and their collaborators) concentrated on the upper deck and the other passengers.

## **IHH leader Bülent Yildirim aboard the Mavi Marmara**

13. **IHH Bülent Yildirim, the moving spirit behind the flotilla, sailed aboard the Mavi Marmara, joining it in Antalya and controlling the ship and the entire flotilla. He prepared the operatives for fighting, briefed them before the confrontation and instructed them to fight against the IDF soldiers.** He told them to "form a human chain and to throw the [IDF] soldiers back into the sea with chairs and clubs" **The IHH leadership was on board with him.**



**Bülent Yildirim inciting IHH operatives and supporters before the expected confrontation with IDF soldiers.**

14. The presence of Bülent Yildirim and senior IHH figures aboard the Mavi Marmara indicates that **the organization sought to take command of the planned violent confrontation and to make media capital in the internal Turkish and international arenas** (He has already announced that IHH is planning another flotilla.). **It also indicates the great degree of self-confidence the organization** (and the Turkish government) **had regarding its dealings with Israel**, because Yildirim and his top followers had to take into consideration that they might be detained by Israel (**as opposed**, for example, **to Muhammad Sawalha**, a British-based Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood activist, who was one of the flotilla's organizers and attended the Mavi Marmara's launching ceremony, but **who did not board the ship**, in our assessment because he was afraid he would be detained by Israel).



**Bülent Yildirim aboard the Mavi Marmara (Picture seized by IDF soldiers aboard one of the ships).**

**15. Interviewed by the press after his return from Israel, Bülent Yildirim did not hide the fact that he and his men had employed violence in dealing with the IDF soldiers and even had a "legal" explanation for it.** On June 4, 2010, the Turkish daily *Zaman* reported that on his return to Turkey, Yildirim told reporters at the Ataturk Airport in Istanbul that in Israel he was asked if the IDF soldiers had been attacked with iron bars and axes. He answered that they had acted in self defense and added, "the first thing our comrades did was neutralize ten soldiers. We also took their rifles." He said a person is considered legally innocent if he takes a weapon away from someone trying to attack him. He also said that they threw the weapons [they took from the soldiers] into the sea. IHH spokesman Ahmet Emin Dağ did not deny that IHH operatives had attacked the Israeli soldiers, but he told a female Western correspondent that she should consider how she felt if she were sitting at home in her living room and people she didn't know came into her house with guns and weapons (Weekllystandard.com).



**Bülent Yildirim at a press conference on his return to Turkey (Zaman website, June 4, 2010).**

16. **Bülent Yildirim and a command team on the Mavi Marmara were in contact with their "land team."** It was led by **Yavuz Dede**,<sup>10</sup> IHH's deputy head. With him were apparently other representatives, including some from the FGM. The land team also included a media coordinator, a logistics coordinator and a legal coordinator.

### Other senior IHH figures aboard the Mavi Marmara

17. **The second most important operative aboard the Mavi Marmara was Hüseyin Oruç**, born 1969, responsible for IHH's external relations, who boarded the ship in Antalya. He has a degree in hotel administration and tourism from Istanbul University. He was arrested and pardoned, and returned to the university to study law, but did not take a degree. He met Bülent Yildirim and other members of the IHH leadership during his university studies. He was found to be carrying \$4,000 in cash. Questioned in Israel, he said that he had been an IHH volunteer for seven years and conducted IHH's relations with other organizations.



Hüseyin Oruç (center) (dunyabizim.com website)

18. **Hüseyin Oruç** also said during questioning that he had participated in organizing the Mavi Marmara flotilla and was responsible for relations with the other organizations which participated in it. He added that it had been organized by **Yavuz Dede**, **deputy head of IHH**, who stayed in Turkey during the voyage to command the land team. **In an interview given after his return to Turkey, Hüseyin Oruç said that all the passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara had been willing to die as shaheeds and that the objective of the flotilla was to reach the Gaza Strip or be killed** (Al-Jazeera TV, June 5, 2010).

### 19. Other senior IHH figures aboard the Mavi Marmara

<sup>10</sup> According to the minutes of the meeting (seized aboard the Mavi Marmara) held on May 16, 2010, by representatives of the coalition organizing the flotilla, **Yavuz Dede** was in fact the person who dealt with the early planning stages of the flotilla with the other organizations and members of the coalition. The minutes and questioning of flotilla participants indicates that **he remained in Turkey to head the "land team."**

1) **Ahmet Emin Dağ**, born 1970, a member of the IHH leadership, **joined the ship in Antalya**. His name appears on the list of representatives of participating organizations as IHH's coordinator with the FGM and as an IHH representative of the Middle East. One of his duties was to be the contact for Muhammad Sawalha, a Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood activist who plays a central role in anti-Israel activities in Britain (and participated in organizing the flotilla).

2) **Murat Yilmaz**, born 1974, responsible for information and intelligence (according to another version, head of the research committee). **Boarded the ship in Antalya**.



Murat Yilmaz (dunyabizim.com website).

3) **Osman Atalay**, born 1963, responsible for IHH public relations. Also writes articles, **boarded the ship in Antalya**.



Osman Atalay (turkish.irib.ir website)

4) **Durmuş Aydın**, born 1977, deputy leader of IHH and responsible for external relations. **Boarded the ship in Antalya**.



Durmuş Aydın (Picture from Facebook)

5) **Ilyas Yilmaz**, born 1973. During questioning said that he had been responsible for IHH purchasing for the past two years. **He boarded the ship in Antalya.**

6) **Yaşar Kutluay**, born 1972, married and father of six girls. Serves as IHH's secretary general. **He boarded the ship in Antalya.**



Yaşar Kutluay ([www.ihh.org.tr](http://www.ihh.org.tr))

7) **Hassan Aynaçi**, IHH operative. Has been involved in transferring funds to charitable societies (in our assessment, societies affiliated with Hamas) in the Gaza Strip, Judea and Samaria.

## Correspondents connected to IHH

20. The following is information about three Turkish correspondents connected to IHH who were aboard the Mavi Marmara:

1) **Hakan Albayrak**, born 1968, works for the Istanbul daily *Yeni Şafak* ("New Dawn"). **Born in Germany** and finished high school in Turkey. In the past also worked for Islamic paper *Mili Gazzet*. **In 1994, as IHH representative, was in charge of its humanitarian assistance to Bosnia, which at the time was engaged in a bloody civil war.** In 2000 was accused of opposing Atatürk's reforms. In 2003 was imprisoned for 15 months but served only ten. Married and has two children. Also writes for the Islamic

weekly **Gerçek Hayat** and has published a large number of books, almost all of them Islamist in content (todayzaman.com, June 4, 2010).



Hakan Albayrak (*Yeni Şafak*, May 31, 2010)

2) **Sinan Taymin Albayrak** (apparently Hakan Albayrak's brother), born 1973, movie actor (plays supporting roles) and correspondent, was born in Germany. Graduated from the Hacettepe University drama school. In the past worked for the Ihlas news agency, the largest news agency in Turkey, spending time in Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip. **Was also an IHH representative in Bosnia. In an interview after the flotilla he wondered, "Where was the Turkish air force?"** Added that they expected Turkish planes to appear during the Israeli takeover of the ship, and were surprised when they did not (sinanalbayrad.net website, *Hürriyet*, June 7, 2010).



Sinan Albayrak (interneteyim.net website)



3) **Ramazan Kayan** is a Turkish cleric and media person who, among other things, operates an Islamic television channel.



Ramazan Kayan (center) aboard the Mavi Marmara (Haksozhaber.net May 22, 2010)

## Radical Islamic Turkish parties and organizations with activists aboard the Mavi Marmara

### Saadet Partisi (SP) – The Felicity Party



21. The Turkish passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara belonged to dozens of different organizations, some of them small and local and some of them large political parties and organizations deployed beyond the local sphere (For the passenger list and organizational affiliation, see Appendix III). There were **four activists from the Saadet Partisi**, which on April 20, 2010, announced its support for the flotilla at a press conference held with IHH. **At least two of its activists were killed** fighting the IDF alongside the hard core of IHH operatives.

22. The **Saadet Partisi** (SP) is an Islamic party with roots in the Welfare Party (the party of the Islamist former political, Prof. Necmettin Erbakan). After it was outlawed for violating the secular articles of the constitution, it splintered into various factions. **The conservative faction established the Saadet Partisi and the reformists established the Justice and**



**Development Party (AKP)**, the party currently in power. The Saadet Partisi is headed by **Prof. Numan Kurtulmuş**.<sup>11</sup>

23. **Members of the Saadet Partisi identify with IHH, and many IHH members belong to and support it. On April 20, 2010, party head Prof. Numan Kurtulmuş held a press conference.** He used it to express his support for IHH and the flotilla, which he called "**a brave, historic step**." He also denounced the detention of IHH activist Izzat Shahin in Judea and Samaria and threatened to cause an international incident if Israel did not release him. He also said that Israel was "the only entity" which did not have formal borders with any of its neighbors because it was still expanding and slowly invading Palestinian territory. He warned Israel against any attempt to attack the ships expected to leave in the next flotilla and called on the Turkish government to confront the "expansionist policy" of Israel at international conferences.



**Numan Kurtulmuş (second from left), secretary general of the Saadet Partisi, at a press conference with IHH head Bülent Yıldırım (far left) (Saadet Partisi website, April 20, 2010). On April 20 the party announced its support of the planned flotilla to the Gaza Strip.**

24. The **Saadet Partisi supports Hamas and has relations with it.** In January 2010 Ismail Haniya, head of the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip, met with Saadet Partisi representative Tamal Karanalaoglu, and expressed his thanks to party leader Prof Numan Kurtulmuş for "his support and the support of the Turkish people for Palestine" (Saadet Partisi website, January 11, 2010).

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<sup>11</sup> For further information about the Saadet Partisi see the date bulletin, " Profile of the Turkish Felicity Party: an anti-Western, anti-Israeli Islamic party whose activists took part in the latest flotilla together with the IHH. At least two of them died during the IDF takeover of the ship Mavi Marmara" at [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/ipc\\_e098.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/ipc_e098.pdf).



Ismail Haniya, head of the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip, meets Tamal Karanalaoglu, a representative of the Turkish Saadet Partisi (Saadet Partisi website, January 11, 2010).

## Ayder Association

25. The names of **four Ayder Association activists** appear on the list of Turkish passengers. Two of them were killed in the confrontation with the IDF. **Ayder** (Ayder is an acronym for "Brotherhood Association for a Bright Future, Rights and Liberty") **is an Islamic charitable society which operates in central and eastern Turkey**. One of the casualties, **Ali Heyder Bengi**, was Ayder head in Diyarbakir, the largest city in southeastern Turkey. **Çetin Topçuoglu**, former Turkish *taekwondo* champion, was **a member of Ayder**. Another association activist, Yucel Kose, was greeted as a hero on his return to Turkey.

26. On March 31, 2010, two months before the flotilla set sail, the IHH leadership paid a visit to the Ayder Association and met with its chairman, Aslan Korkmaz and other leaders. **They said they supported the preparations being made by IHH for the flotilla and were ready to help**. Before the flotilla set sail, Ayder activists collected clothing, equipment and food and transferred them to IHH.

## Other Islamic Turkish organizations

27. There were many other activists aboard the Mavi Marmara who belonged to various other Islamic organizations. The more prominent among them were the following:

- 1) **Ismailaga Camaati**: The names of **three activists appear on the passenger list as belonging to Ismailaga Camaati, a radical Islamic association which supports Hamas**. Its leader visited Khaled Mashaal, head of the Hamas political bureau in Damascus, in September 2009 and gave him a large amount of money (See picture). He

said that "we support the Muslim resistance in Afghanistan, Caucasus, Iraq and of course in Palestine" ([www.ismailagacemaati.com](http://www.ismailagacemaati.com))



Abdulmetin Balkalioglu, leader of Ismailaga Camaati meets Khaled Mashaal, the head of Hamas' political bureau in Damascus, and gives him cash (*Hürriyet* September 5, 2009).

2) **Mazlumder** ("The Organization of Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People"): The names of five activists appear on the passenger list as belonging to Mazlumder. The organization was established in 1991 **and it is considered the strongest and best organized human rights organization in Turkey**. It was suspected in Turkey of being a front for a radical Islamist organization. Under previous Turkish governments it was subject to surveillance and searches, its branches were closed and the Turkish Attorney General instituted suits against it.

3) **Ozgurder**: The names of three activists appear on the passenger list as belonging to the **Islamist organization Ozgurder**. Its radical Islamic ideology is similar to that of IHH. It supports Muslims around the globe including Afghanistan, Egypt and Lebanon. Cengiz Songür, one of the operatives killed on board the Mavi Marmara, belonged to the Izmir branch of Ozgurder.



Ozgurder activist. The banner reads "Those who were killed for the sake of Allah are not considered dead, but live in the presence of their lord [in paradise]" (haksozhaber.net website). During the second intifada and among Islamists throughout the world the verse is used to provide religious Islamic legitimization for terrorists who carry out suicide bombing attacks, and it often appears on memorial posters for suicide bombers. It has also been used for those sent on dangerous missions who died confronting those considered the enemies of Islam.

4) **Erdemliler:** One of the passengers belonged to the radical Islamic Erdemliler. It operates in the southern Turkish city of Gaziantep. **Ramazan Kiraz, who heads the organization, has taken an anti-Semitic stance on several occasions, saying, for instance, that "the worthless Israelites have wrapped their spider's legs around the world and continue drinking its blood"** (velfecr.net website, April 1, 2009). At a rally for the Gaza Strip on April 4, 2009, he also praised Hamas for having **"begun the third intifada."** In addition, he has called for a **boycott of Israeli and Jewish products.**

## Diyarbakir as a center of radical Islam

28. **There was a conspicuous number of Turkish passengers who belonged to radical Islamic organizations from the region of the eastern Turkish city of Diyarbakir.** Some of them were among the killed and wounded. Diyarbakir is the largest city in southeastern Turkey, with about half a million inhabitants, the overwhelming majority of whom are Kurds. It is the administrative capital of the province of Diyarbakir, which is home to 1.5 million, and is considered the unofficial capital of Kurdistan, where there is great tension between the Kurds and the Turkish regime.

29. Many of the villagers migrated to Diyarbakir and slums grew up on its outskirts (30% of the province's population need welfare to provide their basic needs). Backwardness and poverty turned **Diyarbakir into a convenient recruiting ground not only for the Kurdish PKK** (the

dominant local nationalist Kurdish organization, essentially secular), **but also for leftist and radical Islamic groups.**

30. **There are three groups competing for power in Diyarbakir:** NGOs sympathetic to the PKK; the moderate Islam network Gulan Fotullah (an important Islamic figure, close to former Turkish prime minister Arbakan, fled to and operates from the United States); and the **Turkish Hezbollah**, a network fostering a violent ideology but which is not connected to the Lebanese organization of the same name.<sup>12</sup> **IHH also has an active branch in Diyarbakir**, which recently instituted a project to adopt orphans from Albania, "Palestine" and Lebanon.

31. Since Erdogan's AKP party rose to power in 2003, the situation in southeastern Turkey has improved. However, local leaders still claim that the government is starving the region and does not transfer the funds earmarked for it. AKP has emphasized the Islamic nature of the city to the detriment of the Kurds, and stresses the place of Diyarbakir in early Muslim history.

## **Profile of the Turks killed in the violence aboard the Mavi Marmara**

32. **The following were the Turks killed in the violent confrontation with the IDF aboard the Mavi Marmara:**

1) **Ibrahim Bilgen**, born 1949, electronics engineer from Siirt, a member of the Turkish Bureau of Electronics Engineers. **Boarded the ship in Antalya.** His family comes from Mosul, in Iraq. Was a Saadet Partisi candidate in the 2007 elections and the Siirt mayoral elections in 2009. Married and father of six. **A relative said that Bilgen wanted to die as a shaheed. Joined the flotilla as an IHH volunteer.**

2) **Ali Heyder Bengi**, born 1979, managed a telephone repair shop in Diyarbakir. Graduate of Al-Azhar University in Cairo with a degree in Arab literature. **Boarded the ship in Antalya.** Married and father of four. **Member of the Saadet Partisi party.** Was active in Islamic organizations **and was the chairman of the Diyarbakir branch of the Islamic charitable association Ayder.** His wife told a newspaper correspondent that for years he had wanted to go to Palestine and consistently prayed to Allah to grant him a martyrs death. **Friends said that he "had a strong desire to die as a**

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<sup>12</sup> The Turkish Hezbollah was established at the beginning of the 1980s and its operations were violent until 2000, when its leader, Velioglu, was killed by the Turkish police. Atsoy, his heir, despite his commitment to violence, has spent the last decade working to strengthen its social base by creating a large network of Islamic NGOs, charitable societies, soup kitchens, courses in Qur'an study, book stores and media (a magazine is published and a radio station is operated in Diyarbakir).

**shaheed."** The Ayder branch he headed **cooperated with IHH** and its activists collected equipment and food for the organization before the ship set sail.

3) **Cevdet Kiliçlar**, born 1978, from Kayseri. A graduate of Marmara University with a degree in communications. In the past worked as a correspondent for the *National Gazette* and the *Anatolia Times*. **Boarded the ship in Antalya. Was an IHH activist.**<sup>13</sup> **During the past year worked as a writer and managed IHH's website.** Married and father of two. In a video found on board the Mavi Marmara he is recorded saying that "when our friends were praying in the Fateh mosque [in Istanbul] in memory of the brothers who were killed in battle in Afghanistan, we were boarding this ship [the Mavi Marmara], and thus we could not participate in the prayer. May the souls [of those who were killed in Afghanistan] go to paradise. We also prayed in our way for our brothers in Gaza, and **I pray that Allah grant us the same good end as those shaheeds [who were killed in Afghanistan]."**<sup>14</sup>

4) **Çetin Topçuoglu**, born 1965, from Adana. Amateur soccer player and **former Turkish taekwondo champion. Boarded the ship in Antalya.** Trained the Turkish *taekwondo* team. Married and father of one. Was a member of the **Ayder Association. Took part in the previous aid convoy which reached El Arish in January** (and violently confronted the Egyptian security forces). (His wife, **Çigdem Topçuoglu**, was also aboard the Mavi Marmara, along with friends and relatives. She said that when it became known that IDF soldiers were planning to attack, they took the fire hoses out and turned them against the Israeli forces.) **He left a letter hinting that he expected to die as a shaheed and call on others to seek a similar death.**



One of the casualties, Çetin Topçuoglu, who belonged to the Ayder Association, was Turkey's *taekwondo* champion (lawrenceofcyberia.blogs.com website)

<sup>13</sup> <http://kanan48.wordpress.com>, June 4, 2010.

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.internethaber.com/cevdet-kiliclarin-son-duasi-video-galerisi-2116.htm>

5) **Necdet Yildirim**, born 1978, from Malatya. **IHH activist in Istanbul**. Appears on list of IHH operatives aboard the Mavi Marmara. In the past worked for the Istanbul sports association (malatyaguncel.com website). Married and father of one. **Unclear whether or not he is related to Bülent Yildirim**.

6) **Fahri Yaldiz**, born 1967, firefighter in the eastern Antalyan city of Adiyaman. **Boarded the ship in Antalya**. Married and father of four. IHH activist in his city. His name appears on the list of IHH passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara. **Since 2007 has been a security guard at IHH conferences. Before he left on the voyage he announced he was going to be a shaheed and said goodbye to his wife and children**. In 2007, during the municipal elections in his city was the mayor's bodyguard, employed by the Refah party, Arabakan Islamist party (haberdemeti.com website).

7) **Cengiz Songür**, born 1963, from Konya in central Anatolia. **Boarded the ship in Antalya**. Married and father of seven. Sold textiles for a living. **Was an activist in the Islamic Özgürder in Izmir**.

8) **Cengiz Akyüz**, born 1969, from Iskenderun. **Boarded the ship in Antalya**. Married and father of three. **IHH operative**. Joined the flotilla with the director of the IHH Hatay (Alexandretta) branch, **Zakariya Kanat**. **Left a will prior to his departure** (islamigundem.com website).

9) **Furkan Dogan**, born 1991, senior high school student in Kayseri. **Boarded the ship in Antalya**. The son of Dr. Ahmet Dogan from the University of Erciyes. Had dual American and Turkish citizenship. According to an article in a radical Turkish newspaper, on the morning before the IDF takeover of the ship he wrote in his diary, "These are the last hours before **I take part in the sweet experience of becoming a shaheed**. Is there anything more beautiful than that? (RADICAL.com.tv website, June 16, 2010). **In addition the Turkish newspaper Zaman (quoted by the Israeli media) wrote that his brother Mustafa said that "...we are not sorry he was killed as a shaheed."**

### 33. Findings and conclusions:

1) **IHH was central to the flotilla**: Of the nine killed, **four were either IHH operatives or volunteers**. Four others were activists in Turkish Islamic parties or organizations **affiliated with IHH**. The last casualty, the young Furkan Dogan, was a rank and file Turkish volunteer who wrote in his diary that he wanted to be a shaheed.

2) **Saadet Partisi (SP) activists were aboard the ship**: At least **two of the casualties belonged to the Saadet Partisi**. Its ideology favors global Muslim



collaboration, war on Zionism and confrontation with the West. In April 2010 the party announced its participation in the flotilla to Gaza in cooperation with IHH and the Free Gaza Movement.

3) **Strong-arm men were among the casualties:** One of those killed was a **former taekwondo champion**, another worked an Istanbul sports association, **a third was an IHH security guard**. One of the Mavi Marmara passengers told his Israeli questioners that **he had seen IHH thugs carrying clubs**. According to evidence from **IDF soldiers**, **there were thugs among the operatives who fought against them**. In our assessment, their presence aboard the Mavi Marmara was part of the IHH's premeditated plan to engage the IDF in a violent confrontation.

4) **Most of those killed** (seven of the nine) **had announced in one way or another that they planned to die as shaheeds and had prepared wills**. Relatives of four of them reported their intentions to die as shaheeds. Two left behind a letter or document before they boarded the ship. **In a video clip recorded before the confrontation on board the Mavi Marmara, one said, "I pray that Allah will grant us a good end as [he grants] to the shaheeds."** According to a report posted on Hamas' main forum, the mother of one of the Turkish participants said that her son parted from her saying that he was going to sacrifice his soul for the sake of Allah (PALDF, Hamas' main forum, May 31, 2010, from the MEMRI website, June 2, 2010).



Interview with the mother of one of the participants, who said that her son reported on a Hamas forum that he had parted from her saying he was going to become a shaheed.

5) **There were no human rights activists among the casualties:** There was a conspicuous absence of human rights activists from both Western countries and the Arab-Muslim world among the casualties. Some of them boarded the ship out of a genuine



desire to bring humanitarian assistance to the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. **They did not join in the organized fighting on the upper deck against the IDF and stayed below decks during it.**

34. **Those conclusions were supported by an examination of the identities of the 53 wounded** (some of whom were badly injured) **whose names appear on the list issued by IHH. Most of them belonged to IHH and Islamic Turkish parties and organizations affiliated with it.** There was only one from the Arab-Muslim world, a man from Indonesia, and no one from the West.

35. **One of the wounded, an IHH operative named Erdinç Tekir, participated in the terrorist attack on the Russian ferry *Avrasya* in 1996.** The objective of the attack was to take hostages to be used as bargaining chips to secure the release of Chechen prisoners held in Russian jails. We do not have information indicating that IHH, as an organization, was involved in the attack, but we do have information indicating that IHH has consistently supported the Chechen separatists' struggle against Russian, and that the group enjoyed the support of Turkish Islamist elements.<sup>15</sup>



Picture of the terrorists who hijacked the ferry (Photo from YouTube). The leader, Mohammed Tokcan, is standing in front of the Turkish flag (See details below). Erdinç Tekir is at the far left.



Erdinç Tekir, IHH operative, who participated in the hijacking the Russian ferry *Avrasya* in 1996 (Photo from the Turkish daily *Hürriyet*, August 20, 2010).

<sup>15</sup> For further information see the August 26, 2010 bulletin, [Erdinç Tekir, IHH operative wounded aboard the Mavi Marmara, participated in the 1996 terrorist attack on the Russian ferry Avrasya to bargain for the release Chechens from Russian prisons. Information indicates a past connection between IHH, and global jihad and Islamist terrorist networks, including Chechen Islamist separatists.](#)

## Volunteers Aboard the Mavi Marmara Who Answered the IHH Call to Join the Flotilla

A call posted on the IHH website in April 2010 calling for flotilla volunteers

In English...



**ROTAMIZ  
FILISTIN YUKUMUZ  
INSANI YARDIM**

**Katılımcılar**

Türk vatandaşları için vize gerekmemektedir. Bununla birlikte, pasaportları ile yolculuk etmeleri gerekmektedir ve pasaport süreleri en az 6 ay süreli olmalıdır.

Katılımcıların yaş sınırı 18 ve 60 yaş olup, özellikle 50 yaş üzeri katılımcılardan gemi ile uzun süre yolculuk yapabileceğine dair bir sağlık raporu talep edilebilecektir.

Her katılımcı uyku tutumu, mevsime göre kıyafet ve daimi kullandığı ilaçlarını yanına almak zorundadır.

Malzemeler Gazze'ye bağışlandıktan sonra aynı gemilerle Türkiye'ye dönüşecektir.

Flotilya kişisel katılım için Kişisel Katılımcı Başvuru Formunun on line doldurulması veya [ihh@ihh.org.tr](mailto:ihh@ihh.org.tr) e-mail adresine gönderilmesi yada 0 212 821 70 51 numaralı faksa ulaştırılması gerekmektedir.

Friday, April 2, 2010

...and in Turkish.



**PALESTINE  
OUR ROUTE  
HUMANITARIAN AID  
OUR LOAD**

**FILISTIN'E YOLAÇIK**

0212 821 70 51  
[www.ihh.org.tr](http://www.ihh.org.tr)

**INSANI YARDIM VAKFI**

A booklet posted on the IHH website explaining how to join. It also states that the voyage will return to Istanbul and that no visa is necessary. The ships will be used, it says, in future aid flotillas to the Gaza Strip bringing, among other things, iron and concrete. The contents and diction of the booklet are aimed at human rights organizations and activists in Turkey and the West and no mention is made of IHH's belligerent Islamist ideology inculcated into the organization's activists and supporters.

36. **Some of the passengers on board the Mavi Marmara** answered the call sent out by IHH and other Turkish Islamic organizations for **volunteers** for a humanitarian mission to bring aid to the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. **They were recruited through the Internet, newspapers and flyers distributed by IHH. Some of them supported IHH's humanitarian activities and had no connection to the hard core of operatives who engaged in the fighting. In the call for volunteers IHH used terminology indicating that the flotilla was a humanitarian project.**

37. **The following are examples of statements given by Turkish volunteers questioned in Israel:**

- 1) **Adil Tuna**, born 1981, mechanical engineer, religious, **joined the flotilla through the IHH website.** Boarded the ship in Antalya. At the time of the IDF takeover of the ship he was praying on one of the lower decks and did not witness the events.
- 2) **Lütfi Gençal**, born 1978, from Istanbul, textile merchant with a private company. Heard about the flotilla to the Gaza Strip and wanted to help. **Contributed to IHH an ultrasound machine which had no current use.**
- 3) **Mehmet Özmeşe**, born 1971 in Istanbul, egg merchant, **volunteer and IHH contributor.** In the past sent as an IHH activist to Africa. In his youth served in the infantry in the Turkish army. **Saw flyers inviting volunteers to join the flotilla and decided to sail, assuming it would be humanitarian mission.** During the fighting was below decks in the company of a 78-year old relative. Did not take part in the violent confrontation.
- 4) **Abdulahakim Shaif Muhammad al-Qutaibi**, Yemeni citizen living in Istanbul for the past ten years. Works for a dried fruit seller. **Requested by IHH to help organize the flotilla.** Lives in a neighborhood where extensive IHH activity takes place. Has friends in IHH but does not participate in its activity.
- 5) **Ridvan Kaya**, born 1964, resident of Istanbul, works in family food business, has a BA in sociology. **Does not belong to IHH. Joined the flotilla for humanitarian and ideological reasons** (a desire to help his Muslim brothers in the Gaza Strip). Before joining **collected products from the family business for IHH** to bring to the Gaza Strip. Was below decks during the fighting.
- 6) **Said Ibicioglu**, born 1978, resident of Istanbul, student majoring in Arabic languages studies at Istanbul University. Volunteered for the flotilla **after seeing the IHH posting on the Internet.** Was below decks during the IDF takeover of the ship.

7) **Adil Yüksel**, born 1978, money changer from Antalya, joined the flotilla after seeing notices in the press and on the Internet. Despite being in debt, brought a contribution of 700 euros for the Palestinians. **Said he saw IHH "thugs" carrying clubs. One of them ordered him and 10-15 other passengers to go to the hall below decks** when the IDF arrived, to avoid harm. **Claimed that he did not employ violence during the IDF takeover and that had he known beforehand what was planned he would not have boarded the ship.**

8) **Vedat Altun**, born 1976, resident of Istanbul, renovator. **Registered for the voyage over the Internet for humanitarian and ideological reasons** (to protest the "siege" of the Gaza Strip). Slept on a lower deck.

## Passengers from Other Islamic Countries

**Indonesia**



### Overview

38. There were 12 Indonesian passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara. The Indonesian delegation was composed of **volunteers and members of pro-Palestinian NGOs** who did not, as far as can be ascertained, belong to political parties or groups with a political orientation.

39. **Five of the volunteers belonged to the Indonesian NGO Medical Emergency Rescue Committee (MER-C).** MER-C has branches throughout the world, and according to its website it provided medical aid to countries in the Middle East, Africa, Kashmir, the Philippines and Thailand. **It has operated in the Gaza Strip at least since Operation Cast Lead** (December 2008-January 2009) **and would seem to be engaged in establishing a hospital in the Gaza Strip.** Five MER-C members arrived in Istanbul on May 20 and boarded the Mavi Marmara in Antalya.

40. The Indonesian delegation included media personnel and representatives from two pro-Palestinian organizations: **The Indonesian Committee for Solidarity of Palestine (KISPA)** and **Sahabat Al Aqsha** ("Al-Aqsa's Best Friends"). On their return to Indonesia, the Mavi Marmara passengers were received by the Indonesian president.



Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono greets KISPA members on their return from the flotilla (thejakartapost.com website).

## Prominent Indonesian activists

41. The MER-C delegation included:

- 1) Moeslim Nur Fitri Taher, born 1976, head of the delegation.



Right: Moeslim Nur Fitri Taher (MER-C website, June 15, 2010)

- 2) Dr. Arief Rachman born 1978, physician, MER-C volunteer.



Left: Dr. Arief Rachman (MER-C website, June 15, 2010)

3) **Abdillah Onim**, born 1979, member of the MER-C team, translator and responsible for logistics, apparently part of the project to establish a hospital in the Gaza Strip.



**Abdillah Onim (MER-C website, June 15, 2010)**

4) **Nur Ikhwan Abadi**, born 1982, engineer, member of the MER-C team.



**Nur Ikhwan Abadi**

#### 42. There were four KISPA activists:

1) **Okvianto Baharudin**, born 1968, KISPA member, wounded during the confrontation on board the Mavi Marmara.

2) **Ferry Nur**, born 1968, KISPA member.



**Ferry Nur (muslimdaily.net website)**

3) **Muhendri Muchtar Kalus**, born 1971, deputy KISPA chairman.



4) **Hardjito Warno**, born 1977, KISPA member.



Hardjito Warno ([www.sijorimandiri.net](http://www.sijorimandiri.net)).

43. The embedded media person was **Muhammad Yassin**, 29, correspondent for **TVOne** in Jakarta. He was wounded during the violent confrontation aboard the Mavi Marmara (An Indonesian woman named Surya Fahrizal was also wounded and did not return to the Indonesia with the other members of the delegation, but was hospitalized in Jordan).<sup>16</sup>



**Muhammad Yassin**

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<sup>16</sup> On the IHH list of the wounded, only the name of Okvianto Baharudin appears, as not seriously wounded. A mistake may have occurred in the IHH list or there may have been slight injuries which were not listed by IHH.

## Malaysia



The Malaysian delegation aboard the Mavi Marmara

### Overview

44. There were **12 pro-Palestinian activists from Malaysia** aboard the Mavi Marmara, whose basic motive, in our assessment, was a genuine desire to bring the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip humanitarian assistance. Nine of them were members of pro-Palestinian NGOs, prominent among which was Haluan. There were two embedded media personnel (a correspondent and a photographer) from the Media Astro Awani network. They all boarded the ship in Antalya. Six other Malaysians boarded the *Rachel Corrie*.

### The Malaysian Organization Haluan



The Haluan logo

45. Haluan is an NGO established in 1988. The name "Haluan" is an acronym for the Malaysian "Coalition of Graduates of Higher Institutions of Malaysia." **The organization has a Palestinian branch** headed by **Noorazman Mohamad Samsuddin**. **Its platform is based on Islamic principles and ideology without geographical boundaries**. Initially its activities were limited to education and charity, but since 2002, with the increase in its membership, it has undertaken community activities to solve social problems. **Its homepage has a link to a site devoted to "Palestine."**



46. In February 2009, after Operation Cast Lead, Haluan sent an aid delegation to the Gaza Strip via Egypt. The Egyptian authorities prevented it from entering the Gaza Strip. However, a Palestinians were permitted to transfer the aid to the Egypt-Gaza Strip border.

47. On May 31, 2010, the organization sent an open letter to the Turkish embassy in Malaysia confirming its participation in the flotilla, expressing full solidarity with its goals, stressing the cooperation between Haluan and IHH and strongly denouncing the Israeli takeover of the Mavi Marmara.



Anti-Semitic cartoon posted on the Haluan website. It was also posted on the FGM website, along with other anti-Semitic cartoons.

## Passenger information

48. The Haluan delegation aboard the Mavi Marmara included:

- 1) **Noorazman Bin Mohd Samsudidin**, born 1966, delegation head, **Haluan member**. Told a local Malaysian newspaper that the IDF takeover was a "harrowing experience," **said that most of the passengers did not expect such a level of force to be used** (The Malaysian Insider website, June 2, 2010).



Noorazman Bin Mohd Samsudidin on a visit to the Gaza Strip ([www.ibunoor.com](http://www.ibunoor.com))

2) **Dr. Mohd Arba al Bin Shawal**, born 1962, Haluan member.



Dr. Mohd Arba al Bin Shawal greeted by his family on his return (nst.com.my website).

3) **Dr. S Muhamad Haleem Bin S Hassan**, born 1963, physician from **Persatuan Perubatan Islam**, the Islamic Medical Organization of Malaysia.



Muhamad Haleem bin Sa'ad Hassan ([www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com), June 19, 2010).



Organization logo

4) **Dr. Selamat Bin Aliman**, born 1956, activist in **Jamaah Islah Malaysia** (JIM), an Islamic organization established in 1990. It is based in the Malaysian capital, Kuala Lumpur, and has 54 regional branches. It also has a women's wing, established 1993. The

organization's motto is "Together with Islam we are building society." Its objectives are reform, renewal and peace.

5) **Jamuliddin Bin Elias**, born 1963, a member of **Yayasan Amal Malaysia**, established in 2001 as a humanitarian assistance organization, it is legally registered in Malaysia. Its objective is to be the best Islamic humanitarian organization for the young generation of Muslims. Part of its website is devoted to the Gaza Strip. **Jamuliddin Bin Elias posted the following on YouTube at a press conference after the flotilla, using radical Islamic terminology** (YouTube.com website):



I am alive because "Allah doesn't want me to be a martyr yet."



"That is important, because Allah will not accept a martyr if he still have [sic] any unsettled debts," because Allah does not accept a shaheed who has not paid his debts.



"According to my friends, they used a spotlight to blind the pilot [of the Israeli helicopter]"

6) **Al Hami Husain Bin Suhaimi**, born 1960, member of what is called a coalition of NGOs. Apparently a reference to the NGO Coalition for an Effective Human Rights Council, which represents human rights NGOs around the world.

7) **Mohd Nizam Bin Mohamad**, born 1968, Mohd Nizam Bin Mohamad, Haluan member.

- 8) **Halim Bin Mohamed Redzuan**, Muslim Care member.
- 9) **Samsulkamal Bin Abdul Latip**, born 1956, embedded Astro Awani Malaysian TV correspondent.
- 10) **Ashwad Bin Ismail**, born 1963, embedded Astro Awani TV photographer.
- 11) **Hasanuddin Mohd Yunus**, born 1960, chairman of **Al-Aqsa Al-Sharif**, a volunteer NGO for promoting support for "Palestine" around the world. It has four declared objectives: disseminating information, humanitarian assistance, financial assistance and cooperation. The organization's leadership is made up of nine men. In March 2010 the organization issued an urgent call for Malaysians to make donations to protect the Islamic holy places from Israeli actions.



The organization's logo

49. One Malaysian passenger began aboard the Challenger 2 and transferred to the Mavi Marmara during the voyage. He was **Mustapa Mansor**, a member of the **Malaysian Islamic Association's** advisory committee.

**Pakistan**



## Overview

50. **There were three Pakistani passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara**, all of whom boarded in Antalya. **Two were embedded media personnel** (a correspondent and a producer) **and the third was the head of an Islamic charitable society**. After the violent confrontation, when contact with the three was lost, the Pakistani interior minister appealed to Interpol and the UN for help in locating them.

## Passenger information

### 51. The passengers were:

1) **Nadeem Ahmed Khan**, born 1967, head of the NGO **Khubaib Foundation**. The foundation describes itself as independent and non-profit with welfare, social and educational goals. It was legally registered in 1999 in Pakistan. Its main clients are orphans, prisoners and widows. Mahir Tayyab, one of its advisors, lives in Britain. The organization has long-standing ties to IHH and is involved in projects such as extending support to earthquake victims in Turkey and Kashmir. IHH delegations visited Pakistan several times as guests of the foundation. With the return of Nadeem Khan to Pakistan, the foundation announced that a land convoy would leave Pakistan for the Gaza Strip after Eid al-Fitr, the holiday which ends the Muslim holy month of Ramadan ([www.khubaib.org](http://www.khubaib.org), June 23, 2010).

2) **Syed Talat Hussain**, born 1966, correspondent, scion of a family of correspondents, married and father of two. **Director of AAJ Television** (a Pakistani news channel which began broadcasting 24/7 in 2005). He is a very popular broadcaster, **with his own program, "Live with Talat."** Also writes for newspapers, including *Time* and *India Today*, and has worked for CNN as a producer.



Syed Talat Hussain ([www.interpol.int](http://www.interpol.int)). Left: The logo of AAJ (Today") TV



Nadim Ahmed Han on board the ship ([www.khubaib.org](http://www.khubaib.org), June 23, 2010).



A large picture of the Mavi Marmara on the Khubaib Foundation's website ([www.khubaib.org](http://www.khubaib.org), June 23, 2010).

3) **Raza Mehood Agha**, born 1980, AAJ Television producer, including of Talat Hussain's shows.



Raza Mehood Agha ([www.interpol.int](http://www.interpol.int))

## The Arab World



### Overview

52. **There were 105 passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara from 11 Arab countries.** The largest delegations were from Algeria (32 passengers) and Jordan (31 passengers). **Many of them were activists in radical Islamist parties. Prominent among them were**

members of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas' parent movement, and fully supporting it. There were also members of parliaments, many celebrities, and media personnel.

## The Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas' parent movement



The insignia of the Muslim Brotherhood, two swords crossed under a Qur'an and between the swords the Arabic for "Make ready," a reference to Verse 60 or Surah 8, An-Anfal, which reads "Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies..."

53. the Muslim Brotherhood, a movement well represented aboard the Mavi Marmara, was established in Egypt by a young teacher named Hassan al-Banna in 1928. He sought an Islamic renaissance at a time when Islam was at a low point following contemporary nationalist movements, the influence of the West on Muslim society in the Middle East in general and Egypt particular, the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the abolition of the Caliphate. Al-Banna regarded Islam as a comprehensive system for all spheres of life: society, economics, law, politics and religious worship. He stressed the "guiding of hearts" [the *da'wah*], that is, a return to religion of the individual Muslim and turning the process into a general phenomenon in society. He stressed the need for raising the younger generation on the ideology of conservative Islam to create the foundation for an Islamic state governed by Islamic religious law [the Shari'a].

54. Al-Banna's objective was the establishment of an Islamic state, and **his aspirations were global**. He said that the objective would be reached in stages. The *Da'wah*: the first stage is the individual's return to fundamentalist Islam, which he would then instill in his family, until the entire Muslim nation had adopted a religious Islamic way of life. The next stage would be involvement in national politics until an Islamic political framework had been established, governed by religious Islamic law, the Shari'a. The third and final stage, **when enough power had been generated, would be the transition to jihad, a holy war against non-Muslims** which would spread Islam throughout the world.



55. Hassan al-Banna was assassinated by the Egyptians in 1949, three weeks after Muhammad Fahmi al-Niqrashi, the Egyptian prime minister, was assassinated by Muslim Brotherhood operatives.

56. Over the years the Muslim Brotherhood split into various factions. One of the most important ideologues of the jihadist faction was **Sayyid Qutb**, who was executed by Egypt in 1966. He preached abandoning society and establishing an alternative Muslim society. He encouraged violent jihad against non-Islamic Muslim governments [i.e., those he felt were not sufficiently orthodox] before waging jihad against the "infidels." **Qutb had a great deal of influence on the later jihadist organizations, among them the ideologues who established Al-Qaeda, including Abdallah Azzam, who was a Muslim Brotherhood member in Jordan and eventually became Osama bin Laden's spiritual mentor.** In Israel, the Muslim Brotherhood is represented by **the northern and southern branches of the Islamic Movement.**

57. Over the years **the Muslim Brotherhood opened branches** in Arab countries, including **Jordan, Syria, Yemen, Saudi Arabia.** Hamas, established toward the end of 1987, is the Muslim Brotherhood's Palestinian offshoot. Today, according to the Muslim Brotherhood's leadership, it has representatives in more than 80 countries around the globe.

58. **The Muslim Brotherhood is currently particularly active in Europe**, especially in spreading Islam [the *da'wah*] and raising funds [for Hamas, among other things]. It began penetrating Europe in the 1950s, following its strenuous suppression by Nasser in Egypt. Many Muslim Brotherhood heads left Egypt for Saudi Arabia, and from there emissaries were sent to Europe, the United States and other locations to promote the movement's vision.

59. **Muslim Brotherhood members were actively involved in founding international organizations for spreading the *da'wah* around the globe, such as the Muslim World League (MWL) and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), both of which are based in Saudi Arabia.** In addition, local organizations influenced by Muslim Brotherhood ideology were established around the world in Europe and the United States by individuals. The Muslim Brotherhood has considerable influence in Britain (See below).

60. One of the senior religious leaders of the movement, **Sheikh Yussuf al-Qardawi, an Egyptian living in Qatar, began systematically spreading the movement's ideology among European Muslims in the late 1980s.** He developed a unique doctrine for the



everyday life of the Muslim minority living in non-Muslim regimes, **which would make it possible for them to act under those regimes until such time as they had enough power of their own to control the regimes themselves.**

61. Al-Qardawi established umbrella organizations for social, political, economic and religious coordination for the organizations around the globe which shared the Muslim Brotherhood's ideology, **among them the Union of Good, which provides Hamas with financial support.** Today he is not officially a Muslim Brotherhood member in Egypt and conducts alternative activities (although in effect his ideology is identical to that of the Muslim Brotherhood and he considers himself as continuing the path of Hassan al-Banna).

62. **The Muslim Brotherhood is an opposition force to the pragmatic Arab regimes in Egypt and Jordan.** It supports Hamas and has often criticized the Arab regimes for their treatment of it. The Egyptian regime in particular is very suspicious of the relations between Hamas in the Gaza Strip and the internal Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood opposition, **regarding the relations as potentially subversive and a danger to Egypt's national security.**

63. **Muslim Brotherhood members around the world exhibit full solidarity with the Palestinians in general and Hamas in particular, raise funds for it and provide propaganda and media support.** Some of them also openly express support for suicide bombing attacks targeting Israeli civilians, especially **Sheikh Qardawi, who is regarded by Hamas as a model figure and senior religious authority.** Many Muslim Brotherhood members support Hamas through political lobbying, organizing anti-Israel demonstrations and concentrating legal efforts to try senior Israeli officials in law courts.

64. While the Muslim Brotherhood does not carry out terrorist attacks against Israel and the West (as opposed to Al-Qaeda and the global jihad), **it potentially poses a real, long-term challenge to the West. It has an extensive, organized, global civilian network** which covers the United States and Europe, particularly Britain. Muslim Brotherhood activists, with their radical Islamic ideology, **provide an organizational foundation for Islamic terrorist new and their operatives.** In recent years there has been an increase in terrorists who hold citizenship in Western countries, who at one time or another were educated in institutions with ideologies affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, or who underwent radical Islamization through the Internet.

## Mavi Marmara passengers from Arab countries<sup>9</sup>

Algeria



### Overview

65. The Algerian delegation was the largest Arab delegation and second in size only to the Turks. **There were 32 Algerian citizens aboard the ship, among them a number of current and former parliament members.** Most of the participants belonged to the **Movement of Society for Peace (MSP), a moderate Islamic party which accepts the regime's dictates.** Other belonged to various Islamic parties such as the **Islamic Renaissance Movement**, a moderate party which rejects violence and calls for dialogue, and the opposition **Reform Party.**

66. There were embedded **correspondents from the leading media**, such as ***Al-Akhbar***, Algeria's most popular paper, and ***Echourouk el-Youmi***, the second most popular. There were also passengers from the Islamic establishment, businessmen and students. All the Algerians boarded the ship in Antalya.



Masthead and logo of the Movement of Society for Peace (<http://fr.hmsalgeria.net>), a moderate Islamic party which works to promote Islamic values in Algerian society. It participates in elections and has representation in the Algerian parliament. It belongs to an association of political parties supporting President Bouteflika and runs a youth movement called Al-Shams.

67. **Saad Abdallah Djaballah** is a prominent opposition leader in Algeria. In 1989 he established the **Islamic Renaissance Party**, left it in 1999 and established the **National Reform Party**, with an ideology similar to the **Muslim Brotherhood's**. In 2009 he left it as well and founded an even more oppositionist party, the legitimate National Reform Party. After the IDF took over the flotilla he published an anti-Semitic article stating that "The Jews have no conscience, and they are described in the book of Allah [i.e., the Qur'an], may his name be

<sup>9</sup> In descending order of delegation size

exalted, as having all the bad qualities: lies, jealousy, treachery, cowardice, aggression which includes killing...and today [Israel] carried out another slaughter in international waters...against civilian human rights activists..." The article also called on the Palestinian Authority to join the jihad and stop negotiating with Israel (www.elislah.net).

## Passenger information

68. The Algerian passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara were the following:

- 1) **Abderrazak Makri**, born 1960, head of the Algerian delegation, **Movement of Society for Peace** activist, physician in the northern Algerian province of M'Sila. Holds a Masters degree in Islamic studies. **Said that [the Algerian passengers might] either sacrifice themselves, or be imprisoned, or break [the "siege"]** (Arab-48.com website, from the MEMRI website).



Abderrazak Makri (<http://fr.hmsalgeria.net>)

- 2) **Ahmed Brahimi**, Algerian delegation coordinator. Said that "Algeria is known for its support of the Palestinian cause, since the days of Salah al-Din al-Ayoubi. **Our ancestors gave their blood and lives to defend Palestine...and we are descendents of those ancestors.**" He said that the delegation's only objective was to reach the Gaza Strip and that Israel could not stop them (anti-war.com website, from the MEMRI website, June 2, 2010). The MSP website **called the Algerian flotilla participants "mujahideen"** (jihad fighters) (hmsalgeria.net website).



The Arabic inscription above reads: "Algerian jihad fighters"

- 3) **Latifi Ahmed Salah**, born 1966, member of Algerian parliament, belongs to MSP.



Latifi Ahmed Salah (<http://fr.hmsalgeria.net>)

- 4) **Salah Djouamaa**, born 1955, member of Algerian parliament.
- 5) **Allali Larbi**, born 1962, member of Algerian parliament, belongs to MSP.
- 6) **Nour Salah**, born 1960, member of Algerian parliament.
- 7) **Gherbi Mahmoud**, born 1953, member of Algerian parliament, belongs to MSP.
- 8) **Benmedakhene Zine Eddine**, born 1968, member of Algerian parliament, belongs to MSP.
- 9) **Duibi Mohamed**, born 1958, former member of Algerian parliament.
- 10) **Hafdallah Ali**, born 1961, member of Algerian parliament.
- 11) **Akkouchi Hamlaoui**, born 1949, former member of Algerian parliament, belongs to Islah party.
- 12) **Aqani Abdulqadir**, born 1947, Islamic preacher in Oran (Algeria's second largest city).
- 13) **Kouadri Habbaz Bouali**, born 1963, president of the Shura Council in the province of Djelfa in northern Algeria. Historian and university teacher.
- 14) **Belfar Salah**, born 1965, businessman.
- 15) **Nouasria Ep Issaad Saliha**, born 1959, belongs to the economic club in the city of Batna in northern Algeria. Runs a publishing house.
- 16) **Soltani Nedjma**, born 1962, married to the MSP president. She said she wanted to reach the Gaza Strip to lift the siege or die as a shaheeda trying (aljerie360.com website, June 5, 2010).
- 17) **Sebti Djamal**, born 1962, religious Islamic preacher.
- 18) **Alkareem Rizqi**, born 1964, businessman from Kabylie.
- 19) **Makri Mustafa**, born 1987, student representative from Algiers.
- 20) **Daheche Aicha**, born 1987, student representative from Algiers.

- 21) **Zehouf Azzedine**, born 1987, member of ONSJ (National Organization for the Safeguarding of Youth)
- 22) **Mezouued Mohamed El Yazid**, born 1964, physician.
- 23) **Gheghissi Sbah**, born 1972, member of the MSP office, engineer and lawyer.



Gheghissi Sbah (<http://fr.hmsalgeria.net>)

- 24) **Rouainia Sabrina**, born 1973, member of the MSP office.
- 25) **Djouamai Ahmed**, born 1983, correspondent for *Al-Bilad*.
- 26) **Bousbia Brahim Azzeddine**, born 1958, businessman, member of the MSP office.
- 27) **Zaatichi Hamdi**, born 1972, businessman and correspondent for *Al-Khabar*.
- 28) **Rabah Mansour**, born 1972, businessman.
- 29) **Bouteldja Yacine**, born 1968, businessman, pro-Palestinian activist.
- 30) **Benmar Kada**, born 1981, correspondent for *Echourouk*.
- 31) **Mammar Abdelhalim**, born 1975.
- 32) **Belkaim Abdelatif**, born 1979, correspondent for *Echourouk*.



Reception held for the delegation on its return to Algeria (<http://fr.hmsalgeria.net>)

## Jordan



### Overview

69. The Jordanian delegation was the second largest delegation from an Arab country aboard the Mavi Marmara, with **31 participants**, and included prominent public figures and members of labor unions.



Jordanian activists at a press conference held after the flotilla (pharmajo.com website)

70. There were two main categories of activists:

1) **Activists with ties to the Muslim Brotherhood, the main opposition factor in Jordan** both in size and degree of public influence (most of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan is comprised of Palestinians but it also has a trans-Jordanian element): **The movement in Jordan is part of the world Muslim Brotherhood movement**, but in Jordan it a legitimate opposition to the regime. **The Muslim Brotherhood has a clearly anti-Israel platform and calls for canceling the Israel-Jordan peace agreement.** The more radical faction seeks **to strengthen ties with Hamas** and supports the use of violence and terrorism against Israel. The movement considers social and economic activity as key to **building political power and extending its influence in the Jordanian street**, and works as a political movement through the **Islamic Action Front (IAF)**, which has limited representation in the Jordanian parliament.

2) **Activists from Jordan's labor unions:** In Jordan membership in labor unions is mandatory and every worker must belong to one. The unions use their organizational bases to promote political ideas and interests, and thus traditionally serve as a tool in the hands of the Jordanian opposition in a way unconnected to their economic-professional

role. The unions **have traditionally led the struggle against Jordan's normalizing relations with Israel**, and operate the **Committee Against Normalization**.

71. Embedded in the delegation were at least two correspondents from *Al-Sabil*, the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood's newspaper. It has often served as a forum for members of Hamas and other terrorist activists.



Jordanian poster aboard the Mavi Marmara  
(Picture seized by IDF soldiers aboard one of the ships).

## Passenger information

72. The prominent Jordanian passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara were the following:

1) **Wa'el Akram Assa'ad al-Saqa**, born 1956, engineer, longtime Muslim Brotherhood member, chairman of the Jordan Lifeline Committee. **Headed the Jordanian delegation**. Head of the board of directors of the International Arab Association to Rebuild Gaza. Chairman of the Jordanian engineers' union. Continues as an activist sending land and sea convoys to the Gaza Strip. He supported the activity of the UN Human Rights Council's fact-finding mission sent to Jordan.



Wa'el al-Saqa at a press conference held after his return to Jordan (bokr1.net website)

2) **Professor Salem Yussuf Muhammad al-Falahat**, born 1954, Muslim Brotherhood activist, belongs to the movement's more moderate faction. Was formerly the general supervisor for the movement in Jordan, that is, head of the local branch. In 1997 was one of those who boycotted the parliamentary elections. Detained by Jordanian general intelligence in 2001 for participating in a demonstration held in Zarqaa in support of the Palestinians (the rally had not received official authorization). **During the demonstration he called for suicide bombing attacks against Israel.** In 2009 he told an interviewer that "We, the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan, regard Palestine as Islamic-Arabic land which cannot be relinquished, rather, defending it is a national and religious duty...We regard the Hamas movement in Palestine as heading the Arab-Muslim liberation project called for by the Muslim Brotherhood...**the Muslim Brotherhood supports Hamas and every Arab resistance movement in the region working toward liberation**" (*Al-Ra'i*, Qatar, September 23, 2009, from the MEMRI website, June 2, 2010).

3) **Dr. Talal Ismail Muhammad Albo**, born 1958, member of the Islamic Movement and the pharmacists' union.



Dr. Talal Albo (center) at a press conference held for Jordanian members of the flotilla (pharmajo.com website).



- 4) **Muhammad Ziyad Mahmoud Abu Ghanim**, born 1964, Muslim Brotherhood member, engineer, one of the heads of the engineers union in Jordan.
- 5) **Bashir Sa'ad al-Din Abd al-Salam al-Zamili**, 57, Muslim Brotherhood and senior Hamas activist in Jordan. Head of the public relations group of the Jordanian Lifeline Committee (which organizes aid convoys to the Gaza Strip).<sup>17</sup> Engineer. His father Sa'ad al-Din, is a senior Hamas activist in Jordan, who originally comes from the Gaza Strip.
- 6) **Alaa Abd al-Jawad Omar Burqan**, born 1975, in charge of public relations for Jordan's unions. Apparently has ties to Islamic networks (was detained by the Jordanian regime for that reason for a number of weeks).
- 7) **Saud Salweem Abu Mahfouz Zarqa** (aka Habib al-Rahman), born 1951, correspondent, former Muslim Brotherhood member of the Jordanian parliament. Member of the Muslim Brotherhood's Islamic Action Front party. Director general of ***Al-Sabil***, the **Muslim Brotherhood's Jordanian newspaper**. His son, who was a correspondent for Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV in Jordan, was detained in Egypt in 2008 (Al-Jazeera TV website, August 12, 2008).



Saud Saleem Abu Mahfouz Zarqa (albosala.com website)

- 8) **Kifah Ismail Hassoun al-Amayreh**, born 1963, engineer, Muslim Brotherhood representative in the engineers' union.
- 9) **Khader Ahmed Ismail al-Mashaih**, born 1972, correspondent, wrote for *Al-Sabil* (at least until 2007). Dealt with the issue of Jordanian prisoners in Israel and through that had connections to the Muslim Brotherhood.

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<sup>17</sup> The Jordanian Lifeline Committee is led by the Muslim Brotherhood.



Khader Ahmed al-Mashaih (Aljazeera.net website)

10) **Fathi Hussein Abd al-Nabi Abu Nassar**, born 1956, lawyer, Jordanian labor union activist, coordinator for the **Jordanian Lifeline Committee**. Said that "members of the flotilla were determined to reach the Gaza Strip and sacrifice their lives" (*Al-Haqiqa al-Douliya*, Jordan, May 27, from the MEMRI website, June 2, 2010).

11) **Muhammad Ziyad Mahmoud Abu Ghanima**, born 1964, writes op-ed pieces for also *Al-Dustour*. Correspondent and commentator, served as head of the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood's information department and as a member of its political department. Often writes in praise of Hamas and in condemnation of the Palestinian Authority. One of his columns viciously attacked Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and called on the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt to overthrow Mubarak's regime, even at the price of thousands of shaheeds (ziad-1937.maktoobblog.com website, from the MEMRI website, June 2, 2006).

12) **Anas Fakhri Muneir Neuruh**, born 1976, professor, member of ECESG, member of the Lifeline Committee's public relations department.

13) **Auoni Bayer Eid al-Suleiman**, born 1964, engineer, member of the donations committee of the International Arab Association to Rebuild Gaza, and of the board of directors of the Al-Kafa'a company of real estate investment.

## Kuwait



## Overview

73. There were 16 activists from Kuwait aboard the Mavi Marmara, a number of whom were Islamists. The delegation held a press conference on its return to Kuwait on June 12, and said it was going to organize a group called "The Kuwait committee to Break

**the Siege on Gaza"** (*Al-Ra'i*, June 13, 2010). The group later initiated broadcasts on a satellite television channel beginning June 22. The broadcasts consist of incitement which includes pictures from the IDF takeover of the Mavi Marmara, songs of praise for the souls of those killed, anti-Israeli video clips and slogans and reports from Turkish activists about their voyage to help the residents of the Gaza Strip/Gazans.

## Passenger information

### 74. Some prominent passengers from Kuwait were the following:

1) **Mubarak al-Mutawa**, born 1954, lawyer, Islamic activist, deputy chairman of a union of Islamic civilian organizations and chairman of an Islamic committee for human rights. The World Islamic Committee was established to help the Palestinians and one of its activities is working for the release of Palestinian prisoners. **The committee also issues reports of the deepening concept of jihad in "Palestine."** It participated in the struggle against banning Muslim women from wearing headscarves in France and for reparations for Palestinian casualties of the intifada. Al-Mutawa's wife said that **when he said goodbye he said "If I die during the voyage do not be sad. I will be in paradise because I will have fought a jihad for the sake of Allah."** He also said that **he wrote a will before he left for the flotilla: "I wrote a will and booked a one-way flight ticket [to Turkey] because there were all sorts of possibilities, and not only I, but the Turks as well [did it] before us"** (*Al-Ra'i*, Kuwait, June 2, from the MEMRI website, June 2, 2010).



Mubarak Mutawa (afaqdubai.com website)

2) **Abd al-Rahman al-Filkawi**, born 1981. His father told the Kuwaiti daily *Al-Watan* that Abd reported that the flotilla participants were ready "to sacrifice

**for the sake of Allah"** (*Al-Watan*, Kuwait, May 31, 2010, from the MEMRI website, June 2, 2010). At a press conference in Kuwait, he said, **"My son, Abd al-Rahman, said to me, 'Ask a reward from Allah in return for the sacrifice [of my soul],' and I did.' He went to his mother and she asked for a reward from Allah in return for his sacrifice. If he dies there [on board the ship] he will have died as a shaheed [as he wished]."** (*Al-Watan*, Kuwait, May 31, 2010).

3) **Walid al-Tabtabaei**, born 1964, Salafist<sup>18</sup> Islamist member of the Kuwait parliament, belongs to the Growth and Reform faction. **Supports "armed resistance" in Iraq and Palestine.** On December 31, 2008, he participated in a Salafist-organized rally for solidarity with the Gaza Strip held in Kuwait, attended by other Islamic movements. **The participants expressed support for Hamas and waved posters with pictures of shaheeds.** In a speech he said that "I raise my *aqal* [thick black cord that keeps the traditional male Arab head covering in place] in honor of the great *mujahed* [jihad fighter] Ismail Haniya...and I raise my shoe [in contempt of] Mahmoud Abbas, this is my shoe for Mahmoud Abbas!" [See picture]. He recently said, "We consider the armed resistance in Iraq to be legitimate. Every resistance to an occupier is legitimate..." (Islamtoday.net website from the MEMRI website, June 2, 2010). The Kuwait daily *Al-Ra'i* wrote that he **"did not hesitate to write a will before he boarded the ship [i.e., the Mavi Marmara] as an act of defiance against the Israeli threats, since the flotilla organizers were in favor of having the participants write their wills, which would serve as a message for the Israeli government."** According to the paper, al-Tabtabaei joined the flotilla at the request of members of the Turkish parliament (MEMRI). He signed the Istanbul declaration (an outcome of a conference held in Istanbul on February 14-15, 2009, after Operation Cast Lead, calling for jihad against Israel and support for Hamas).

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<sup>18</sup> Salafism is an ideological movement which favors a return to the fundamentalist Islam of Muhammad and his followers. It rejects innovations and new interpretations of the Qur'an. Many of its factions are affiliated with the global jihad as well as Wahhabism (the dominant form of Islam in Saudi Arabia and the royal family).



Walid al-Tabtabaei waves his shoe in contempt of Mahmoud Abbas. On the wall and to the left is a picture of Ahmed Yassin, Hamas founder; behind him is the insignia of the Salafist movement in Kuwait, which organized the event.



Kuwaiti parliament member Walid al-Tabtabaei. He wrote his will before he sailed.

## Morocco



### Overview

75. There were **five passengers from Morocco** aboard the Mavi Marmara, three of them members of the **Islamist Justice and Charity movement**. It is a semi-legal Islamist social movement operating in Morocco. Its members do not recognize the political and religious authority of the king. It is allowed to operate despite the fact that it opposes the regime and does not participate in elections. It is very active in social causes. The movement is headed by the charismatic **Sheikh Abd al-Salam Yasin**, and is popular on campuses.

76. The fourth representative from Morocco listed below was formerly a member of the **Justice and Development party**, the largest Islamic opposition party in Morocco. It obeys the rules set down by the Moroccan government and is represented in parliament (with 14% of the seats). These two movements oppose Morocco's informal relations with Israel.

77. The fifth member of the delegation was an embedded correspondent. All five boarded the ship in Antalya.

### Passenger information

78. The five passengers from Morocco were:

- 1) **Lutfi Hassani**, born 1966, engineer, **member of Justice and Charity movement**.



Lutfi Hassani on his return to Morocco (YouTube, June 9, 2010).

- 2) **Hassan El Cabiri**, born 1964, **member of Justice and Charity movement**.
- 3) **Fathi Abdussamad**, born 1964, **member of Justice and Charity movement**, president of the Moroccan society to support the nation.
- 4) **Abdulqader Emarah**, born 1964, **Justice and Development party member of parliament**.
- 5) **Wassima Ibn Salah**, born 1981, **correspondent for the Moroccan daily Al-Masae**. Lives in Turkey.

## Bahrain



79. There were four activists aboard the Mavi Marmara with Bahraini citizenship.

80. Among them were **Sheikh Jalal al-Sharqi**, a Bahraini preacher and Cadi, and head of the council of Shari'a scholars of the Gulf States. He signed **the petition of theologians calling for recognition of Hamas' legitimacy** necessitated by Shari'a, and not to prevent it from acquiring weapons. **The petition justified the position of the "mujahideen [jihad fighters] in Gaza" who adhered to jihad "against the Jews" and sought death as martyrs for the sake of Allah.** In 2008 he participated in an aid delegation to the Gaza Strip (alfalahpal.com and alquds.com websites).



Sheikh Jalal al-Sharqi returns from the flotilla to Bahrain (*Al-Quds*, June 3, 2010).

## Yemen



### Overview

81. There were **four passengers from Yemen** aboard the Mavi Marmara, all of whom boarded in Antalya. **Three of them were parliament members, representatives of the Al-Islah party** (the Yemeni reform block), **affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood**. Since 1997 Al-Islah has been the main opposition party in the Yemeni parliament.

82. **Al-Islah is a conservative Sunni Muslim party** established in 1990 following the unification of north and south Yemen. It was founded by Sheikh Abdallah al-Ahmar, who was head of the Hashad tribe and one of the most prominent tribal heads in the country. The party seeks the Islamization of Yemen in all spheres of life through gradual reform, carried out in accordance with Shari'a (Islamic religious law). **The party has three factions**: one which supports the Muslim Brotherhood, led by Muhammad Qahtan; the tribal block, headed by Sadaq al-Ahmar, son the party's founder; and **the Salafist block, headed by Sheikh Abd al-Majid al-Zandani, affiliated with Al-Qaeda and on the board of trustees of the Union of Good** (the Islamic umbrella organization of "charitable societies" which support Hamas).

83. **On their return from the flotilla, the delegation received a hero's welcome from Yemeni President Salah**. In addition, the party organized a reception for them attended by **al-Zandani**. **Sadaq al-Ahmar gave parliament member Muhammad al-Hazmi, whose picture holding a dagger aboard the Mavi Marmara appeared in the media, a new dagger to replace the one taken from him by IDF soldiers**. Al-Hazmi said that "while we did not reach Gaza, we brought Gaza to [the awareness of] the world.

## Passenger information

84. The four passengers from Yemen were the following:

1) **Sheikh Muhammad Nassar al-Hazmi al-Idrisi**, born 1965, a member of the Yemeni parliament representing the **Al-Islah party**. Photographed aboard the Mavi Marmara waving a dagger. Signed the Istanbul declaration.



Sheikh al-Idrisi photographed aboard the Mavi Marmara

2) **Hazaa Sa'ad Mukhtar al-Maswari**, born 1973, a member of the Yemeni parliament representing the **Al-Islah party**. He holds strong anti-American positions. In 2004 rejected holding dialogues with Al-Qaeda prisoners to convince them moderate their positions. He said, "We cannot tell militants not to employ terrorism against Americans or not to harm American interests. Whoever sows hatred [i.e., the Americans] will reap hatred" (antiwar.com website, from the MEMRI website, June 2, 2010). He attended a conference held on July 22, 2010, where contributions were collected for a new flotilla organizing in Yemen, and donated 500,000 Yemini rials (about \$2,300).



Hazaa Sa'ad Mukhtar al-Maswari

3) **Abd al-Khalaq Abdallah Benshihoon**, a member of the Yemeni parliament representing the **Al-Islah party**. Member of the parliament's trade committee.





Abd al-Khalaq Abdallah Benshihoon

#### 4) Abd al-Hakim Sharif al-Qutaibi

Syria



#### Overview



Members of the Syrian delegation on the Mavi Marmara met with Syrian President Bashar al-Assad after their return to Syria ([www.sana.sy](http://www.sana.sy), June 3, 2010).

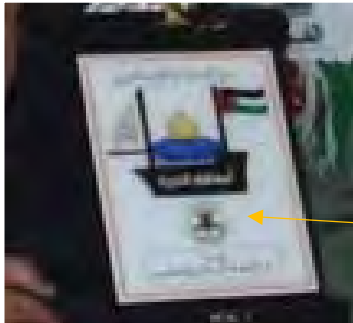
85. There were **four Syrian passengers** aboard the Mavi Marmara, each with a different background. The delegation left for the flotilla with the blessings of the regime. On their return they were received at a mass rally and **met with Syrian President Bashar Assa'ad**.

## The Civilian Association for the Struggle against Zionism and Support for Palestine

86. The most prominent member of the Syrian delegation was Shaza Barakat, who represented the **Civilian Association for the Struggle against Zionism and Support for Palestine**. The association works "**to spread the culture of resistance** [i.e., terrorism and violence] **in every form to struggle against Zionism.**" It defines itself as a civilian NGO for helping Palestinians and fighting Zionism. It incites terrorism and disseminates hate literature against Israel, the Jews and the United States.



The homepage of <http://www.mounahada.org>. The association's logo is a fist smashing a Star of David and the inscription "Resist, do not negotiate."



The picture held by Barakat. A boat flying the Palestinian flag and bearing the Dome of the Rock can be seen. Beneath the boat is the insignia of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.



A picture of Barakat on the associations' website after she returned to Syria.



A page from the association's website with a link to downloading *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*



Cover of a booklet downloadable from the association's website dealing with seven year of the "heroic Iraqi resistance" against the United States and its allies. It is called "Yes, the resistance [i.e., violence and terrorism] will continue." From the site's Books and Papers page a book called *The Iraqi National Resistance and the End of the American Empire* can be downloaded.

## Passenger information

87. The four Syrian passengers were the following:

- 1) **Shaza Barakat**, born 1965, married and mother of three. Author. Represented **The Civilian Association for the Struggle against Zionism and Support for Palestine** on board the ship. Said that she had written a play about Sheikh Yassin (founder of Hamas) and planned to visit his house in Gaza. On her return to Syria said that next time she wanted to "slap an Israeli soldier." Said "I will return and attack, and if Allah wills it we will be free" ([www.alwatanonline.com](http://www.alwatanonline.com), June 2, 2010). Ayman, her husband, expected his wife might be harmed during the flotilla because "she will not consider a cease-fire with

Zionism," and that "since she was a child it has been her dream to attack an Israeli" (*Al-Watan*, Syria, June 1, 2010, from the MEMRI website, June 2, 2010).



A poster from the website of the Civilian Association for the Struggle against Zionism and for Aid to Palestine in honor of Shaza Barakat. The inscription reads "Blessings on the Civilian Association's ambassador to the freedom flotilla"

([www.mounahada.org](http://www.mounahada.org)).

2) **Muhammad Satla**, born 1963, said on his return to Syria that "not only will we return and attack, but we will provoke [Israel] and if Allah so wills it we will attack again and again, ten times, until the Zionist entity as been disgraced" ([www.alwatanonline.com](http://www.alwatanonline.com), June 2, 2010).

3) **The Archbishop Hilarion Capucci**, born 1922 in Syria, senior Greek Orthodox priest. Between 1965 and 1974 was Archbishop of "Caesarea and the land of Israel." Was later appointed archbishop of the "land of Israel" and settled in Jerusalem. Strong opponent of the State of Israel. Exploited his diplomatic passport to visit Lebanon frequently where he met with Abu Jihad (Khalil al-Wazir), head of Fatah's military-terrorist wing. **Used his car to smuggle weapons from Lebanon to Fatah operatives in Israel.** In August 1974 Capucci was arrested, tried and sentenced to 12 years in prison but was released after three years following a request from the Vatican, and was deported. It was the second time he participated in a flotilla to the Gaza Strip. In February 2009 he sailed aboard a Lebanese ship which attempted to reach Gaza but which was halted and sent back to Lebanon.



Archbishop Hilarion Capucci (left) and the head of the Algerian delegation, Dr. Abderrazek Makri



Archbishop Hilarion Capucci returns to Syria and is received by the president ([www.sana.sy](http://www.sana.sy), June 3, 2010).

4) **Hassan al-Refaei**, Damascus correspondent for Hamas' Al-Quds TV satellite channel.

## Egypt



### Overview

88. There were three Egyptian activists aboard the Mavi Marmara, two of whom were prominent Muslim Brotherhood representatives in the Egyptian parliament. The third was an Islamist of Egyptian descent who lives in Qatar and is considered a close confidant of Sheikh Yussuf Qardawi.

### Passenger information

89. **Dr. Muhammad al-Baltagi**, born 1963, head of the Egyptian delegation. Physician, secretary general of the Muslim Brotherhood faction in the Egyptian parliament. Was active in the Muslim Brotherhood student organization. Very involved in the movement's *da'wah* network. Was one of a group of more than 150 activists who on January 4, 2010, lodged a suit against the Egyptian president, prime minister, foreign minister and defense minister to stop the construction of the barrier between Egypt and the Gaza Strip. He was invited to the wedding of Khaled Mashaal's daughter as the representative of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Criticized President Obama's speech in Cairo. In March 2009 participated in a delegation sent by the Popular Campaign to Break the Siege on Gaza which left Alexandria for the Egypt-Libya border to receive the British Lifeline convoy. **Gave one of the speeches to IHH operatives aboard the Mavi Marmara**, one of the many given to encourage them for the expected confrontation

with IDF soldiers.<sup>19</sup> Told the media that "the flotilla participants had two objectives: to reach the Gaza Strip and break the siege [or] to disgrace Israel if it prevented the flotilla from reaching Gaza, **even at the cost of self sacrifice or detention**" (ikhwanonline.com website, from the MEMRI website, June 2, 2010).



Muhammad al-Baltagi speaking in the Egyptian parliament  
(Muslim Brotherhood website, June 5, 2010).



Muhammad al-Baltagi speaking on board the ship with Bülent Yildirim to his left  
(Picture seized by IDF soldiers aboard one of the ships).

90. **Hazzem Farouq Abd al-Halq**, born 1965, **Muslim Brotherhood representative in the Egyptian parliament** and one of the faction's more active members, along with Muhammad al-Baltagi lodged the suit against Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and other Egyptian regime personnel in a demand to destroy the barrier built by Egypt along its border with the Gaza Strip in January 2010. Participated in the delegation which received the British Lifeline convoy in March 2009, and in a parliamentary delegation which visited the Gaza Strip in January 2009. Described

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<sup>19</sup> For the speech given by Dr. al-Baltagi see the June 18, 2010 bulletin [IHH Leader and Other Islamist Activists Incite Passengers to Violence Aboard the Mavi Marmara](#) (Video file 4).

the flotilla as "a heroic war whose results will bring good news in the coming days" (Ikhwanonline.com website).



Hazzem Farouq (Muslim Brotherhood website, June 1, 2010).

91. **Dr. Akram Kassab**, born 1970, Islamic preacher, born in Egypt but residing in Qatar. **Considered one of the people closest to Sheikh Yussuf Qardawi.** Member of the World Association of Muslim Theologians and secretary general of the Union of Qardawi Students. Researches Muslim law, writes for Qardawi's Islamonline website. **Extremely hostile to Israel and gives fiery speeches. One of his books is *Zionism and Its Danger to Humanity*.** Asked by an interviewer after the flotilla what made him join it, he said that "my belief in the problem of my brothers in Gaza, for we are united by our religion, [Arab] nationality and the fact that we are neighbors...**In my opinion, the role of theologians is not to limit themselves to studies and education and *fatwas*, and their field of action is not limited to the mosques and study groups, and their weapons are not limited to pens and sheets of paper. What must be emphasized is their role in everything linked to jihad, and they have to leave their mosque pulpits and mihrabs (depressions in mosques pointing to Mecca) for the battle zones and leave their pens and papers for shells and gunpowder."**





Akram Kassab; the banner on the ship reads *Qadimun*, "We are coming" (a slogan used in reference to Jerusalem or "Palestine" as part of the "right of return" (qawim.net website).

## "Palestine" (The Gaza Strip)



92. **There was a poor showing of Palestinians aboard the Mavi Marmara**, with only two chance representatives from the Gaza Strip: **Ahmed al-Dahshan** and his wife **Wafaa'**. They live in the Zeitoun section of Gaza City and used the ship to return home after Wafaa' received medical treatment.

93. Ahmed al-Dahshan was **a Hamas operative, part of a group expelled by Israel to Marj al-Zahour in east Lebanon in 1991**. Was detained four times by Israel. Accompanied his wife, who left the Gaza Strip **to receive cancer treatment**. They left for Saudi Arabia, where Wafaa' received treatment, via Turkey. When they heard the flotilla was being organized, they asked IHH to join in order to return to the Gaza Strip. After the flotilla incident, Ahmad al-Dahshan was sent to the Gaza Strip through the Erez crossing. Wafaa' al-Dahshan was transferred to a group of passengers sent to Ankara and from there returned to the Gaza Strip via Egypt and the Rafah crossing.

## Mauritania



### Overview

94. There were **two representatives from Mauritania** aboard the ship, one a member of parliament from the Islamist Continuation (Al-Tawasul) party and the other a correspondent.



## Passenger information

95. The two passengers were the following:

1) **Mohamed Goulam**, born 1968, member of parliament representing the Tawassul party. Serves as the party's vice president and chairs the **Mauritanian Association for Victory in Palestine**. The association orchestrates many anti-Israel demonstrations and rallies and exerts pressure on the Mauritanian regime, along with other opposition forces, to terminate diplomatic relations with Israel.



Mohamed Goulam ([www.foexgood.com](http://www.foexgood.com))

2) **Mohamed Vall Ahmed Salam**, born 1967, Al-Jazeera network correspondent.

**Oman**



96. There was one representative from Oman, **Abbas Mustafa Al Lawti**, 27.

## Western Countries Overview

97. Aboard the Mavi Marmara there were **74 passengers from 19 Western countries**. The **largest delegation was from Britain**, with 28 passengers. There were eight passengers from **Germany**, five from **Israel**, and between one and three from **16 other countries**. **Among the Western passengers, an important role was played by those of Muslim origin**, identified with the Palestinian cause, and **some were Hamas supporters** (as were many other Western activists who sailed aboard the other ships).

98. There were **three distinct groups of Western activist: those belonging to humanitarian assistance organizations**, some of them from the extreme left; **those**

**identifying with the radical Islamist ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood;** and non-affiliated or non-aligned civilians, some of whom at least were motivated by the desire to help the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. **What united the heterogeneous group was their hostility toward Israel, their support for the Palestinian cause** (especially for Hamas), and in many instances, their **hostility for the West and its values.**

99. Organizationally, the dominant IHH was joined by four pro-Hamas Western and international organizations. IHH sent three ships (the Mavi Marmara and two cargo ships) while the other organizations dispatched three additional vessels (two by Free Gaza and one by a Greek organization). Another Free Gaza vessel, the *Rachel Corrie*, was part of the flotilla but reached the area only later.

100. **The five "coalition" organizations were:**

- 1) Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH).
- 2) The FGM through which the ISM operates.
- 3) The European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG).
- 4) The Greek Ship to Gaza Campaign.
- 5) The Swedish Ship to Gaza.

101. Of the above organizations, the most important are IHH, **FGM** (and the **ISM**), and the **ECESG**. Information about the FGM, the ISM and the ECESG follows:

## Free Gaza Movement (FGM)



FGM masthead

102. The FGM played an important role in organizing the flotilla. It donated the yachts Challenger 1 and Challenger 2 (which apparently had technical problems) and the MV *Rachel Corrie*, which arrived late. Since the last flotilla the FGM has been active in promoting a new, larger flotilla, as well as other anti-Israel projects.

103. FGM is a pro-Palestinian, pro-Hamas umbrella organization whose stated objective is to "break the siege" Israel imposed on the Gaza Strip since Hamas took it over. **FGM is registered**

**in Cyprus as a human rights initiative**, and its headquarters are in Nicosia. According to its website it has branches in 28 countries worldwide, including 11 in European countries, four in the United States, one in Canada and one in Israel (referred to by the site as "the 1948 territory of Palestine," indicating the FGM's non-recognition of the State of Israel). **Organizationally, the FGM includes the International Solidarity Movement (ISM)**, which also participated in organizing the last flotilla (See below).

104. According to the FGM website, it has four branches in the United States: in the East, the Midwest, northern California and southern California. The activists there are:

- 1) In the **East**, two women are mentioned, **Dina Kennedy**, a member of a Palestinian women's organization in the United States, and **Susan Kerin**, both listed as "volunteer organizers."
- 2) In the **Midwest**, **Kevin Clark** is the contact person.
- 3) In **northern California**, **Donna** or **Darlene Wallach**, born 1955, is listed. She is Jewish, an anti-Zionist activist and participated in a flotilla in the past. She has also visited the Gaza Strip and Ramallah.

105. An internal FGM document seized during the last flotilla listed the organization's contact people around the world. One of them was **Ramzi Kysia**, whose job description was "Washington contact." **His name does not appear on the organization's website. Kysia is an American writer of Lebanese descent and one of the founders of the FGM.** He was active in the Middle East for four years, including a year on Iraq and one in Lebanon (2006, during the Second Lebanon War). He also spent several months in Jordan, Syria, Yemen and the Palestinian Authority.



**Ramzi Kysia**

106. Internal FGM documents seized **deal with strategy and organization**, as well as with briefings he gave the activists before the voyage. Analyzing the documents and comparing their

content and the FGM's public statements **exposes a significant gap between the two, and sometimes contradictions.**<sup>20</sup> For example:

1) **Legal aspect: A legal briefing ("legal information") given by Free Gaza to its activists shows that the movement is well aware of the legal problem of delivering assistance to the Hamas de-facto administration in the Gaza Strip, particularly considering that the US designated Hamas as a terrorist organization.** Reading between the lines also shows that while the FGM publicly states that the aid is for the Palestinian population in the Gaza Strip, **the FGM is aware that, in fact, it assists the Hamas de-facto administration.** Therefore, at a legal briefing for activists who took part in the flotilla, **they were warned against making any statement or taking any action that could be construed as providing material assistance to Hamas** to avoid being incriminated in the US and in other countries (the movement has activists in the US whose participation in the flotilla seems to contradict American law; also, the FGM raises funds in the US, where it has a contact man for allegedly humanitarian purposes, yet those purposes are in fact clearly political).

2) **Political aspect:** during the legal briefing, as a way of solving the problem of Hamas' designation as a terrorist organization, the activists were told that **the FGM had publicly announced that it had no political agenda**, and that it was committed to "non-violent humanitarian assistance" to the Palestinian people (the FGM is registered as a **Human Rights Project**, a definition which appears on its website). However, according to an **inside document** found on the Mavi Marmara, the goals of the flotilla were **clearly political** rather than humanitarian (the minimum goals defined in the document are **generating media [impact] about the blockade on the Gaza Strip and pushing foreign governments to take punitive action against Israel; delivering humanitarian aid to the Gaza Strip was not listed as a goal**).

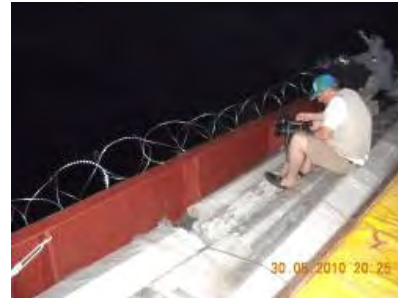
3) **Response to possible scenarios during the voyage:** The FGM drew up "defensive" scenarios for the flotilla **based on the premise that the IDF would be unable to stop the boats without using force.** Several tactics are listed to prevent the IDF from taking over the boat. One of the things mentioned is **putting obstructions with sharp points on the deck and barricading in the wheelhouse and the engine room.**

4) Although those tactics pale in comparison to the organized violence used by IHH, they are still incompatible with instructions given by the FGM to its activists, which categorically

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<sup>20</sup> For further information see the June 27 bulletin, [Inside documents of the Free Gaza movement seized in the recent flotilla expose considerable discrepancies between its strategy and tactics and its public stance.](#)

prohibited the use of verbal or physical violence. It therefore appears that the term “non-violent resistance”, which appears in the instructions of human rights organizations which took part in the flotilla, **was open to broad interpretation by the various organizations and the various activists, who were eager to confront the IDF soldiers** (as demonstrated by the preparations made by IHH, which also defines itself as a humanitarian organization, for a violent confrontation with the IDF).



Protecting one of the ships (not the Mavi Marmara) with barbed wire (Pictures seized by IDF soldiers aboard one of the ships).



Briefing of FGM activists (Picture seized by IDF soldiers aboard one of the ships).

## "Human rights" and incitement: Demonization and hatred of Israel in FGM website cartoons<sup>21</sup>



<sup>21</sup> www.flickr.com

The Jew as the Angel of Death; the ship is the Mavi Marmara



Israeli soldiers running away from Turkish Muslim

107. Note: Other anti-Semitic cartoons appear on the organization's website. See Section 41 on the Malaysian Haluan.

## International Solidarity Movement (ISM)



ISM logo

108. The International Solidarity Movement, one of the organizations participating in organizing the flotilla, is an anti-Israel, pro-Palestinian organization which has operated since 2001 as **part of the FGM**. Its stated objective is to oppose what it called "the Israeli apartheid in Palestine" using direct, non-violent action.<sup>22</sup> Another stated objective of the organization is to support "a popular Palestinian resistance" through international solidarity and "the international voice."

109. There are internal contradictions and obfuscations regarding the organization's position on terrorism. The FAQ page on the organization's website claims that the ISM does not support an armed struggle against the so-called "occupation." On the other hand, according to its mission statement, (which does not appear in full), **it recognizes the right of the Palestinians to oppose Israel violence and the occupation through a legitimate armed struggle. However, the ISM claims to be committed to the principles of non-violent resistance** (ISM website).

1110. **ISM activists participate in protests in Bila'in, Ni'lin and other friction points in Judea and Samaria.** In those locations there are protests of Palestinian and foreign pro-Palestinian activists encouraged by the Palestinian Authority. **Such protests are regularly accompanied by violence**, including slingshots used to hurl stones and metal balls, Molotov cocktails and physical violence directed against IDF soldiers, **all touted as "non-violent popular resistance."**

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<sup>22</sup> The ISM and similar organizations publicly represent their actions as non-violent and part of "popular resistance." However, in many events in Bila'in and Ni'lin and other locations in Judea and Samaria, in which the ISM participated alongside Palestinians and pro-Palestinian foreign activists from other organizations, violence was employed, such as Molotov cocktails and physical confrontations with IDF soldiers.



## The European Committee to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG)



ECESG masthead

111. ECESG is a **pro-Palestinian umbrella organization comprised of more than 30 NGOs**, whose stated purpose is to end the Israeli "siege" on Gaza. According to its website, the organization claims that its values are derived from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It cooperates with politicians, members of the academia and human rights organizations across Europe. In the second half of January 2010 it organized a 50-man delegation which included politicians and former ministers which visited the Gaza Strip to collect documents and information and to return to their countries and parliaments to promote activity to end the so-called Israeli "siege." **The organization is currently working to organize another flotilla and has an appeal for volunteers on its website.**



The ship *Sfendoni 8000* (for the 8000 Palestinian terrorists imprisoned in Israel), a ECESG ship which participated in the flotilla (Pictures seized by IDF soldiers aboard one of the ships).

112. In practice, however, behind its humanitarian cover, it is fiercely hostile to Israel and supports **political and propaganda activities whose aim is to provide political, propaganda and material assistance to Hamas**. One of the people in charge of those activities is **Amin Abu Rashed (aka Amin Abu Ibrahim)**, a **co-founder of ECESG** and one of the organizers and participants of the last flotilla (during which he was on board the *Sfendoni 8000*).

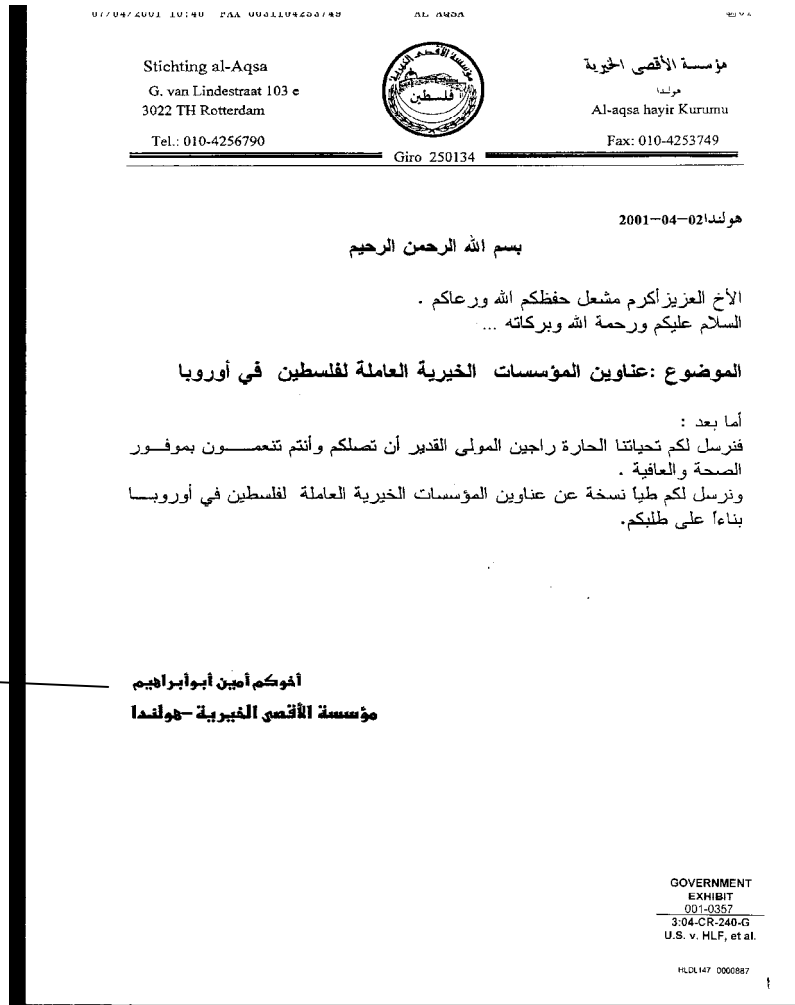


Amin Abu Rashed (Al-Jazeera TV, April 24, 2010).

113. **Amin Abu Rashed** (or Amin Abu Ibrahim), 43, is a Palestinian from Lebanon **who holds a Dutch passport**. His views are similar to those held by the **Muslim Brotherhood and related organizations** in Europe in general and in the Netherlands in particular. He was formerly a member of the **Dutch branch of the Al-Aqsa Foundation**, part of a network of charitable societies belonging to the **Union of Good** and involved in **providing financial aid to Hamas**. It was outlawed by Israel in 1997 and classified as a terrorist organization in 1998. The foundation was outlawed in the US in May 2003 by American Executive Order 13224 (UStreas.gov website). The Dutch branch of the Al-Aqsa Foundation was included in the European Union's list of terrorist organizations in June 2003.

114. **During the trial of the Holy Land Foundation, a Hamas fund in the United States, exhibited a document signed by Amin Abu Ibrahim containing addresses of "charitable societies" in Europe working "for Palestine" (i.e., for Hamas)** (nefafoundation.org website). The document was a court exhibit in America's successful legal proceedings against the Holy Land foundation.





First page of a document signed by Amin Abu Ibrahim, given in evidence at a trial of Hamas' Holy Land Foundation in the United States (nefaoundation.org website).

115. After the termination of Al-Aqsa Foundation's activities in the Netherlands, **Amin Abu Rashed** changed his modus operandi and became the leader of a local organization called **PPMS** (Palestinian Platform for Human Rights and Solidarity) operating in the Netherlands. It is a **pro-Hamas organization affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood**, established in late 2005 and considered the most vociferous organization of its kind in the Netherlands (ibloga.blogspot.com, nisnews.nl).



PPMS demonstrator holding a banner proclaiming the "right" of the Palestinian refugees to return to Israel (ppms.nl website).



Pro-Hamas pro-Gaza demonstration accuses Israel of genocide (ppms.nl website).



## Overview

116. The British delegation was the largest among the Western countries. **There were 28 British subjects aboard the Mavi Marmara, half of them Muslim.** Most of them were not affiliated with any organization. Some of them were pro-Palestinian activists in organizations which send convoys and flotillas to support the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip. Some of the Muslim activists belonged to the **Muslim Brotherhood** (although they were careful not to identify themselves as such and instead appeared as belonging to convoys of the front organizations). **Ideologically, there were radical Islamists in the British delegation, as well as those who belonged to the extreme left, a coalition of contradictions united in their support for Hamas, hostility toward Israel and the contemporary capitalistic West.**

117. The organizations represented by the British activists included:

- 1) **FGM**, part of the coalition which organized the flotilla (See above, Section 96 ff.)

2) **Viva Palestina**, the organization of pro-Hamas former British MP George Galloway (who organized an aid convoy in the past but was not a member of the coalition organizing the flotilla).

3) **The Palestinian Solidarity Campaign**, a pro-Palestinian British organization which fights for "**the Palestinians' right to self determination**," "the Palestinians' right of return," and against the Zionist nature of the State of Israel.

4) **Friends of Al-Aqsa**, a pro-Palestinian British organization **based in Leicester**, about 100 km (60 miles) north of London and home to a large Muslim community. The organization is **headed by Ismail Adham Patel**, who participated in the Mavi Marmara flotilla and who also has a senior administrative position in the **British Muslim Initiative**, headed by Muhammad Sawalha (a Hamas activist and Muslim Brotherhood activist who found asylum in Britain). Both organizations are affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood and support Hamas.

118. From the social, personal perspective, it would seem that **about half of the British passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara were Muslim**. Most of them were either immigrants or descendents of immigrants from the Arab-Muslim world (there were Palestinians, a Lebanese, a Pakistani and an Iranian woman). **Most of them belonged to the middle class. Five worked in the fields of food sales and services. Seven were residents of Greater London**, three were from the north of England, one from the center, four from the south and two from Scotland. The residences of the others were not revealed. There were **two embedded media personnel**.

## **The Muslim Brotherhood in Britain**

119. **Britain is the Muslim Brotherhood's political, media and financial center in Europe**. Its activities apparently started there in the 1950s. **Over the years exile Middle East Muslim Brotherhood leaders gravitated there** (especially from Egypt, Syria, Libya, Tunis, Algeria and Iraq). The next generation, the leaders' sons and daughters, then filled roles in the movement, enjoying their broad involvement in British society and having full command of the English language and knowledge of British culture.

120. **During the 1990s senior Hamas activists from the Gaza Strip and Judea and Samaria joined the Muslim Brotherhood in Britain**, the most prominent of whom was **Muhammad Sawalha**. Over the years Muslim Brotherhood activists collaborated with Islamic

activists of Pakistani descent, especially those following the ideology of Pakistani **Abu al-Aala al-Maududi**.

121. **The Muslim Brotherhood is intensely active in Britain today** in support of Hamas, its Palestinian offshoot. Hamas enjoys British Muslim Brotherhood support for its political, financial and media activities. **Politically, Hamas receives support from the Muslim Brotherhood which cooperates with radical British left organizations. Financially, Hamas enjoys the support of al-Qardawi's Union of Good and pro-Hamas organizations such as Interpal.**

122. **In the media, Hamas' main support comes from the satellite TV channel Al-Hiwar.** It is an Arabic-language channel **broadcasting from London and affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood.** It appeals to Muslims worldwide, **especially in Europe**, and broadcasts Islamist and anti-Israel propaganda. **Muhammad Kazem Sawalha, a Hamas activist who found asylum in Britain, is a permanent guest on Al-Hiwar programs.** Two of the senior employees who broadcast Hamas propaganda are **Zaher Birawi**, a Hamas activist living in Britain, who is program director and the channel's most important presenter, and **Dr. Azzam al-Tamimi**, a Muslim Brotherhood activist in Jordan, affiliated with Hamas, who founded the channel and has headed it since 2006.<sup>23</sup>

123. **Muslim Brotherhood activists in Britain, particularly Muhammad Sawalha, participated in organizing land and sea aid convoys to the Gaza Strip**, including the Mavi Marmara flotilla and new initiatives which began organizing after it. **Muhammad Sawalha**, who was involved in the previous, Viva Palestina convoy, **participated in planning the flotilla organized by IHH from its inception.** Visiting Istanbul in January 2010, he stated that the next aid convoy would not entered into an "undesirable" confrontation with the Egyptian authorities, as occurred during the first convoy, but that the next time, **"the confrontation would be with the Zionist enemy on the open seas"** (Al-Intiqad, Hezbollah's website, January 17, 2010). Muhammad Sawalha participated in the launching ceremony of the Mavi Marmara, but did not board the ship as a passenger (in all probability fearing he would be detained by Israel).<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> For further information see the February 21, 2010 bulletin, [Britain as a Focus for Hamas' Political, Propaganda and Legal Activities in Europe](#)

<sup>24</sup> For a profile of Muhammad Sawalha, see the January 29, 2010 bulletin, "Hamas continues initiating anti-Israeli activities in Europe: Muhammad Kazem Sawalha is a Hamas activist living in Britain who in the past was involved in operational activities in Judea and Samaria. He is personally involved in preparations to dispatch another aid convoy to the Gaza Strip by sea to confront Israel" at [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/hamas\\_e095.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/hamas_e095.pdf).



The ceremony in Istanbul before the launching of the Mavi Marmara) Fourth from left Muhammad Sawalha (light grey suit), who did not sail with the ship. To his left, Zaher Birawi, who did not sail. Second from the right is Sheikh Ra'ed Salah, who did sail (IHH website, May 23, 2010).

124. **Zaher Khaled Hassan Birawi**, a Hamas activist in Britain, spokesman of the Viva Palestina convoy which left London for the Gaza Strip via Europe on September 18, 2010. In our assessment Birawi is a kind of liaison officer between George Galloway and Viva Palestina on the one hand, and Hamas on the other. In addition he is very active in many anti-Israel bodies and organizations, although he is careful not to publicly align himself with Hamas or even with the Muslim Brotherhood (in our assessment to avoid complications with the British authorities and legal system).

## Information about some of the British passengers

125. **British passengers with radical Islamic ideology, some of them affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood:**

1) **Ismail Patel**, born 1963, British national (apparently of Pakistani descent), from Leicestershire County. **In 1995 established the pro-Palestinian organization Friends of Al-Aqsa in Leicester**, home of a large Muslim population (according to a 2001 census, 60,000 of the city's 170,000 residents are Muslims).<sup>25</sup> Advisor and commentator on the UK Muslim community for the Conflicts Forum, some of whose members are prominent personalities. Member of the British Muslim Initiative (**BMI**,

<sup>25</sup> Doron Ben Gil, "King Muhammad," Saturday Special, Ma'ariv, (Hebrew), June 25, 2010, pp. 22-25.

**headed by Muhammad Sawalha**), where he directs the organization's annual convention, IslamExpo; member of the Special Advisory Board of Clear Conscience; and commentator for various media (the UK dailies *Guardian* and *Independent*, the English-language Al-Jazeera, and the periodical *Arabian Business*).



Ismail Patel on board the Mavi Marmara (conflictsforum.org website, June 20, 2010)

2) **Jamal al-Din Muhammad Elshayyal**, born 1984, apparently a **Palestinian national and Muslim Brotherhood supporter. Reporter for the English-language Al-Jazeera TV, sent many reports from the Mavi Marmara.** He is also one Al-Jazeera TV's English-language Middle Eastern affairs producers. Lived and studied across Europe and the Middle East. Formerly headed the **Federation of Students Islamic Societies (FOSIS), which is directly affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood in the UK.** It is also affiliated with the **Muslim Association of Britain (MAB) and the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), both affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood.**



Jamal Elshayyal reporting from the Mavi Marmara (Al-Jazeera, May 31, 2010)

3) **Boudjema Bounoua**, born 1958, aka **Abdullah Anas, an Algerian who fought the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and became acquainted with Bin Laden in the early days of Al-Qaeda.** Also the brother-in-law of Abdullah Azzam, Bin Laden's spiritual

guide and a source of inspiration for Hamas, killed in Afghanistan in 1989. **Spent about six years in the Afghan theater of war serving as Azzam's messenger and Persian-Arabic interpreter. Azzam introduced him to Osama Bin Laden in 1984. Even though Azzam's death brought him closer to Bin Laden, Anas claimed their relationship had ended. In the 1990s was involved in the operations of Algeria's GIA, a radical Islamic-jihadist group established in 1992, and was the editor-in-chief of *Jihad News*, a newspaper published in Poland. Following the US occupation of Afghanistan, he was granted political asylum in London.**

4) **Mohammed Bounoua**, born 1991. **Apparently Boudjema Bounoua's son and the grandson of Abdullah Azzam.**

126. **Pro-Palestinian activists:**

1) **Kevin Ovenden**, born 1968, resident of London, **radical left-wing activist**. Expelled in 2007 from the radical left-wing Socialist Workers Party (SWP) for being a member of the **Respect Party**, the party of former MP and pro-Hamas politician George Galloway. Currently a Respect Party leader and a **Viva Palestina** activist. Testified that the flotilla passengers defended themselves "instinctively with their bare hands and things you would find on a ship—pieces of wood and piping" against what he described as a well-armed raid (countercurrents.com website).



Kevin Ovenden at a Viva Palestina rally (YouTube, March 22, 2009)

2) **Ahsan Shamruk**, born 1964, resident of London, **member of Viva Palestina**. Was apparently injured during the flotilla raid.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> [www.guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk)





Ahsan Shamruk (British TV, June 1, 2010)

3) **Hassan al-Banna Ghani**, born 1985, resident of Glasgow, Scotland, **member of Viva Palestina. Documentary filmmaker and reporter for Iran's Press TV website.** Participated in the 2009 aid convoy to Gaza,<sup>27</sup> and in 2008 was awarded Young Scottish Muslim of the Year by Scotland's First Minister Alex Salmond.

4) **Osama Aziz Mohammed Qashoo**, born 1991, of Palestinian descent. Filmmaker, **one of the founders of the FGM.** A former journalist who worked for the BBC, Reuters and Palestinian media.



Osama Qashoo (YouTube, June 9, 2010)

5) **Ali el-Awaisi**, born 1989, resident of Dundee, Scotland, a FGM activist of Palestinian descent, took a year off from studying history and politics at Dundee University to work for a local real estate agency. Raised £30,000 for purchasing medicine, clothing and food for Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. His father is Professor Abd el-Fattah el-Awaisi, of Palestinian descent, who was reported to be a supporter of the Muslim Brotherhood and perhaps of Hamas. Was the head of the Islam Research Institute in Scotland, which later became the Al-Maktoum Institute. In interviews to UK (particularly Scottish) media, described the

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<sup>27</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hassan\\_Ghani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hassan_Ghani)



flotilla events and severely criticized Israel. Despite his "difficult experience," he said he was going to return to Gaza (dundeewestend.com website).

6) **Sarah Colborne**, born 1967, campaign director of the **Palestine Solidarity Campaign** in London. In interviews in UK media following her return to London, claimed that the Mavi Marmara activists had come strictly for humanitarian purposes. On June 5, 2010, took part in a demonstration in London against Israel's activity to stop the flotillas to Gaza, and severely criticized Israel (gazaflotillasurvivors.posterous.com website).



Sarah Colborne, YouTube, June 3, 2010)

7) **Sakir Yildirim**, born 1969, father of three, member of the **Palestine Solidarity Movement**, originally from Turkey's Black Sea region. A kebab seller currently residing in Bristol. He said he had taken part in previous flotillas with some of the people killed on board the Mavi Marmara, and organized massive assistance with his colleague Hanley (See below) before setting sail. In February 2009 drove an ambulance in the Gaza Strip, and visited again as member of the 2009 **Viva Palestina** aid convoy (bedminsterpeople.co.uk website).



Left: Sakir Yildirim; right: Clifford Hanley (from a local UK newspaper website, June 4, 2010)

8) **Clifford (Cliff) Gardner Hanley**, born 1948, photographer and painter, worked at a culture center in the UK town of Southville. Said the ship carried tons of equipment and aid bought with money raised by **Bristol Cement for Gaza**, a fundraising project formed by the local branch of the **Palestine Solidarity Campaign**, of which he is secretary. Hanley was accompanied by Sakir Yildirim; together they arranged the trip from Bristol with thousands of tons of aid. Hanley visited Gaza as part of the January 2009 **Viva Palestina** convoy ([bedminsterpeople.co.uk](http://bedminsterpeople.co.uk)).

127. **Unaffiliated volunteers:**

1) **Parveen Yaqub**, born 1971, from Huddersfield, West Yorkshire. Works as program coordinator for libraries as well as leisure and cultural activities for the Oldham council and does humanitarian volunteer work. Raised £8,000 for the flotilla (British Telegraph, June 1, 2010). Complained of being humiliated by the Israelis. Nevertheless, said she would go back to Gaza ([manchesterstopwar.org](http://manchesterstopwar.org) website).



Parveen Yaqub (YouTube, June 13, 2010)

2) **Peter Venner**, born 1947, from the Isle of Wight, sawmill owner. **Converted to Islam while aboard the Mavi Marmara, joining the ship in Antalya.** Was said to have many Muslim friends in the UK whom he occasionally accompanied to Friday prayers at a mosque (MEMRI).



Venner on board the ship (courtesy MEMRI, June 8, 2010)

3) **Kenneth (Ken) O'Keefe**, born 1969, US and UK citizen (he is listed as an Irish citizen on the passenger manifest, apparently having renounced his American citizenship). **Married to a Palestinian woman. Is an ex-Marine** who served in the first Gulf War in Iraq. In 2002-2003 **established an organization called Truth Justice Peace (TJP), whose objective was to gather a group of Western citizens and deploy them as human shields to protect the civilian population of Iraq, then still under Saddam Hussein.** In 2003, after one failed attempt to reach Iraq, the volunteers deployed in locations assigned by the Iraqi government. They were condemned by Human Rights Watch for contributing "to the war capability of a state" and violating international military law ([www.maannnews.net](http://www.maannnews.net), [en.wikipedia.org](http://en.wikipedia.org)).



Kenneth O'Keefe in Antalya, most likely before boarding the Mavi Marmara (O'Keefe's website, June 13, 2010)

4) **Alexandra Lort-Phillips**, born 1972, from London. Helped deliver chemotherapy drugs to the Gaza Strip (British Telegraph, June 1, 2010).



Alexandra Lort-Phillips (YouTube, June 9, 2010)

5) **Laura Macdonald Stuart**, born 1959, a Briton from Finchley in north London. **A housewife who converted to Islam**, she appeared dressed in a black gown (*niqab*) completely covering her body when giving testimony at a Palestine Solidarity Campaign convention held after her return to the UK. On two separate occasions participated in flotillas to the Gaza Strip sent by the British **Viva Palestina**. In an interview to Iran's Press TV, said that Viva Palestina had cooperated with IHH to organize the flotillas, adding that **money raised for the flotilla had been transferred to IHH**.



Laura Stuart (YouTube, June 9, 2010)

6) **Ebrahim Musaji**, born 1984, from Gloucester. A care provider who has been working as a volunteer for Bristol Gaza Link which has provided aid to the Palestinians for the past four years.



Ebrahim Musaji (YouTube, June 9, 2010)

7) **Baboo Adem Zanghar**, born 1967, from Halliwell, Bolton, father of four. He took part in two previous aid convoys to the Gaza Strip (in 2008 and 2009).



Baboo Adem Zanghar (YouTube, June 4, 2010)

8) **Mohammed Bhaiyat**, born 1984, from Great Horton, Bradford.



Mohammed Bhaiyat (YouTube, June 24, 2010)

9) **Mohammed Abid Mahi**, born 1979, from the London suburb of Walthamstow (*Guardian*, June 1, 2010).

10) **Tauqir Sharif**, born 1980, a plumber from Warwick Road, Chingford, a town near London.



Tauqir Sharif (YouTube, June 9, 2010)

- 11) **Nader Daher**, a woman from East London.
- 12) **Nur-E-Azom Choudhury**, a woman from London.
- 13) **Muzzamil Layth Chogley**, born 1982.
- 14) **Lazrag Salah**.
- 15) **Ali Altan**.

## Germany



## Overview

128. There were German citizens on board the Mavi Marmara, who boarded in Antalya. All three are of Turkish descent; two of them apparently reside in Turkey. Four other Germans started their journey on board the Challenger 2 and joined the Mavi Marmara later (there were four more Germans on the other ships).

## Passenger information

129. **Passenger information follows:**

- 1) **Atila Sirin**, born 1970, of Turkish descent. Business development coordinator by trade, interviewed by the Turkish press after his return.



Atila Sirin ([www.islamigundem.com](http://www.islamigundem.com), June 9, 2010)

2) **Adem Bakici**, born 1968, of Turkish descent. Sustained an injury to his leg in the confrontation and was evacuated to a hospital in Ankara, Turkey. After ten days in the hospital, returned to his father's house in Goksun and given an official welcome.



Adem Bakici ([goksunhaber.blogcu.com](http://goksunhaber.blogcu.com))

3) **Cabrail Akkus**, born 1969, from Cologne, came on board as a **representative of IHH** (which has a network in Germany and was recently outlawed by the German authorities). According to his testimony, two of his friends were killed.



Cabrail Akkus at the welcoming ceremony held in his residence ([www.bighaber.com](http://www.bighaber.com))



130. In addition to the three German passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara, there were also five FGM activists who joined it from the Challenger 1 and Challenger 2.

They were:

1) **Matthias Jocheim**, physician and activist, apparently a member of IPPNW, a physicians' organization established in 1992 to create a world free of nuclear weapons, without war and is medically responsible. The organization won the Nobel peace prize in 1985. After his return to Germany, Jocheim was interviewed about the confrontation on board the ship.

2) **Inge Dora Minna Höger**, born 1950, politician and member of Germany's left-wing party. In 1993-2005 chaired the women's committee of DGB, an umbrella organization of labor unions and has been a member of the Bundestag since 2005.



**Inge Höger (Free Gaza website)**

3) **Annette Magdalene Groth**, born 1954, Bundestag member for the Left Party and spokeswoman for the Left Party parliamentary group. A member of the Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid Committee and the Economic Cooperation and Development Committee, and worked with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (Free Gaza website).



**Annette Groth (Free Gaza website)**



4) **Norman Hans Benno Paech**, born 1938, retired professor and politician, **left wing activist**, was a member of the Bundestag until 2009.



Norman Paech (Wikipedia)

5) **Nader al-Sakka**, born 1951, born in Gaza, currently a resident of Hamburg and a businessman, **president of the Palestinian Community of Hamburg**.



Nader al-Sakka (Free Gaza website)



## Overview

131. There were **five Israeli Arab passengers** on board the Mavi Marmara, two women and three men. Of particular note were Sheikh Raed Salah, head of the Islamic Movement's northern branch, and Israeli Parliament member Haneen Zoabi.

### **Sheikh Raed Salah, head of the Islamic Movement's northern branch**

132. **Sheikh Raed Salah**, born 1958 in Umm al-Fahm, is the leader of the northern branch of Israel's Islamic Movement. Studied religion at the Islamic College of Hebron. In 1989 was elected the mayor of Umm al-Fahm on the Islamic Movement ticket. In 1994 left the Islamic Movement because of ideological differences and established the northern branch. Following the Temple Mount riots in 2000, was accused of inciting Israel's Arab population to violence. In 2001 resigned as mayor and has since focused on religious-political activity. In 2003 was tried for assisting Hamas and sentenced to a relatively short prison term in a plea bargain. In 2007 was detained for assaulting a police officer during riots on Temple Mount. In January 2010 was sentenced to nine months in prison for assaulting a police officer. **In his extremist, anti-Israeli speeches, often dramatizes the "threat" supposedly posed by Israel to the Temple Mount as a tool for incitement to violence.**

133. **Videos found on board the ship and passenger testimonies indicate that Sheikh Raed took an active part in inciting IHH operatives to violence**, the same operatives who later clashed with IDF soldiers.<sup>28</sup> The sheikh's participation in the flotilla and in the incitement to violence reflects the Israeli Islamic Movement's ideological affiliation with Hamas.<sup>29</sup>

134. For example, Kuwaiti MP Dr. Walid al-Tabtabaei said after his return to Kuwait that Raed Salah had been the "star" of the convoy and had made enthusiastic statements during the trip (*Al-Ra'i*, Kuwait, June 3, 2010, according to Barkan's article). Dr. Muhammad al-Baltagi, deputy secretary-general of the Muslim Brotherhood faction in the Egyptian parliament, reported that on the eve of the Israeli forces' raid of the ships, several clerics delivered sermons that incited the passengers. He said that Salah related a *hadith* in which the Prophet Muhammad explained the virtue of jihad and of the *ribat* (a border region of the Islamic world where Muslims set out to fight infidels) (ikhwanonline.com, June 8, 2010, according to Barkan's article).

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<sup>28</sup> See our June 18, 2010 Information Bulletin: "IHH Leader and Other Islamist Activists Incite Passengers to Violence Aboard the Mavi Marmara (Video File No. 4)" at [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/ipc\\_e097.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/ipc_e097.pdf).

<sup>29</sup> See article by researcher L. Barkan: "The Islamic Movement in Israel: Switching Focus from Jerusalem to the Palestinian Cause" (MEMRI, July 30, 2010). In her article, Barkan quotes Islamic Movement members as saying that "participation in the flotilla was **a political act in support of the Hamas government**," attacking the Palestinian Authority, Egypt, and Israeli Arabs for not taking part in it.



Sheikh Raed Salah on board the Mavi Marmara



Sheikh Raed Salah (first row, wearing a white headaddress) listening to IHH leader Bülent Yildirim give an inflammatory speech to the hard core IHH operatives on the upper deck of the Mavi Marmara.



Sheikh Raed Salah giving a speech on the Mavi Marmara en route to the Gaza Strip

135. Other Israeli Arab passengers were the following:

- 1) **Israeli Parliament member Haneen Zoabi**, born 1969, Christian from Nazareth, has a BA in psychology and philosophy and an MA in media and journalism. She joined the Balad party in 1997 and is considered Azmi Bishara's protégée. In 2000 founded a media

center for Israel's Arab Palestinian society. Was given Balad's number three spot (reserved for women) for the 18th Knesset elections, and became a Knesset member.



**Knesset member Haneen Zoabi on board the Mavi Marmara**

2) **Muhammad Zidan**, born 1945. He has been serving on and off as chairman of the Higher Arab Monitoring Committee (a political organization that coordinates the political activity of Israeli Arabs). Former head of the Kfar Manda local council.

3) **Hamad Abu Daabes**, born 1961 in Rahat, head of the southern branch of Israel's Islamic Movement.

4) **Lubna Masarwa**, born 1978, lives in Kafr Qara, a feminist activist and FGM activist in Israel. Was one of the flotilla's organizers. Works as a community organizer in East Jerusalem.



**Lubna Masarwa (aljazeera.net)**

## United States

### Overview

136. There were three American citizens on board the Mavi Marmara: a human rights activist representing the International Solidarity Movement (ISM), a pro-Palestinian organization operating under the FGM; an American representative of Viva Palestina, the organization of British pro-Hamas MP George Galloway; and a human rights activist and filmmaker who documented the events on board the ship and managed to smuggle some of the materials from the Mavi Marmara and distribute them.

137. Four other American citizens, pro-Palestinian peace and human rights activists, were on other ships sent by the FGM. Of particular note was Greta Berlin, an activist for Palestinian rights and a founder of the FGM; she organized the flotilla with Huwaida Arraf of the ISM. Other American citizens were Hedy Epstein, an activist for peace and Palestinian rights; Katherine Elliott Sheetz, a human rights activist; and David Schermerhorn, a commercial film producer who took part in a flotilla organized by the FGM in August 2008. There were three other Americans on the other ships (a total of 11 Americans sailed with the flotilla).



Activists from the United States on one of the ships  
(Photograph seized by IDF soldiers on one of the ships)

### Passenger information

138. Two of the three US citizens on board the Mavi Marmara started their journey on the Challenger 2, a ship sent by the FGM. They apparently transferred to the Mavi Marmara following

technical problems on the two FGM ships. We have no information to indicate that the three Americans were involved in the violent confrontation on the Mavi Marmara.

**139. The three American activists were:**

1) **Huwaida Arraf**, born 1976, a Christian human rights activist from Michigan. Her father holds Israeli citizenship. Is one of the founders of the International Solidarity Movement (ISM) and is married to Jewish activist Adam Shapiro, also a founder of the ISM. According to a document seized on board the Mavi Marmara, **she took part in a meeting held in Istanbul on May 16, 2010, about two weeks before the flotilla set sail, by representatives of the five organizations which participated in the flotilla, presided over by IHH deputy chief Yavuz Dede.**



**Huwaida Arraf (Free Gaza website)**



**Huwaida Arraf shortly before the flotilla was launched (Photograph seized by IDF soldiers on one of the ships).**

2) **Fatima Mohamadi**, born 1975, boarded the Mavi Marmara in Antalya. Born in Iran to an American mother, has a law degree and worked in New York as an American representative of Viva Palestina. It was her third trip to the Gaza Strip.



Fatima Mohamadi (womenscenter.boisestate.edu)

3) **Lara Lee**, a human rights activist and filmmaker who holds dual US and Brazilian citizenship. Documented her journey on the Mavi Marmara and was smuggled some of her recordings off the ship and transferred them to various media.

## Canada



### Overview

140. There were **two Canadians passengers** on board the Mavi Marmara, one of Palestinian descent and the other a permanent resident of Qatar. A passenger named Kevin Neish transferred to the Mavi Marmara from the Challenger 2 when it was already en route to the Gaza Strip.

### Passenger information

141. **The Canadians passengers were:**

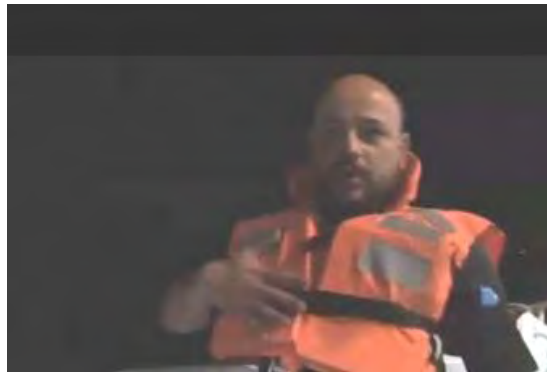
1) **Rifat Audeh**, born 1972 in Canada to parents of Palestinian descent who currently reside in Jordan. He is a resident of St. Catharines, Ontario.



Rifat Audeh (news.therecord.com, June 2, 2010)



2) **Farooq Shehzad Burney**, born 1972, permanent resident of Qatar. Director of the Qatari-based **Al-Fakhoora**, an organization whose stated objective is to secure academic freedom for students in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip. Said he joined the flotilla to deliver computers to universities in Gaza (gazaflotillasurvivors.posterous.com, June 3, 2010).



Farooq Shehzad Burney (fakhoora.org)



The organization's logo (fakhoora.org)

## Spain



### Overview

142. There were **three Spanish citizens** on board the Mavi Marmara, two of them activists for the **Culture Peace and Solidarity organization**.

### Passenger information

143. The Spanish passengers were:



1) **Manuel Espinar Tapial**, born 1974. President of **Culture Peace and Solidarity**, an NGO established in Madrid in 1996 by labor unions and social and cultural activists to dialogue with movements worldwide, including "the Palestinian refugees." The organization has branches throughout Spain.



Manuel Espinar Tapial on the Mavi Marmara ([www.elpais.com](http://www.elpais.com), May 31, 2010)

2) **Laura Arau Crusellas**, born 1980. Both of her parents are activists. Secretary for **Culture Peace and Solidarity** in Catalonia.



Laura Arau Crusellas on the Mavi Marmara ([www.elpais.com](http://www.elpais.com), May 31, 2010)



The organization's logo ([www.culturaipau.blogspot.com](http://www.culturaipau.blogspot.com))

3) **David Segarra**, born 1976, a journalist and documentary filmmaker from Valencia who has been working for **Venezuela's TeleSur network** and other South American networks for many years. Friends describe him as a **radical left-winger**. Took part in the previous convoy to Gaza in December 2009 and sent video reports from the ship via Twitter.



David Segarra giving an interview upon his return to Barcelona (YouTube, June 4, 2010)



## Overview

144. There were three Norwegians on board the Mavi Marmara, two men and one woman:

- 1) **Espen Goffeng**, born 1972, **member of Palestinakomiteen**, an organization which, according to its website, has offices in every Norwegian city. The website also contains anti-Israeli articles and calls for boycotts of Israeli-made products.
- 2) **Randi Kjøs**, from Hamar, a member of the city council and deputy chairman of the municipal Welfare Committee.
- 3) **Nidal Mohamad Hijazi**, member of the Norwegian branch of the FGM.



The three Norwegian activists at a press conference in Oslo after their return (newsinenglish.no, June 3, 2010)

## Macedonia



### Overview

145. **The three Macedonian citizens** who took part in the flotilla are Muslims of Albanian descent, all from Kumanovo, Macedonia. They joined the Bosnian representative as a group and boarded the ship in Antalya.

### Passenger information

146. **The Macedonian passengers were:**

- 1) **Jasmin Redjepi**, born 1982.
- 2) **Sami Emin**, born 1953.
- 3) **Sead Ramadani**, born 1966.



Sead Ramadani after his return (YouTube, June 5, 2010)



The welcome given to the three Macedonians after their return (the crowd waves Albanian flags)  
(www.demotix.com, June 5, 2010)

## Bosnia



147. There was one Bosnian citizen on board the ship: **Mohammad Yaser Sabbagh**, born 1963, of Syrian descent. Is an activist for the Bosnia-Herzegovina branch of **The International Forum of Solidarity**, and was bringing humanitarian aid to the Gaza Strip from **Bosnia's Muslims**.<sup>30</sup> The International Forum of Solidarity was established in May 2005 as a European umbrella organization.

148. Mohammad Sabbagh was also apparently carrying cash raised in mosques by Islamic organizations and funneling into an outlawed Bosnian foundation called **Rijaset** (serbianna.com, June 2010).



Mohammad Yaser Sabbagh (serbianna.com, June 1, 2010)



The European umbrella organization's logo



The Islamic charitable society's logo

<sup>30</sup> According to an article published in a Serbian newspaper after the flotilla, sources close to the Serbian police related that IHH was raising funds in Bosnia for Hamas. IHH's offices in Serbia employ imams working in mosques, who collect donations and transfer them to Hamas via IHH (Banja Luka Glas Srpske, September 15, 2010).



Request for donations on the organization's website

## Belgium



### Overview

149. There were **two women with Belgian citizenship** on board the ship. A third changed her mind at the last moment and did not take part in the flotilla. **The two women who boarded the ship in Antalya were of North African descent** (there were two more Belgians aboard the other ships).

### Passenger information

150. **The two Belgian women were:**

1) **Kenza Isnasni**, born 1983, nurse, born to parents who emigrated from Morocco. Her parents were murdered in their Brussels home in 2002 in front of their five children, apparently for racial reasons. Has been active in anti-xenophobia protest organizations since her parents' murder.



Kenza Isnasni (www.yabiladi.com, May 10, 2010)

2) **Fatima El Mourabiti**, born 1983, of Algerian descent, psychologist. Participated in a previous aid convoy organized by **Viva Palestina**.



**Fatima El Mourabiti interviewed on board the Mavi Marmara (YouTube, May 31, 2010)**

3) The non-participant was **Julie Chloe Deborah Jaroszewski**, born 1982. Apparently concerns of IDF violence deterred her from boarding the ship ([www.eubusiness.com](http://www.eubusiness.com), June 2, 2010).

**Sweden**



## **Overview**

151. There were **two Swedish citizens**, husband and wife, on board the ship, both of them historians and human rights activists (there were nine more Swedes on the other ships).

## **Passenger information**

152. **The Swedish passengers were:**

1) **Hans Bertil Mattias Gardell**, born 1951, married and father of six, comparative religion professor at Uppsala University. **A former anarchist** (who now prefers to describe himself as a liberal socialist) and the spokesman for **Ship to Gaza-Sweden**, which describes itself as an apolitical, non-religious organization for solidarity with Gazans. Ship to Gaza-Sweden was established in Sweden and is based there.





Left: Gardell interviewed after his return to Sweden ([www.aftonbladet.se](http://www.aftonbladet.se), June 3, 2010). Right: Gardell on board the ship (YouTube, May 31, 2010)



The organization's logo

2) **Edda Virginia Manga Otalora**, born 1969, Hans Mattias Gardell's wife, a historian specializing in the history of ideas, human rights activist.



Left: Otalora speaks at a pro-Palestinian demonstration in Sweden after her return (YouTube, June 11, 2010). Right: a photograph of Otalora ([www.theotherlookofcolombia.com](http://www.theotherlookofcolombia.com), September 15, 2010)

153. **Dror Elimelech Feiler**, born 1951 in Jerusalem, a Swedish activist who was on board the *Sofia*. During the flotilla, Feiler was the spokesman for **Ship to Gaza-Sweden**, an organization belonging to the flotilla coalition. Participated in the preliminary coordination meeting held by the coalition members in Istanbul on May 16, 2010. Born in Israel to a left-wing Israeli activist father. Holds Israeli citizenship, is a musician by trade, and has been living in Sweden since 1973. Married to Swedish artist Gunilla Sköld-Feiler. Is a left-wing activist and the leader of Jews for



Israeli-Palestinian Peace (JIPP), a small group established in Stockholm in 1982 by Swedish Jews. The organization calls on Israel to withdraw from all territories occupied in 1967 and establish an Arab Israeli state with East Jerusalem as its capital. The organization also calls for dialogue with Hamas. Feiler is also the president of European Jews for a Just Peace (EJJP), a federation of Jews from ten European countries whose declared objective is to bring peace and guarantee human rights in the Middle East.



Dror Feiler on board the *Sofia* before leaving for the Gaza Strip (Wikipedia, May 24, 2010)



154. There was **one Greek citizen, Dimitris Pleionis**, born 1954, who boarded in Antalya, a representative for **Ship to Gaza**. While en route to Gaza, he broadcast live from the ship's media center (saying it was a state-of-the-art facility with 18 computer stations and direct Internet access).

155. Apparently most of the Greek passengers were on board the ***Sfendoni 8000*** (38 passengers from Greece took part in the flotilla).



156. The only French citizen on board the Mavi Marmara was **Mazen Kahel**, born 1970, a spokesman for the UK-based **European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG)**. Kahel is also chairman of the **French Palestinian Forum** and his name was mentioned in connection with **CBSP**, a French-based foundation that supports Hamas' civilian network in the

PA-administered territories.<sup>31</sup> It was designated as a terrorist entity and outlawed by the US in August 2002.

## Kosovo



157. There was one citizen of Kosovo on board the ship: **Fuad Ramiqi**, born 1961, **considered a Muslim ideologue in his country**. Ramiqi is the president of the **Kosovo Muslim Forum**, a **Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated** NGO he established in 2006 whose objective is to promote Islamic culture, tradition and values in Kosovo. Also the Kosovo representative for the **European Muslim Network**. Served in the Yugoslav army and joined the Bosnian army during the Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992-1995 war (tundratabloid.blogspot.com, June 15, 2010).



Fuad Ramiqi (tundratabloid.blogspot.com, June 15, 2010)



The website of the Kosovo organization (www.forumimuslimanikosoves.org)

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<sup>31</sup> For details, see our March 2005 Information Bulletin: "Comité de Bienfaisance et de Secours aux Palestiniens (CBSP): a French Hamas-affiliated fund which provides financial support for Hamas institutions in the PA-administered territories".



The logo of the European Muslim Network, represented in Kosovo by Ramiqi

## South Africa



158. There was one South African passenger on board the Mavi Marmara: **Gadija Davids**, born 1985, a reporter for **Radio 786**, a local radio station based in **Cape Town**. It was her first overseas assignment.



Gadija Davids (Radio 786, June 1, 2010)

## Australia



159. There was a family of **three Australian activists of Arab-Muslim descent** on board the Mavi Marmara:

- 1) **Ahmad Luqman Talib**, born 1990, Muslim Australian of Sri Lankan descent. His family emigrated from Sri Lanka to Australia in 1995 (lankamuslim.com, June 8, 2010). He studies international relations at Griffith University, Australia, and was injured during the confrontation.

2) **Maryam Luqman Talib**, born 1992, Ahmad Luqman Talib's sister, studies pharmacology in Kuwait.

3) **Jerry Campbell**, born 1989, Ahmad Luqman Talib's wife.



Ahmad Luqman Talib with his sister (left) and wife (right) (lankamuslim.com, June 8, 2010)

## New Zealand



160. There was one citizen of New Zealand on board the ship: **Nicola Lesley Enchmarch**, born 1961, member of **Viva Palestina**.



Nicola Lesley Enchmarch (www.3news.co.nz, June 1, 2010)

## Passengers from Challenger 1 and Challenger 2 who boarded the Mavi Marmara

161. There were 15 passengers, supporters of the FGM, some of them left wing activists, who were originally on **Free Gaza's Challenger 1 and Challenger 2**. It is unclear whether their transfer was planned in advance or resulted from technical malfunctions discovered on the two ships. However, two days into the journey 15 passengers were transferred to the Mavi Marmara off the coast of Cyprus. Among them were five Germans, three Norwegians, two Americans, a

Briton, a Canadian, a Malaysian, and a Greek. There was one more passenger whose country of origin was not listed.

# Appendix I

A list found aboard the Mavi Marmara of passengers, arranged according to nationality<sup>32</sup>

# IMO PASSENGER LIST

1. Name of Ship	2. Port of Departure	3. Date of Departure	4. Nationality of Ship			
665 MAVI MARMARA	ANTALYA	27.05.2010	COMOROS			
Page no 1						
5. No	6. Given Name	7. Family Name	8. Birth Date	9. Nationality	10. P. Of Embark	11. P. Of Disembark
1	Lara Macdonald	Stuart	08.06.1959	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
2	Garth	Musar	27.01.1984	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
3	Steven	Yanub	25.01.1971	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
4	Buzon ADEM	Zamehar	16.06.1968	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
5	Abnan	Shamuk	04.06.1964	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
6	Alvada Gengiz	Amel	13.10.1976	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
7	Tunc	Starz	07.09.1997	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
8	SCUDAMA	BOUNCUA	29.07.1958	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
9	Mohammed	BOUNCUA	15.02.1981	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
10	Radi	Yilguz	02.07.1964	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
11	Isamail	O'Keefe	21.07.1968	IRISH	Antalya	Gazze
12	Ali	El-Awadi	07.02.1968	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
13	Mohammed	Shayal	04.06.1985	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
14	Eli Phillips	Alexandra Mary	05.12.1972	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
15	Sarah Nancy	Colborne	03.03.1967	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
16	Salim Aslan	Patel	10 May 52	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
17	Mohar	Dahal	17 May 72	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
18	Maria Mohammed	Ahad	22 May 79	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
19	Yakup Aslan	Choudhury	27.01.1960	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
20	Chenier	Kew	13.08.1968	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
21	Patel	Venier	09.02.1947	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
22	Dilip Gardner	Harley	28.10.1943	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
23	Muhammad Layla	Chapley	22.09.1982	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
24	Jawadul Momenud Far	Eshayyal	01.04.1984	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
25	Hassan Al Bahra	Ghadi	28.02.1985	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
26	Luzan	Salan	18.06.65	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
27	Ali	Altan	23.04.48	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
28	Osama Aziz Mohammed	Gedico	27.06.1981	BRITISH	Antalya	Gazze
29	Waleed Musaid	Tabassa	03.04.1984	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
30	SAWAH	ALAMWAD	16.10.1960	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
31	SAWAH	ALAMWAD	03.12.1965	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
32	Abdullatif E E A E	Arifkani	18.08.1981	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
33	Salim A M E	Almanis	06.09.1984	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
34	ABDULRAHMAN EBRAHIM	ALKHARRAZ	11.06.1986	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
35	HAJWA	ALOMAR	19.01.1954	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
36	ABDULLAH A H P	ALBRAHIM	18.10.1987	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
37	Mahel Abdul Gader	Al-Jabul Jaber	09.06.1963	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
38	Yusuf Wale	Al-Abdul Jaber	23.06.1988	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
39	AMJED A M	ALAMWAD	15.02.1981	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
40	AMJED A M	Abdulrahman	11.05.1983	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
41	AMJED A M	Al-Jabul Jaber	15.07.1984	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
42	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	06.12.1981	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
43	Al-Mari	Al-Shan	13.05.1983	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
44	Al-Mari	Al-Shan	13.12.1981	Kuwait	Antalya	Gazze
45	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Bahrain	Antalya	Gazze
46	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Bahrain	Antalya	Gazze
47	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Bahrain	Antalya	Gazze
48	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Bahrain	Antalya	Gazze
49	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Bahrain	Antalya	Gazze
50	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Bahrain	Antalya	Gazze
51	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	AUSTRALIAN	Antalya	Gazze
52	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	AUSTRALIAN	Antalya	Gazze
53	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	AUSTRALIAN	Antalya	Gazze
54	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Spanish	Antalya	Gazze
55	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Spanish	Antalya	Gazze
56	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Spanish	Antalya	Gazze
57	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
58	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
59	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
60	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
61	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
62	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
63	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
64	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
65	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
66	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
67	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
68	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
69	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
70	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
71	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
72	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
73	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
74	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
75	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
76	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
77	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
78	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
79	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
80	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
81	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
82	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
83	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
84	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
85	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
86	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
87	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
88	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
89	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
90	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
91	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
92	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
93	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
94	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
95	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
96	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
97	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
98	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
99	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze
100	Yusuf Wale	Al-Shan	01.01.1980	Saudi	Antalya	Gazze

<sup>32</sup> The list was compiled by the International Maritime Organization (IMO), which has 169 member states. For safety reasons, passenger lists are sent to the port of departure and to the ship's final destination.



1. Name of Ship	2. Port of Departure	3. Date of Departure	4. Nationality of Ship			
MS MAVI MARMARA	ANTALYA	27.05.2010	COMOROS			
Page no 3						
5. No	6. Given Name	7. Family Name	8. Birth Date	9. Nationality	10. P. Of Embark	11. P. Of Disembark
144	Nabil	Hallak	10.11.1959	IRISH	Antalya	Gazze
145	Hussein	Chqqr	15.10.1956	Lebanese	Antalya	Gazze
146	Hani	Sleiman	15.01.1949	Lebanese	Antalya	Gazze
147	Andre	Abou Khalil	11.07.1972	Lebanese	Antalya	Gazze
148	Makri	Abderrazak	23.10.1960	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
149	Brahimi	Ahmad	24.06.1970	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
150	Laffi	Ahmed Salah	11.11.1966	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
151	Salah	Djoumaa	01.07.1955	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
152	Allan	Larbi	29.03.1962	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
153	Nour	Salah	03.03.1960	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
154	Gherol	Manmoud	25.01.1953	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
155	Benmedakhene	Zine Eddine	26.11.1968	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
156	Douabi	Mohamed	09.01.1958	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
157	Haicallah	Ali	28.05.1961	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
158	Akkouchi	Hamlouli	02.11.1949	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
159	Aqani	Abdulcadir	26.10.1947	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
160	Kouadri Habbaz	Bouali	09.03.1963	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
161	Belfar	Salah	26.12.1965	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
162	Nouasria Ep Issaad	Salih	1959	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
163	Soltani	Nedjma	28.09.1962	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
164	Sebli	Djamal	17.12.1962	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
165	AlKareem	Rizqi	12.09.1964	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
166	Makri	Mustafa	15.04.1987	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
167	Dahche	Aicha	13.11.1987	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
168	Zenour	Azzedine	20.01.1987	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
169	Mezouued	Mohamed El Yazid	30.05.1964	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
170	Gheghissi	Sabah	31.01.1972	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
171	Rouania	Sabrina	24.11.1973	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
172	Djoumai	Ahmed	12.12.1963	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
173	Bousbia Brahim	Azzedine	13.09.1958	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
174	Zaatchi	Hamdi	02.01.1972	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
175	Rebah	Mansour	22.08.1972	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
176	Bouleldja	Yacine	25.12.1968	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
177	Benmar	Kada	27.07.1981	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
178	Mammar	Abdelhalim	02.12.1975	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
179	Belkaim	Abdelatif	26.05.1979	Algerian	Antalya	Gazze
180	Omitris	Pleionis	30.04.1954	Yunanistan	Antalya	Gazze
181	Mazen	Kahel	22.04.1970	French	Antalya	Gazze
182	Mohammad Yaser	Sabbagh	04.03.1963	Bosna	Antalya	Gazze
183	Nicola Lesley	Enchmarch	07/09/1951	New Zealand	Antalya	Gazze
184	Nadeem Ahmed	Khan	07.11.1967	Pakistan	Antalya	Gazze
185	Syed Talat	Hussain	13 Sep 1966	Pakistan	Antalya	Gazze
186	Raza Mehmood	Aqha	12 Oct 1960	Pakistan	Antalya	Gazze
187	Abbas Mustafa	Al Lawati	22 July 1983	Umman	Antalya	Gazze
188	Gadja	Daids	06.02.1985	South African	Antalya	Gazze
189	Mohammad Abdallah	Mohammad Abuzakiah	18.12.1970	Urdun	Antalya	Gazze
190	Fara	Alqani	01.08.1959	Urdun	Antalya	Gazze
191	Zakaria Nofat Shihadah	Nofat	07.11.1971	Urdun	Antalya	Gazze
192	Said Mousa Abd Al Hadi	Al Aswi	10.09.1954	Urdun	Antalya	Gazze
193	Anel	Rachman	18 April 1978	Indonesian	Antalya	Gazze
194	ABDULHAD	ABDURRAHMAN	15.08.1971	TC	Antalya	Gazze
195	ABDULHALIM	ALMALI	01.01.1959	TC	Antalya	Gazze
196	ABDULHAMIT	ATES	10.07.1977	TC	Antalya	Gazze
197	ABDULKADIR	YAVUZ	24.12.1983	TC	Antalya	Gazze
198	ABDULKADIR	AGLAMAZ	30.03.1971	TC	Antalya	Gazze
199	ABDULLAH	ARSLAN	10.03.1960	TC	Antalya	Gazze
200	ABDULLAH	KESKIN	25.03.1983	TC	Antalya	Gazze
201	ABDULLAH TAHA	CAN	08.02.1991	TC	Antalya	Gazze
202	ABDULHAMIT	HACHASANOGLU	01.06.1980	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
203	ABDULKADIR	ULUKOK	23.03.1960	TC	Antalya	Gazze
204	ADEM	OZKOSE	06.06.1978	TC	Antalya	Gazze
205	ADIL	TUNA	23.12.1980	TC	Antalya	Gazze
206	ADIL	YUKSEL	20.01.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze
207	AHMET	ARSLANOGLU	06.01.1957	TC	Antalya	Gazze
208	AHMET	SARIKURT	30.11.1961	TC	Antalya	Gazze
209	AHMET	ALTUNEL	21.10.1971	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
210	AHMET	KACAR	20.10.1960	TC	Antalya	Gazze
211	AHMET	VAROL	11.12.1962	TC	Antalya	Gazze
212	AHMET AYDAN	BEKER	23.06.1978	TC	Antalya	Gazze
213	AHMET CAN	KARAHASANOGLU	19.11.1978	TC	Antalya	Gazze
214	AHMET EMIN	DAG	27.02.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze
215	AHMET FARUK	UNSAI	03.01.1963	TC	Antalya	Gazze
216	AHMET RAUF	OÇAL	25.02.1951	TC	Antalya	Gazze
217	AHMET SAMI	UYSAI	27.12.1964	TC	Antalya	Gazze
218	AHMET TORCAN	TIMURTAŞ	01.05.1975	TC	Antalya	Gazze
1. Name of Ship	2. Port of Departure	3. Date of Departure	4. Nationality of Ship			



1. Person Name						
1. S. No	2. Given Name	3. Family Name	4. Birth Date	5. Nationality	6. P. of Embark	7. P. of Disembark
210	ALP	ALP	29.10.1976	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
211	ALP	ORAL	08.03.1988	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
212	ALP	TOKUMAN	01.10.1988	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
213	ALP	YUNUSOGLU	14.11.1964	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
214	ALP	YAGEL	01.01.1984	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
215	ALP	UYGUR	24.07.1983	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
216	ALP	YOKCAN	03.01.1971	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
217	ALP	YARADILMIŞ	21.04.1982	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
218	ALP	BENGI	11.08.1952	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
219	ALP	CEYLAN	11.09.1971	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
220	ALP	OZDEMIR	15.05.1958	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
221	ALP	ASLAN	26.09.1970	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
222	ALP	TURK	30.05.1969	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
223	ALP	MUTLU	07.09.1964	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
224	ALP	YAGCI	20.03.1976	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
225	ALP	PULAT	11.11.1986	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
226	ALP	ATAC	04.04.1971	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
227	ALP	TEKIN	23.09.1986	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
228	ALP	ALTINTAS	21.04.1981	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
229	ALP	SARIOGLU KAYRAL	09.02.1973	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
230	ALP	ISLAM	23.10.1982	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
231	ALP	OKTAY	11.01.1957	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
232	ALP	BAYRAM	02.07.1982	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
233	ALP	BAYRAM	24.05.1949	TC	ISTANBUL	GAZTE
234	ALP	ATILA	01.01.1976	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
235	ALP	OZTURK	25.01.1978	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
236	ALP	ÇALKUŞU	17.02.1975	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
237	ALP	MULHIM	24.06.1980	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
238	ALP	YILDIRIM	01.09.1967	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
239	ALP	TUNC	13.03.1958	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
240	ALP	CEMAL	05.09.1969	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
241	ALP	SONGUR	04.06.1983	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
242	ALP	ARYUZ	10.05.1969	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
243	ALP	TATLISES	10.03.1974	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
244	ALP	KILIÇLAR	05.05.1972	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
245	ALP	OKENEK	01.10.1982	TC	ISTANBUL	GAZTE
246	ALP	PAKDIL	01.05.1957	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
247	ALP	GOKDEMIR	21.02.1972	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
248	ALP	AYIŞ	20.02.1976	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
249	ALP	BOZAN	01.01.1960	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
250	ALP	TOPÇUOĞLU	01.05.1956	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
251	ALP	TOPÇUOĞLU	07.12.1965	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
252	ALP	TEZCAN	15.03.1971	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
253	ALP	DOĞAN	05.07.1977	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
254	ALP	AYDIN	15.07.1977	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
255	ALP	KURBAN	25.11.1963	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
256	ALP	ES	30.08.1984	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
257	ALP	KUCUKKOSE	20.04.1970	TC	ISTANBUL	GAZTE
258	ALP	ACAN	10.05.1974	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
259	ALP	BOZKUŞ	01.02.1985	TC	ISTANBUL	GAZTE
260	ALP	ÇEBİ	02.11.1978	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
261	ALP	ÇAM	15.09.1983	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
262	ALP	ASLAN	20.08.1974	TC	ISTANBUL	GAZTE
263	ALP	KAYRAK	24.06.1983	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
264	ALP	SEZER	20.01.1986	TC	ISTANBUL	GAZTE
265	ALP	TERKİ	17.11.1968	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
266	ALP	TRABZON	08.04.1981	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
267	ALP	SEVENLER	02.06.1973	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
268	ALP	BAYÇIOĞAN	05.03.1980	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
269	ALP	CITIR	15.05.1974	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
270	ALP	DEMİR	10.07.1978	TC	ISTANBUL	GAZTE
271	ALP	TANSEL	01.10.1969	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
272	ALP	ESEN	06.05.1979	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
273	ALP	KAPLAN	03.11.1974	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
274	ALP	ÇELİK	23.07.1985	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
275	ALP	SEKİZKARDEŞ	04.04.1970	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
276	ALP	YAŞAR	01.01.1970	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
277	ALP	ÖZKIN	29.08.1973	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
278	ALP	SEYYAR	27.10.1971	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
279	ALP	YALDIZ	20.10.1987	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
280	ALP	SOMUNCU	11.04.1978	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
281	ALP	KAVAKOĞAN	03.06.1977	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
282	ALP	KANLIOĞLU	28.09.1967	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
283	ALP	PAKDIL	18.12.1965	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
284	ALP	KOYUNCU	05.01.1960	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
285	ALP	SARIMSAKCI	03.01.1973	TC	Antalya	GAZTE
1. Date of Sign		2. Port of Departure		3. Date of Departure		4. Nationality



M/S MAVI MARMARA		ANTALYA		27.05.2010		COMOROS
5.No	6.Given Name	7.Family Name	8.Birth Date	9.Nationality	10.P. Of Embark	11.P. Of Disembark
295	FEVZI	AYHAN	02.09.1943	TC	Antalya	Gazze
296	FEVZI	ÇORLUK	03.05.1985	TC	Antalya	Gazze
297	FEVZİYE	ŞENOĞLU	01.20.1968	TC	Antalya	Gazze
298	FKRET	SAYRAM	20.10.1968	TC	Antalya	Gazze
299	FKRI	KARAVIL	11.08.1969	TC	Antalya	Gazze
300	FURKAN	DOĞAN	20.10.1991	TC	Antalya	Gazze
301	FUZULİ	AKBULUT	01.05.1974	TC	Antalya	Gazze
302	GOKALP SEZGİN	UÇAR	10.05.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze
303	GOKHAN	YAZICI	15.10.1982	TC	Antalya	Gazze
304	GONUL	ACAR	09.02.1967	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
305	GONUL	MEMİŞ	21.10.1985	TC	Antalya	Gazze
306	GULDEN	SONMEZ	04.01.1966	TC	Antalya	Gazze
307	HAKAN	ALBAYRAK	04.08.1968	TC	Antalya	Gazze
308	HAKAN	AKSU	19.11.1973	TC	Antalya	Gazze
309	HAKKI	AYGÜN	16.11.1974	TC	Antalya	Gazze
310	HALİL	YERZİ	10.01.1948	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
311	HALİL	BİLEK	05.12.1968	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
312	HALİL İBRAHİM	KARDAŞ	10.01.1958	TC	Antalya	Gazze
313	HALİL RİFAT	ÇANAKÇI	02.06.1976	TC	Antalya	Gazze
314	HALİM	YAZICI	05.01.1985	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
315	HALİS	AKINCI	23.11.1987	TC	Antalya	Gazze
316	HALİT	TEKİN	21.06.1961	TC	Antalya	Gazze
317	HALİT	ÇAY	15.08.1953	TC	Antalya	Gazze
318	HAMİD	OSMANOĞLU	01.07.1960	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
319	HANEFİ	SINAN	10.05.1968	TC	Antalya	Gazze
320	HARUN	AKTÜRK	01.03.1973	TC	Antalya	Gazze
321	HASAN	AYNACI	14.05.1982	TC	Antalya	Gazze
322	HASAN	KOROĞLU	22.05.1949	TC	Antalya	Gazze
323	HASAN HUSEYİN	UYSAK	27.10.1960	TC	Antalya	Gazze
324	HATİCE	KARASAKIZ	15.01.1978	TC	Antalya	Gazze
325	HAYRETTİN	AYDIN	20.11.1971	TC	Antalya	Gazze
326	HAYRULLAH	KUÇUKAYTERKİN	18.12.1985	TC	Antalya	Gazze
327	HİSAM	GÜNEY	14.09.1980	TC	Antalya	Gazze
328	HÜGÜL ELİF	AKKUŞ	07.03.1977	TC	Antalya	Gazze
329	HÜSEYİN	ORUÇ	13.04.1989	TC	Antalya	Gazze
330	HÜSEYİN	TAMGÜNEY	10.03.1958	TC	Antalya	Gazze
331	HÜSEYİN	KAPTAN	14.08.1971	TC	Antalya	Gazze
332	HÜSEYİN	LADIKLI	01.01.1945	TC	Antalya	Gazze
333	HÜSEYİN	MUTLU	03.01.1962	TC	Antalya	Gazze
334	HÜSEYİN	SOLMUS	10.05.1977	TC	Antalya	Gazze
335	HÜSEYİN İHSAN	YENİCE	01.01.1954	TC	Antalya	Gazze
336	HÜSEYİN LEVENT	KULEKÇIOĞLU	20.07.1968	TC	Antalya	Gazze
337	İSİL	OÇAL	04.11.1956	TC	Antalya	Gazze
338	İBRAHİM	ASLAN	14.10.1981	TC	Antalya	Gazze
339	İBRAHİM	KOÇYİĞİT	24.11.1985	TC	Antalya	Gazze
340	İBRAHİM	BİLGİN	02.03.1949	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
341	İBRAHİM	KÖRKMAZ	01.01.1950	TC	Antalya	Gazze
342	İBRAHİM	YILDIRIM	01.01.1953	TC	Antalya	Gazze
343	İDRİS	SİNSEK	01.05.1964	TC	Antalya	Gazze
344	İHSAN	ERDİM	19.11.1968	TC	Antalya	Gazze
345	İLHAN	DIRGİN	03.08.1953	TC	Antalya	Gazze
346	İLYAS	YILDIZ	11.09.1969	TC	Antalya	Gazze
347	İLYAS	YILMAZ	20.10.1973	TC	Antalya	Gazze
348	İLYAZ	SAGLAM	14.03.1963	TC	Antalya	Gazze
349	İMİDAT	AVLI	01.11.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze
350	İSMAL	SAMUR	20.03.1954	TC	Antalya	Gazze
351	İSMAIL	BAYRAKLI	15.02.1960	TC	Antalya	Gazze
352	İSMAIL	YEŞİLDAL	20.03.1978	TC	Antalya	Gazze
353	İSMAIL HAKKI	VEHAPOĞLU	01.05.1968	TC	Antalya	Gazze
354	İZZETTİN	GEÇEN	01.05.1958	TC	Antalya	Gazze
355	KADİR	GUMUŞTAŞ	21.02.1963	TC	Antalya	Gazze
356	KAZİM HARUN	BAGCI	10.09.1985	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
357	KEMAL	GUMUŞ	22.03.1977	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
358	KEMAL	CELEN	04.07.1972	TC	Antalya	Gazze
359	KEREM	KARAKUŞ	21.03.1982	TC	Antalya	Gazze
360	KEREM	AKÇİL	14.02.1972	TC	Antalya	Gazze
361	KEZZAN	AKTÜRK	04.10.1984	TC	Antalya	Gazze
362	KURSAT	BAYHAN	01.08.1981	TC	Antalya	Gazze
363	KUTUP	GENÇAL	05.08.1956	TC	Antalya	Gazze
364	MAH-MUT	DOĞAN	03.02.1975	TC	Antalya	Gazze
365	MAH-MUT	COŞKUN	30.08.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze
366	MEDİT	KAN	01.01.1981	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
367	MEDİHA	ÖLGÜN	15.07.1974	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
368	MEDİNE	İRİZ	04.05.1985	TC	Antalya	Gazze
369	MEDİNE	ALBAYRAK	18.10.1971	TC	Antalya	Gazze
370	MEDİNE	ÖZMESE	26.03.1971	TC	Antalya	Gazze
Name of Ship		12.Port of Departure		13.Date of Departure		14.Nationality of Ship



RWS MAVI MARMARA		ANTALYA		27.05.2010		COMICROS	
5.No	5.Given Name	7.Family Name	8.Birth Date	9.Nationality	10.P. Of Embark	11.P. Of Disembark	Page no 6
371	MEHMET	ÇAKAN	01.06.1972	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
372	MEHMET	VURAL	04.02.1972	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
373	MEHMET	YILDIRIM	20.11.1978	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
374	MEHMET	BARAZI	09.02.1962	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
375	MEHMET	ÇIŞIR	01.06.1958	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
376	MEHMET	SEVİM	01.01.1960	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
377	MEHMET	YILDIRIM	16.07.1967	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
378	MEHMET ALI	AKDENİZ	16.08.1975	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
379	MEHMET ALI	GÜNDOZ	01.01.1973	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
380	MEHMET ALI	ZEBEK	01.04.1962	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
381	MEHMET ARIF	KOÇER	31.02.1965	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
382	MEHMET CÜNEYT	SARIYAŞAR	07.05.1961	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
383	MEHMET DURAK	YUMUŞAK	01.01.1939	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
384	MEHMET EMIN	KAYA	09.05.1987	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
385	MEHMET EYYUP	ACAR	09.12.1985	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
386	MEHMET MUHLIS	TURAN	01.01.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
387	MEHMET MURAT	YILDIRIM	01.06.1969	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
388	MEHMET ŞEFİK	DİNÇ	10.03.1978	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
389	MEHMET ŞERİF	NİZİPOĞLU	01.01.1969	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
390	MEHMET ŞÜKRÜ	ÖZBERBER	01.07.1947	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
391	MEHMET ZEKİ	SÖNMEZLER	01.05.1949	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
392	MEHMET	TUNÇ	14.02.1967	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
393	MERAL	KAYA	03.03.1976	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
394	METİN	ÇALIŞKAN	11.05.1973	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
395	METİN	AKTAŞ	10.08.1987	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
396	METİN	YARDIM	28.03.1965	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
397	METİN	YILMAZ	07.01.1974	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
398	MEVLUT	YURTSEVEN	25.06.1963	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
399	MEVLUT	KOÇ	26.09.1973	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
400	MİKAIL	KURT	03.03.1972	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
401	MİKAIL	YILDIRIM	20.06.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
402	MİNE	KARAKAŞ	24.05.1979	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
403	MUHAMMER	ÇAN	01.01.1966	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
404	MUHAMMER	KAVAKÇIOĞLU	25.02.1971	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
405	MUHAMMED	DALYAN	28.10.1985	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
406	MUHAMMED ESAT	DAĞLI	03.06.1989	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
407	MUHAMMED İKBAL	KOŞEOĞLU	02.01.1983	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
408	MUHAMMET	ZENGİN	25.11.1960	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
409	MUHAMMET CİHAZ	ÜLKÜ	15.05.1988	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
410	MUHAMMET LATİF	KAYA	05.04.1977	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
411	MUHAMREK	GÜNEŞ	25.07.1988	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
412	MUHİTTİN	AÇICI	01.01.1968	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
413	MUHİTTİN	GİLİ	09.10.1964	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
414	MUHLİS	BARAN	01.01.1965	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
415	MUHSİN	ENGİN	08.03.1979	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
416	MURAY	YILDIRIM	01.02.1969	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
417	MURAD	TANOK KIRBAŞ	01.06.1967	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
418	MURAT	PALAVAR	10.06.1976	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
419	MURAT	ATMACA	28.06.1982	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
420	MURAT	SARITURK	11.20.1974	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
421	MURAT	TAŞGIN	10.01.1977	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
422	MURAT	YILMAZ	26.04.1974	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
423	MURAT HÜSEYİN	AKINAN	19.01.1962	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
424	MURAT PERTEV	ELİFİ	27.12.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
425	MUSA	ÜZER	01.01.1976	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
426	MUSA	ÇİFTÇİ	01.01.1974	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
427	MUSA	ÇOĞAŞ	29.08.1982	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
428	MUSTAFA	ACBOLDI	05.05.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
429	MUSTAFA	ÖZCAN	11.02.1962	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
430	MUSTAFA	TATLISU	16.04.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
431	MUSTAFA	ŞİMŞEK	05.06.1989	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
432	MUSTAFA	TUNA	18.12.1955	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
433	MUSTAFA	AFAŞAR	05.01.1973	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
434	MUSTAFA	BATIRHAN	08.06.1980	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
435	MUSTAFA	ERİKÇİ	27.01.1981	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
436	MUSTAFA	SEKİMEN	10.03.1964	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
437	MUSTAFA	ÖZTÜRK	14.09.1975	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
438	MUSTAFA AHMET	GÜÇYETMEZ	07.03.1951	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze	
439	MUSTAFA ASİM	SARIGÜZEL	01.02.1965	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
440	MUZAFFER	AŞLAN	07.12.1967	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
441	MUZAFFER	BABUR	21.06.1966	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
442	MUBAYYEN	KIZIL	11.10.1965	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
443	MUHAHİD ŞAHİN	ULUDAG	13.03.1983	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
444	MUKERREM	TEKİR	30.01.1974	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
445	MUHAM	ALTUN	25.10.1978	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
446	MUHAMMAD	İDAL	11.02.1971	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
3. Name of Ship		2. Port of Departure		3. Date of Departure		4. Nationality of Ship	



M/S NEVİ MARMARA		ANTALYA		27.05.2013		GOMOROS	
5.No	6.Given Name	7.Family Name	8.Birth Date	9.Nationality	10.P. Of Embark	11.P. Of Disembark	Page 107
447	NECATI	AKAR	02.01.1973	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
448	NECDET	YILDIRIM	15.08.1978	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze	
449	NECDET	ARSLANER	14.03.1949	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
450	NECMETTİN	ŞEKERÖĞLÜ	18.02.1958	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
451	NEOM	KAN	05.03.1968	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze	
452	NEVZAT	TAŞKIN	11.12.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
453	NIHAT	ASLANOĞLU	24.06.1950	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
454	NILOFER	ÖREN	20.09.1973	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze	
455	NIH	YÜKSEL	21.07.1981	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
456	NURİ	YILDIZ	28.08.1965	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
457	NUSRETTİN	OGURGUL	01.01.1971	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
458	ORTAY	GÖKCE	30.09.1975	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
459	ORAL	ÖCAL	08.02.1968	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
460	ORHAN	DEMİR	01.06.1976	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
461	ORHAN	TOKCA	25.08.1961	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
462	ORHANGAZI	ELİTAŞ	20.01.1969	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
463	OSMAN	ATALAY	27.08.1963	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
464	OSMAN	ÇALIK	01.03.1967	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
465	OSMAN	KURC	10.03.1976	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze	
466	ÖMER	KARAOĞLU	01.02.1968	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
467	ÖMER	YUCE	25.06.1986	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
468	ÖZKAN	TUNABOYLU	27.04.1940	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
469	ÖZLEM	ŞAHİN ERMİŞ	10.03.1974	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
470	RAMAZAN	KAYAN	01.01.1958	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
471	RAMAZAN	BAYLAN	05.03.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
472	RECAİ	KAYA	20.09.1968	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
473	RECEP	GÖKER	08.10.1959	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
474	RECEP	ÇAĞ	28.01.1959	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze	
475	RECEP	KÖSE	03.02.1980	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze	
476	RECEP	KARAGÖZ	20.01.1960	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
477	RECEP	İDİKUT	01.01.1966	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
478	RECEP	V.DİN	05.10.1950	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
479	REVAFA	GÜMRÜKÇÜ	20.10.1986	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
480	RİDVAN	KAYA	25.05.1984	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
481	SABRİ	TURK	26.04.1974	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
482	SAİD	İBİCİOĞLU	23.05.1967	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
483	SALAHATTİN	ÖZER	06.09.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
484	SALİH	BİLCİ	01.01.1979	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
485	SALİH	MERDİVAN	10.01.1965	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
486	SALİHA SULTAN	AKINAN	12.03.1962	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
487	SALİM	SEYYAR	29.10.1967	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
488	SAMET	DOĞAN	27.01.1968	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
489	SAMI	ÖUR	09.01.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
490	SEBAHATTİN	KATANALP	01.05.1980	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze	
491	SEHİM	AYDINLAR	25.09.1962	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
492	SELİM	ÖZKABARÇI	01.11.1969	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
493	SELİM SARPER	KUÇUK	12.11.1971	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
494	SEMA	İŞLEK	01.12.1980	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
495	SENEM	ÖCAL	05.10.1977	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
496	SEYFULLAH	ÖZGÜVEN	25.06.1959	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
497	SİTKİ	PIŞKIN	01.01.1944	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
498	SİNAN	ALBAYRAK	27.02.1973	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
499	SUAT	KOŞMAZ	14.01.1974	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
500	SÜLEYMAN	ÇAKMAK	12.10.1962	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
501	SÜMEYYE	ERTEKİN	19.10.1982	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
502	SAHİN	UZUN	13.05.1974	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
503	SAHİN İBRAHİM	GÜLERYÖZ	11.03.1966	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
504	SEMSETTİN	İPEK	14.03.1963	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze	
505	SENAY	AYDIN	30.03.1978	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
506	SEVKET	GÖKMEN	09.06.1976	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze	
507	ŞÜKRÜ	İPEK	25.07.1974	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze	
508	ŞÜKRÜ	NÖRTÇÜ	01.01.1974	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
509	TARIR	İPEK	15.03.1972	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
510	TARŞIN	ETÜ	01.01.1971	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
511	TUNCER	ALTUNTAŞ	14.05.1941	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
512	TURKER	SALYABAŞ	07.03.1958	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
513	TURKER	KAGAN	04.05.2009	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
514	ÜÇÜR	TOĞRUL	09.09.1978	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze	
515	UGUR SÜLEYMAN	SOYLEMEZ	29.07.1963	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
516	UMİT	SÖNMEZ	28.06.1970	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze	
517	USAME	SEKİZKARDEŞ	31.01.1994	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
518	VAHİTETTİN	SURMENELİ	28.02.1975	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
519	VAROL	YILMAZ	05.01.1970	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
520	VEDAT	ALTUN	05.05.1976	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
521	YAHYA	COŞKUN	15.08.1966	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
522	YAKUP	ALINAK	24.01.1971	TC	Antalya	Gazze	
1. Name of Ship		2. Port of Departure		3. Date of Departure		4. Nationality of Ship	



M/S MAVI MARMARA		ANTALYA		27.05.2010		COMOROS
5.No	6.Given Name	7.Family Name	8.Birth Date	9.Nationality	10.P. Of Embark	11.P. Of Disembark
523	YASIN	ISBAR	01.01.1984	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
524	YASAR	KUTLUAY	05.08.1972	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
525	YAVUZ	BAYSAN	09.07.1979	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
526	YETİS	CAN	20.09.1986	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
527	YILDIZ	CICEKDAGLI	28.02.1948	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
528	YILMAZ	AKBULUT	12.04.1976	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
529	YUSUF	KINCUCU	06.01.1988	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
530	YUSUF	OZCOBAN	07.11.1976	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
531	YUSUF ZIYA	DONMEZ	12.03.1980	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
532	YUCEL	VELIOGLU	20.04.1984	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
533	YUKSEL	AYDOGAN	10.01.1970	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
534	YUKSEL MURAT	YAVUZ	20.06.1989	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
535	ZAKARIA	MARDI	24.03.1967	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
536	ZERRA	OZYURK	27.06.1980	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
537	ZEKERİYA	KAYA	07.07.1983	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
538	ZEKERİYE	KANAT	28.04.1967	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
539	ZEKİ	KAYA	01.02.1954	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
540	ZELİHA	SAGLAM	02.06.1976	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
541	ZELİHA	SERTKAYA	12.01.1961	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
542	ZEYNEL ABDİN	OZKAN	01.09.1980	TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
543	LATİF	SELVI		TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
544	SADRETTİN	FURKAN		TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
545	MUSTAFA	BULUT		TC	ANTALYA	Gazze
546	İBRAHİM	DUCAN	01.03.1956	TC	ISTANBUL	Gazze
547	HUWAIDA	ARRAF		USA	from CHALLENGER 2 at open sea	Gazze
548	MATTHIAS	JOCHIM		GERMAN	from CHALLENGER 2 at open sea	Gazze
549	KEVIN	NEISH		Canadian	from CHALLENGER 2 at open sea	Gazze
550	GEHAD	SUKKER		BRITISH	from CHALLENGER 2 at open sea	Gazze
551	LARA	LEE		USA	from CHALLENGER 2 at open sea	Gazze
552	SRDAN	STOJILJKOVIC			from CHALLENGER 2 at open sea	Gazze
553	MUSTAFA	MANSOR BIN A		Malaysian	from CHALLENGER 2 at open sea	Gazze
554	ESPEN	GOFFENG		NORWEGIAN	from CHALLENGER 2 at open sea	Gazze
555	RANDI	KJOS		NORWEGIAN	from CHALLENGER 2 at open sea	Gazze
556	NİDAL MOHAMAD	HEJAZI		NORWEGIAN	from CHALLENGER 2 at open sea	Gazze
557	İNGE DORA MINNA	HOCER	29.10.1950	GERMAN	from CHALLENGER 1 at open sea	Gazze
558	ANNETTE MAGDALENE	GROTH	16.05.1954	GERMAN	from CHALLENGER 1 at open sea	Gazze
559	NORMAN HANS BENNO	PAECH	12.04.1938	GERMAN	from CHALLENGER 1 at open sea	Gazze
560	NADER	EL SAKKA	01.10.1951	GERMAN	from CHALLENGER 1 at open sea	Gazze
561	KYRIAKOS	CHATZISTEFANOU		GREEK	from CHALLENGER 1 at open sea	Gazze

MASTER OF M/S MAVI MARMARA

## Appendix II

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### An analysis of the minutes of the meeting held by the flotilla organizers on May 16, 2010

#### Overview

1. On May 16, about two weeks before the flotilla set sail for the Gaza Strip, a meeting was held in Istanbul for **representatives of a coalition of the five organizations behind the flotilla**, led by Turkey's IHH. They met to coordinate their positions before the flotilla sailed.

2. A file found on a laptop on board the Mavi Marmara contained the **English-language minutes of the meeting**, a document titled "**Freedom Flotilla Coalition Meeting** (Istanbul, May 16, 2010)." The minutes were found in the possession of a Free Gaza activist.<sup>33</sup> Analysis of the minutes indicates **the Turkish government's support for the flotilla, the major role played by IHH, and its efforts to conceal its true intentions from its coalition partners**, including the FGM.

#### Issues raised at the meeting

3. Following is a summary of the issues raised at the meeting, according to the minutes:

A. **Participants:** The meeting was attended by **IHH vice president Yavuz Dede** and nine people representing the five organizations participating in the flotilla. including two senior activists from the **FGM**, and two **ISM** representatives -- one of them Israeli, and a radical left-wing activist from Greece. In addition, some of the flotilla ship captains also participated in the meeting.

B. **Political overview:** the meeting commenced with a political overview of the positions of Turkey, Sweden, Greece, Ireland, and Cyprus:

1) **Turkey:** "**Government did not announce openly support for mission at first; but last few days, getting direct support from PM and other ministers. During F2F discussions**, openly said that if we have any difficulties, gov[ernment] will extend what support they can. During Dec. land convoy, although

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<sup>33</sup> The document was found on the computer of Ewa Jasiewicz, a journalist and senior Free Gaza activist.

gov[ernment] didn't announce support, they provided, not only to Turkish, but to all who were on the mission."

2) **Sweden** does not support the flotilla, hiding behind the EU;<sup>34</sup> **Greece** is busy with its own internal problems and cannot attend to Gaza Strip issues; **Ireland**—Irish senator Mark Leary called on Israel to allow safe passage for the flotilla; **Cyprus**, according to the minutes, "will do what is legal." (**Note:** In reality, Cyprus posed difficulties for the flotilla.)

C. IHH reported the **arrest of one of its activists, Izzet Shahin**, detained by Israeli security forces in Judea and Samaria for assisting Hamas and deported by Israel at the request of Turkish officials. The participants in the meeting were asked to help highlight the case on international media and raise the issue to their governments.

D. **Coordination of launch schedules and status of the various ships taking part in the flotilla:** issues pertaining to MV *Rachel Corrie* were discussed (it was decided not to await its arrival). Schedules were coordinated for IHH ships from Turkey, a cargo ship funded by Algeria, and ships from Greece.

#### 4. Strategy at sea

E. **Command and control:** It was decided that each of the five organizations taking part in the flotilla would appoint a representative to a **decision-making team**. The team would be based on the IHH boat (i.e., the Mavi Marmara) since it had the most strategic command and control post.

#### F. Possible scenarios:

1) **Scenario 1: The Israel army opens fire.** In case of warning shots, the ships would continue their political and media work. In case of more serious fire, the ships would stop to assess the situation. In any case, **the captains would have to make decisions concerning the "safety of [the] mission"** (**Note:** questioning of the Marmara officers showed that it was the IHH operatives, not the captains, who were actually in charge).

2) **Scenario 2: Israeli Navy blockade.** Should there be a blockade, the ships would keep moving until physically stopped by the Israeli Navy and remain at sea as long as possible and useful.

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<sup>34</sup> A travel log (in Turkish) found on board the Mavi Marmara says that the Swedish flotilla representatives were ashamed and disdainful of the position of Swedish authorities, claiming that the Swedish people completely support Palestine.



3) **Scenario 3: Only the cargo ships are stopped** (i.e., and not the Mavi Marmara, the passenger ship). According to the minutes, the captains **believed there was little they could do to physically defend the ships**. (As it turned out, the captain and crew of the Mavi Marmara were not able to prevent the IHH operative's preparations for the violent confrontation with the IDF). Various scenarios were also discussed in which one ship or several cargo ships were stopped.

4) **List of flotilla passengers:** The minutes mentions the need to review and finalize passenger list and decide who is going to be on the Mavi Marmara. It says that **IHH cannot take any more people** (i.e., IHH decided on the number of people; most of the passengers on the Marmara were actually Turkish). The ECESG (European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza) boat is said to include 12-15 parliament members and about 20 of the organization's activists and contacts from various countries. Ten seats were allocated to Greeks and 5 to Swedes. Logistical arrangements for passengers from Turkey, Greece and Cyprus are discussed.

5. **Media strategy:** According to the minutes, everyone can speak (to the media) but is only allowed to express his or her own personal opinions and cannot speak on behalf of the Freedom Flotilla. Only one person from each organization is tasked with making statements on behalf of the coalition. The spokesmen belong to the **steering committee of the coalition**, which held meetings and made decisions about the flotilla. **It was also decided to establish a media team.**

6. **Legal strategy:** The minutes set forth rules of conduct, including resisting deportation (from Israel in case of detention) unless everyone is released; **West Bank Palestinians and Israeli Arabs must be among those released**; if they are detained again after the release of the flotilla activists, political pressure must be exerted; there is no objection to using Israeli courts to petition for the return of the boats; the activists will not agree to an Israeli search of the ships, and insist that they have already been searched by their countries (of origin); only a search by a neutral organization such as the UN or the Red Cross will be agreed to.

7. **"Land team:"** The minutes state that **IHH had a land team located in its own headquarters in Turkey**. IHH offered representatives of other organizations belonging to the coalition the use of the headquarters. The FGM representative who wrote the minutes said that she would check with his organization. She added, however: "While [it is] good to be all together

so that information is shared, [we] don't want to be overtaken by IHH. Also, don't want any sensitive issues with Greek partners."

## Comparing the minutes and the events on board the Mavi Marmara

8. Comparison of the minutes of the flotilla coalition meeting and the extensive, reliable information obtained after the IDF's takeover of the Mavi Marmara **reveals three important conclusions:**

A. **The purpose of the flotilla:** The minutes clearly state that the **objective of the flotilla was not to extend humanitarian support to the Gaza Strip but rather to draw public and media attention to the issue of the Palestinian people's "humanitarian rights."** That was confirmed by the relatively small volume of cargo found on the ships. The FGM documents seized by the IDF and statements made by IHH leaders indicate that **as far as the Turks were concerned, the flotilla was meant to be a political and media provocation to lure Israel into a international public relations trap, to damage its standing in the eyes of the world, and to compromise its already strained relations with the Turkish government.**

B. **The Turkish government's support for the flotilla:** The minutes provide more evidence of the support extended by the **Turkish PM and government to the flotilla.** The statements made by IHH leader Bulent Yildirim match the information about the flotilla's organization, the analysis of the Turkish government's conduct, the announcements of Turkish leaders, and the questioning of Mavi Marmara passengers. The minutes indicate that the leaders of IHH, which served as the flotilla's contractor, **held personal meetings with Erdogan and top Turkish officials.** It is also obvious that even though Erdogan was well aware of Israel's position and that it would not let the flotilla reach the Gaza Strip, he facilitated (and perhaps even encouraged) IHH's provocative and violent behavior.

C. **The central role played by IHH:** A comparison of the coalition meeting minutes and the actual events **clearly proves that of the various organizations which participated in the flotilla, IHH played a central role in its planning and execution** (unlike in previous aid convoys). It was IHH that purchased three ships (including Mavi Marmara, the flotilla's flagship), perhaps with assistance from the Turkish government (it can be assumed that purchasing the ships required considerable financial resources which could only be obtained from external funding). IHH coordinated the flotilla

from Istanbul with its partners, located command teams on land and at sea, placed its leader Bülent Yildirim and other prominent figures on board the Mavi Marmara, prepared in advance a significant quantity of specific equipment and weapons, and improvised numerous cold weapons while the flotilla was en route to the Gaza Strip. IHH and its partners were also pivotal in managing the violent confrontation with the IDF (of the nine people killed, **four were identified as IHH operatives or volunteers, and four others belonged to Islamic parties or organizations that affiliated with it**).

**9. Comparing the minutes to the actual events and other statements indicates the following:**

**A. IHH concealed its intentions and the preparations for a violent confrontation with the IDF from the other coalition organizations.** According to the minutes, IHH did not inform the participants about its preparations for the confrontation. IHH and the other participants left it to the ships' captains to decide how to preserve the safety of their passengers, **even the captains were not informed about IHH's true intentions.** Statements from the Mavi Marmara captain and first officer show that **it was only after the flotilla had set sail that the captains became aware of IHH was preparing for a violent confrontation and made attempts to stop it** (by throwing some of the weapons they found overboard), which were thwarted by IHH operatives.

**B. The FGM was also not informed about the IHH's true intentions. It appears that at the meeting, its representatives had some suspicion of the IHH** (the minutes reflect the FGM's concerns over the IHH taking over the flotilla). However, a confidential internal IHH document shows that **Free Gaza was also planning to use force against the IDF, albeit not on the scale of violence used by the IHH** (the document mentions placing pointed barricades on the deck and barricading in the control room and engine room). **The very least that can be said is that the definition of "non-violent resistance" was left to the interpretation of the various organizations and activists, some of whom relished the chance to confront IDF soldiers.**

**FREEDOM FLOTILLA COALITION MEETING**

May 16, 2010, Istanbul

**Attendance:** Yausdadeh (VP of IHH), Nalan, Fathi, Mattias, Dror, Takis, Vangelis, Huseyin, Caoimhe, Huwaida, Mazen, Ahmed

Some of the captains + Derek also present part of the meeting and held their own meeting. Captains of cargo ships not present

### **Agenda**

#### **I. Political Overview**

##### **A. Political support**

###### **1. Turkey:**

- a) Government did not announce openly support for mission at first; but last few days, getting direct support from PM and other ministers. During F2F discussions, openly said that if we have any difficulties, gov will extend what support they can. During Dec. land convoy, although gov didn't announce support, they provided, not only to Turkish, but to all who were on the mission.
- b) Support of not only main political parties, but many
- c) Three days ago, 5 navy vessels left Istanbul to make exercises in Mediterranean

###### **2. Sweden:**

- a) Gov not taking supporting position. Trying to have meetings with foreign minister and defense minister. Hiding behind EU, saying they can't act alone.
- b) Have support from different parties plus Church of Sweden, Diakonia,

###### **3. Greece:**

- a) Greece is in difficult situation right now. Not easy to talk to them about Gaza;

###### **4. Ireland:**

- a) One of the Irish senators, Mark Leary, on Tuesday calling on Israel for safe passage

###### **5. Cyprus:**

- a) Position is that they will do what is legal
- b) According to European classifications / law, Gaza is not an official port; it is local fishermen's port;

##### **B. Trade Union support**

### C. Arrests

1. 6 months ago, IHH decided to open branch in WB; sent a team. Last 2 months, procedure completed. Izzet student at Hebrew University studying Hebrew. Got residency in WB and Israel. 20 days ago, decided to bring Izzet to Turkey. For 2 days couldn't get information, Israel saying they didn't arrest anyone. Last court date was Wednesday, postponed for 8 days. Turkish foreign ministry in touch with Israel. Only 4 days ago Turkish lawyers got visa. Lawyers inside Shafiq XX.
2. IHH launched campaign in support of Izzet. Would like our support to highlight case in international media. Can we ask governments to ask Israeli embassy in respective countries about Izzet... why he was arrested?
3. Israeli courts did not say anything regarding "illegality" of IHH
4. In court, members of Israeli security mentioned that Izzet part of Freedom Flotilla.
5. IHH to send us statement regarding Izzet that we can use
6. Bring up in press conferences

## II. Update on boats and finalization of launch schedules

### A. MV Rachel Corrie –

1. Best case scenario, will be outside of Cypriot waters on the 28<sup>th</sup>
2. Strong points of this ship being part of the flotilla: (a) official departure papers listed destination as Gaza port, even though according to EU, Gaza is not an official port, only local fishermen's port; (2) insured to Gaza by Lloyd's; (3) all the work and mobilization that has gone into preparing this boat.
3. Nonetheless, Coalition decided not to wait for MV RC. Free Gaza needs to make a decision what to do. Coalition thinks it would be good to have it follow as soon as possible. If only a couple of days behind, could be really strong. Could have passenger ships from Gaza come out to 30 miles to escort ship into port.

### B. Boats from Turkey – 25<sup>th</sup> of May move from Antalia

### C. New cargo ship funded by Algeria – 4400 tons. Will leave with IHH boats

### D. Boats from Greece – Early morning of the 24<sup>th</sup> move from Athens and Crete. Meet / refuel in Kastilorizo.

### III. Strategy at Sea

- A. Decision-making team (Who? Which boat?)
  - 1. Each of the 6 partners will nominate someone
  - 2. Will be based on IHH boat as this is probably the safest and most strategic in terms of height, ability to see around, etc.
- B. Scenarios (main ones below)
  - 1. Opening fire
    - a) Just to intimidate, we keep moving forward
    - b) Need to do political and media work at the same time
    - c) Continue slowly, communicating with Israel
    - d) If shooting is more serious will need to stop and assess. Captains will have to make decisions concerning safety of mission.
    - e) We all stay together. If one boat is disabled, will try to take necessary measures, e.g. tow boat, unload passengers onto another boat, and keep going
  - 2. Blockade
    - a) Will keep going until physically stopped
    - b) Can try to sail around if possible
    - c) Prepared to stay out at sea as long as we can and see that it is useful
  - 3. Stopping just the cargo ships
    - a) Have to have at least one or two high profile people on each cargo ship
    - b) Captains didn't think there was much to do to physically protect the boats (Huwaida disagrees!)
    - c) If stop/tow just one cargo ship, will continue because 2 cargo ships reaching Gaza is victory; will claim piracy / theft (since stopping one cargo ship doesn't make sense and therefore really would have nothing to do with security)
    - d) If stop 2 cargo ships – didn't discuss this much. The main thing is achieving the goal. Is one cargo ship getting to Gaza achieving our goal?
    - e) If all cargo ships are towed, passenger boats will follow. We realize this means that Israel might block and detain us based on illegal entry (or attempted entry), but we will claim that they stole our cargo and we want it back. Also, forcing them to deal



with us is better than turning around. There is no use for just people to reach Gaza; doesn't achieve goal.

- f) If claim that they just want to search the cargo and if all OK they will transfer via Erez, of course we won't object cargo being taken to Gaza; we must highlight that all the things we're carrying are considered banned by Israel; we will insist that our mission is not about getting more aid into Gaza, but about the human rights of the Palestinian people. We will not ask or agree to go with cargo if it's through Erez.

#### 4. Tow / Arrest

### IV. Passengers

#### A. Review and finalize lists (including deciding who is going on which boat)

1. No one had final lists, except for Swedes
2. ECESG Boat
  - a) 12-15 MPs
  - b) Approx. 20 ECESG members and contacts from various countries
  - c) 10 seats to Greeks
  - d) 5 seats to Swedes
3. IHH cannot take any more people. Full to 600. Only if MP will they bump their people to make room.

#### B. Logistics for passengers

1. Turkey:
  - a) When to arrive? 24 May in Antalia
  - b) Which airport?
  - c) Where do they go? Not determined yet; should contact Nalan
  - d) Who is contact person? Nalan Dal
2. Greece
  - a) When to arrive? Need to be in Athens by morning of the 23rd
  - b) Which airport? Athens
  - c) Where do they go? Polytechnic University
  - d) Who is contact person?
3. Cyprus

- a) When to arrive? Need to be in Limasol by the morning of the 25th
- b) Which airport? Either Larnaca or Paphos
- c) Where do they go? To be decided
- d) Who is contact person? To be decided

C. Crew list

## V. Cargo – need final lists

- A. MV Rachel Corrie
- B. IHH Cargo Ship I
  - 1. Cement: 2200 tons
  - 2. Iron: 600 tons
- C. IHH Cargo Ship II
  - 1. 50 prefab houses
- D. Algerian Ship (not specified; will probably include medical equipment and other things)
- E. Greek/Swedish Cargo Ship
  - 1. 50 prefab houses
  - 2. Cement
  - 3. Wood
  - 4. Steel
  - 5. 2 desalination units

## VI. Media Strategy

- A. Spokespeople?
  - 1. Everyone going on the trip will probably be asked to speak, but should ONLY speak from personal views; should not speak on behalf of the Freedom Flotilla.
  - 2. One person from each partner organization should be tasked with making statements on behalf of the Coalition; should be from among the representatives to the steering committee, because they have been meeting, making decisions, know each other, etc.
- B. Messaging
  - 1. FG will draft talking points

2. Agree that we do not take position on internal Palestinian politics and our statements should not express support for any certain political faction / government.

C. Media Team

1. S2G / Greece
2. IHH – Ahmet Amin

## VII. Legal Strategy

A. Jail solidarity:

1. We should not declare something that we wouldn't be able to carry out;
2. We agree that we should resist deportation unless everyone is released, e.g. WB Palestinians and 48 Pals. We realize that of course they could be rearrested later, after everyone leaves and in that case we just have to use media and try to get political pressure exerted.
3. Recognize that not everyone will be able to stay for more than a few days. We should inform everyone of this decision and take names of those we know will not be able to stay, e.g. VIPs and hopefully only a few others.
4. Talked about refusing to leave without our boats. This might take longer. We will identify those that are willing to refused deportation and stay in jail for possible weeks

B. Appealing deportation

1. Not unless faced with circumstance where really beneficial, e.g. if Israel's reason for detaining us is "illegal entry into Israel"
2. If we appeal, will identify small group of people to do this on behalf of the whole group. If we can get high profile people like Mairead, great, otherwise, it would be good to have a one or two people from each country, so as to have media and political attention from each country.

C. Return of the boats (diplomatic intervention, lawsuits)

1. Turkey will be asked to intervene politically
2. No objection by anyone to using Israeli courts to petition for return of the boats
3. Identify people that will refuse to leave without our boat and cargo;

D. Searching boats

1. Will not agree to Israeli search

2. If Israel claims to only want to search our boats, will insist that we've already been searched by our countries. Will only agree to search by neutral body like UN or ICRC

**VIII. Land Team – who and where**

- A. IHH has team that will be based at headquarters; offering to be the base if others want to come there.
- B. Said that I will check with our team and get back to them. While good to be all together so that information is shared, don't want to be overtaken by IHH. Also, don't want any sensitivities with Greek partners.
- C. Each coalition partner should have emergency response network.

**IX. Gaza program update**

## Appendix III

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### A list of the Turkish passengers aboard the Mavi Marmara and other ships and their international affiliations

#### Overview

1. Following is a list (in Turkish) of the Turkish passengers aboard the various Turkish ships and their organizational affiliation. The list was seized on one of the flotilla ships.
2. The list shows there were **99 IHH members** aboard the Mavi Marmara, 57 of them listed in a separate category of IHH activists and 34 listed in categories of various NGOs and volunteers.
3. The list features several dozen Turkish Islamic organizations and networks, some of them with a minor, local deployment and some with a large presence across Turkey. The major Turkish organizations are the **Felicity Party** (four activists), the **Ismailaga** association (three activists), **Mazlumder** (five activists), **Ozgurder** (five activists), and **Erdemliler** (one activist). The passenger list also includes 33 Turkish media personnel listed under the media category.

Sayı	Gemi	Adı	Soyadı	Kategori	Kurum / Grup	Telefon	Doğum Tarihi	Şehir
1	DEFNE	ABDULLAH	CAMIOĞLU	İHH	İHH	0555 709 03 58	10.12.1985	İSTANBUL
2	DEFNE	ALPASLAN	NAZLI	STK	STK	0533 743 43 46	15.04.1975	İSTANBUL
3	DEFNE	CENGİZ	KANDILCI	BAĞIŞCI	BAĞIŞCI	0538 402 59 88	20.03.1972	İSTANBUL
4	DEFNE	DİLAVER	KUTLUAY	İHH	İHH	0533 559 24 11	15.10.1978	İSTANBUL
5	DEFNE	DURMUŞ	ŞAHİTTÜRK	İHH	GÖNÜLLÜ		01.06.1976	İSTANBUL
6	DEFNE	İSA	AYDOĞDU	İHH	İHH	0536 867 80 68	20.11.1982	İSTANBUL
7	DEFNE	RECEP	GÜZEL	İHH	İHH	0530 879 06 47	19.09.1970	İSTANBUL
8	GAZZEL	ABDULLAH	ÖZKAYA	İHH	İHH	0533 599 03 01	31.05.1984	İSTANBUL
9	GAZZEL	İSMAIL	YILMAZ	İHH	İHH	0530 321 73 08	26.07.1971	İSTANBUL
10	GAZZEL	MEHMET SALİH	BULGA	İHH	İHH	0542 761 86 98	29.06.1976	İSTANBUL
11	GAZZEL	MUSTAFA	SANCAKTUTAN	İHH	İHH	0533 810 36 80	10.02.1969	İSTANBUL
12	GAZZEL	YÜCEL	KÖSE	TEŞKİLAT	TEŞKİLAT	0507 690 03 07	09.01.1980	KONYA
13	M. Marmara	ABDULHAHAD	ABDURRAHMAN	STK	D. TÜRKİSTAN MAARİF	0536 979 33 51	15.06.1971	İSTANBUL
14	M. Marmara	ABDULHALİM	ALMALI	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0539 881 33 73	01.01.1959	HAKKARİ
15	M. Marmara	ABDULHAMİT	ATEŞ	TEŞKİLAT	Çubuk E. DER	0506 588 88 00	10.07.1977	ANKARA
16	M. Marmara	ABDULKADİR	YAVUZ	GÖNÜLLÜ		0536 287 46 10	24.12.1983	İSTANBUL
17	M. Marmara	ABDULKADİR	AĞLAMAZ	TEŞKİLAT	Din Bir Der	0530 857 33 59	30.03.1971	ANTALYA
18	M. Marmara	ABDULLAH	ARSLAN	STK	İSMALAGA	0536 556 91 72	10.03.1960	BUKSA
19	M. Marmara	ABDULLAH	KESKİN	TEŞKİLAT	YADER	0533 764 61 91	25.03.1963	ADYAMAN
20	M. Marmara	ABDULLAH TAHA	CAN	TEŞKİLAT	İLKE-DER	0505 755 20 42	08.02.1991	ÇORUM
21	M. Marmara	ABDÜLHAMİT	HACIHASANOĞULLARI	İHH	PRÖDÜKSİYON	0537 760 98 84	01.05.1980	İSTANBUL
22	M. Marmara	ABDÜLKADİR	ULUKÖK	STK	MEDENİYET DERNEĞİ		23.03.1960	İSTANBUL
23	M. Marmara	ADEM	ÖZKÖSE	MEDYA	GERÇEK HAYAT		06.06.1978	İSTANBUL
24	M. Marmara	ADİL	TUNA	İHH	ACIL YARDIM		23.12.1980	ESKİŞEHİR
25	M. Marmara	ADİL	YÜKSEL	TEŞKİLAT	ALDAP	0532 643 66 23	20.01.1970	ALAIYA
26	M. Marmara	AHMET	ARSLANOĞLU	GÖNÜLLÜ		0532 342 28 85	05.01.1957	İSTANBUL
27	M. Marmara	AHMET	SARIKURT	İHH	YÖNETİM	0533 221 48 50	30.11.1961	İSTANBUL
28	M. Marmara	AHMET	ALTUNEL	SAĞLIK	İHH	0505 778 15 81	21.10.1971	İSTANBUL
29	M. Marmara	AHMET	KAÇAR	TEŞKİLAT		0536 300 13 22	20.10.1960	KAYSERİ
30	M. Marmara	AHMET	VAROL	MEDYA	ÖZEL Fİ	0505 436 66 34	13.12.1962	İSTANBUL
31	M. Marmara	AHMET CAN	KARAHASANOĞLU	MEDYA	VAKİT	0533 728 16 35	19.11.1978	İSTANBUL
32	M. Marmara	AHMET EMİN	DAĞ	İHH	YÖNETİM	0530 341 19 34	27.02.1970	İSTANBUL
33	M. Marmara	AHMET FARUK	ÜNSAL	STK	KAZLUNDER	0533 414 35 71	03.01.1963	İSTANBUL
34	M. Marmara	AHMET RAUF	OÇAL	MEDYA	ALAZTERA BELGESEL	0532 644 53 88	25.02.1951	İSTANBUL
35	M. Marmara	AHMET SAMİ	UYSAL	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0532 697 44 34	27.12.1964	KONYA
36	M. Marmara	AHMET TURAN	TIMURTAŞ	STK	HİKMET YARDIMLAŞMA VAKFI	0536 415 14 33	01.03.1975	İSTANBUL
37	M. Marmara	AKİF	ALP	STK	FERAHER	0536 565 18 43	28.10.1976	İSTANBUL
38	M. Marmara	ALAATTİN	ÖNEL	TEŞKİLAT	KEYDER	0505 434 01 02	06.03.1965	ERZİNCAN
39	M. Marmara	ALI	ORAL	GÖNÜLLÜ		0539 581 61 81	01.10.1988	İSTANBUL
40	M. Marmara	ALİ	TOKLUMAN	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0532 580 51 91	14.11.1964	KAYSERİ



41	M. Marmara	ALI	YUNUSOĞLU	TEŞKİLAT	İLİM YAYNA C	0530 315 20 08	01.01.1984	KAYSERİ
42	M. Marmara	ALI	UYGUR	TEŞKİLAT		0533 341 20 77	03.01.1971	ALANYA
43	M. Marmara	ALI EBUBEKİR	TOKCAN	MEDYA	TW5	0555 726 38 68	21.04.1982	İSTANBUL
44	M. Marmara	ALI EKBER	YARADILMIŞ	TEŞKİLAT		0534 960 02 50	11.08.1952	HATAY
45	M. Marmara	ALI HEYDER	BENİ	TEŞKİLAT	AYDER	0505 841 05 05	11.09.1971	DIYARBAKIR
46	M. Marmara	ALI KEMAL	TURAL	İHH	ACIL YARDIM		20.04.1984	İSTANBUL
47	M. Marmara	ALI OSMAN	CEYLAN	TEŞKİLAT		0536 244 19 65	15.05.1958	BURSA
48	M. Marmara	ALI SAHİN	ÖZDEMİR	STK	MECNETTİN İRMAK	0532 592 79 85	25.09.1970	İSTANBUL
49	M. Marmara	ALPAKSLAM	ASLAN	SAĞLIK			30.05.1969	ALANYA
50	M. Marmara	ALPER	MUTLU	MEDYA	Vuslat Dergisi	0532 711 06 41	20.03.1976	İSTANBUL
51	M. Marmara	AMMAR	YAĞCI	GÖNÜLLÜ		0535 256 89 34	11.11.1986	İSTANBUL
52	M. Marmara	ARİF	POLAT	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0536 430 30 36	04.04.1971	MALATYA
53	M. Marmara	AYDIN	ATAÇ	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0531 955 44 61	23.09.1956	BALIKESİR
54	M. Marmara	AYETULLAH	TEKİN	TEŞKİLAT		0535 709 59 71	21.04.1981	S.ÖZER
55	M. Marmara	AYHAN	ALTINTAŞ	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0535 896 71 02	09.02.1973	İSTANBUL
56	M. Marmara	BAHADİR CELAL	İSLAM	STK		0537 871 69 29	11.01.1957	İSTANBUL
57	M. Marmara	BARİŞ	OKTAY	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0538 926 61 20	02.07.1982	İSTANBUL
58	M. Marmara	BEHÇET	ATILA	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0535 498 39 12	01.01.1976	ŞANLIURFA
59	M. Marmara	BEŞİR	ÖZTÜRK	TEŞKİLAT	MAZLUM DER.	0532 445 16 17	25.01.1978	SİVAS
60	M. Marmara	BİLAL	ÇALIKUŞU	MEDYA	KONTV	0538 326 67 16	17.02.1975	KONYA
61	M. Marmara	BÜLENT	YILDIRIM	İHH	YÖNETİM	0212 631 21 21	01.09.1967	İSTANBUL
62	M. Marmara	CANIP	TUNÇ	TEŞKİLAT		0536 399 76 06	13.03.1958	ERZURUM
63	M. Marmara	CEMAL	YILMAZ	GÖNÜLLÜ		0532 294 57 42	05.09.1969	İSTANBUL
64	M. Marmara	CENGİZ	SONGÜR	TEŞKİLAT		0535 716 28 40	04.06.1963	İZMİR
65	M. Marmara	CENGİZ	AKYÜZ	TEŞKİLAT		0535 333 41 43	10.05.1969	HATAY
66	M. Marmara	CENK SUHA	TATLİSES	STK	EHİLBEYT	0554 629 65 30	10.03.1974	İSTANBUL
67	M. Marmara	CEVDET	KILIÇLAR	İHH	İLETİŞİM	0533 694 33 61	05.05.1972	İSTANBUL
68	M. Marmara	CEVDET	ÖKENEK	TEŞKİLAT	Siverek Der.	0533 720 92 25	01.10.1962	SİVEREK
69	M. Marmara	CIHANÇİĞİR	PAKOİL	TEŞKİLAT	ADYAR	0532 251 54 43	01.05.1957	ADANA
70	M. Marmara	CIHAT	GÖKDEMİR	STK	MAZLUMDER	0532 303 54 96	21.02.1972	İSTANBUL
71	M. Marmara	CUMA	AYTIŞ	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0543 626 44 61	20.02.1976	ŞANLIURFA
72	M. Marmara	ÇELEBİ	BOZAN	TEŞKİLAT	ÖZGÜR DER	0507 328 54 01	01.01.1960	Diyarbakır
73	M. Marmara	ÇETİN	TOPÇUOĞLU	TEŞKİLAT	ADYAR	0533 745 06 13	01.05.1956	ADANA
74	M. Marmara	ÇİĞDEM	TOPÇUOĞLU	KADIN GÖNÜLLÜ		0506 756 54 20	07.12.1965	ADANA
75	M. Marmara	DEMET	TEZCAN	İHH	TEŞKİLAT	0533 221 83 15	15.03.1971	İSTANBUL
76	M. Marmara	DOĞAN	ÖZLÜK	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0505 536 02 56	05.07.1977	TOKAT
77	M. Marmara	DURMUŞ	AYDIN	İHH	YÖNETİM	0530 341 07 34	15.07.1977	İSTANBUL
78	M. Marmara	EBUBEKİR	KURBAN	MEDYA		0530 540 70 10	25.11.1963	İSTANBUL
79	M. Marmara	EKREM	İS	İHH	PRODÜKSİYON	0530 433 84 98	30.06.1984	İSTANBUL
80	M. Marmara	EKREM	KÜÇÜKKÖSE	TEŞKİLAT	AKYAZI-PLFİH	0537 355 05 33	20.04.1970	ADAPAZARI
81	M. Marmara	ELVAN	ACAR	GÖNÜLLÜ		0532 421 23 24	10.05.1974	İSTANBUL



124	M. Marmara	HALİL	TERZİ	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0535 898 07 31	10.01.1948	İSTANBUL
125	M. Marmara	HALİL İBRAHİM	KARDAŞ	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0542 615 02 88	10.01.1958	İSTANBUL
126	M. Marmara	HALİL RUFAT	ÇANAKÇI	SAĞLIK		0505 765 04 65	02.06.1976	İSPARTA
127	M. Marmara	HALİM	YAZICI	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0533 357 62 31	05.01.1965	BURSA
128	M. Marmara	HALİS	AKINCI	TEŞKİLAT		0543 303 85 85	23.11.1987	GEZİT
129	M. Marmara	HALİT	TEKİN	GÖNÜLLÜ		0532 211 63 10	21.06.1961	DEMİZLİ
130	M. Marmara	HALİT	ÇAY	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0535 222 75 01	15.08.1963	İSTANBUL
131	M. Marmara	HAMİD	OSMANOĞLU	SAĞLIK	İHH	0212 628 58 01	01.07.1960	İSTANBUL
132	M. Marmara	HANEFİ	SİNAN	TEŞKİLAT	ANKARA İHH	0505 355 3030	20.05.1968	ANKARA
133	M. Marmara	HARUN	AKTÜRK	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0530 696 10 13	01.03.1973	İZMİR
134	M. Marmara	HASAN	AYNACI	İHH	DIŞ İLİŞKİLER	0530 340 99 34	14.05.1982	İSTANBUL
135	M. Marmara	HASAN	KOROĞLU	TEŞKİLAT	AGD	0533 504 13 80	22.05.1949	BURSA
136	M. Marmara	HASAN	UYSAK	TEŞKİLAT	MAZLUM DER.	0532 671 37 05	27.10.1960	KONYA
137	M. Marmara	HASAN HÜSEYİN	KARASAKIZ	KADIN GÖNÜLLÜ	İZMİR	0505 642 07 24	15.01.1976	KAHRAMANMARAŞ
138	M. Marmara	HATİCE	AYDIN	TEŞKİLAT	İHH	0532 421 07 56	18.12.1965	İZMİR
139	M. Marmara	HAYRETTİN	KÜÇÜKAYTEKİN	İHH	HALKLA İLİŞKİLER	0507 308 37 40	14.09.1980	İSTANBUL
140	M. Marmara	HAYRULLAH	GÜNEY	MEDYA	TRT ARAP	0533 641 91 23	07.03.1977	İSTANBUL
141	M. Marmara	HIŞAM	AKUŞ	MEDYA	TRT HABER	0533 220 30 17	13.04.1969	İSTANBUL
142	M. Marmara	HÜGÜL ELİF	ORUÇ	İHH	YÖNETİM	0530 881 94 82	10.03.1958	İSTANBUL
143	M. Marmara	HÜSEYİN	TAMGÜNEY	STK	SULTAN BABA	0532 292 53 15	14.08.1971	BURSA
144	M. Marmara	HÜSEYİN	KAPTAN	TEŞKİLAT	Hızır DER	0505 265 65 45	01.01.1945	Amasya
145	M. Marmara	HÜSEYİN	LADIKLI	TEŞKİLAT	DOST-DER	0532 287 44 50	03.01.1962	SAMSUN
146	M. Marmara	HÜSEYİN	MUTLU	TEŞKİLAT	İLAHLAK DER	0533 767 71 75	10.05.1977	Diğerbaktır
147	M. Marmara	HÜSEYİN	SOLMUŞ	TEŞKİLAT	KONTENJANI	0533 648 90 88	01.01.1954	S. ÖZER
148	M. Marmara	HÜSEYİN İHSAN	YENİCE	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0542 637 66 53	20.07.1968	KILIS
149	M. Marmara	HÜSEYİN LEVENT	KÜLEKÇİOĞLU	MEDYA	ALJAZEERA BELGESEL	0532 644 53 88	04.11.1956	İSTANBUL
150	M. Marmara	İSİL	ÖÇAL	GÖNÜLLÜ	ACIL YARDIM	00 33613875830	14.10.1981	İSTANBUL
151	M. Marmara	İBRAHİM	ASLAN	İHH	SAADET P.	0538 819 24 14	24.11.1986	İSTANBUL
152	M. Marmara	İBRAHİM	KOÇYİĞİT	TEŞKİLAT	İzzet Baykal Ün.	0532 647 17 96	02.03.1949	SİİRT
153	M. Marmara	İBRAHİM	BİLGİN	TEŞKİLAT	BURSA İHH	0532 706 13 06	01.01.1960	DÜZCE
154	M. Marmara	İBRAHİM	KORKMAZ	TEŞKİLAT	AYDER	0532 236 95 68	01.01.1963	İSTANBUL
155	M. Marmara	İBRAHİM	YILDIRIM	BAĞIŞÇI	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0532 582 50 56	01.05.1964	BURSA
156	M. Marmara	İDRİS	ŞİMŞEK	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0538 544 37 52	19.11.1968	KONYA
157	M. Marmara	İHSAN	ERDİM	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0535 812 21 89	03.08.1953	TAVŞANLI
158	M. Marmara	İLHAN	DIRGİN	GÖNÜLLÜ	İNİYAD	0530 696 73 12	11.09.1969	KAYSERİ
159	M. Marmara	İLYAS	YILDIZ	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0537 428 31 24	20.10.1973	
160	M. Marmara	İLYAS	YILMAZ	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0536 322 45 98	14.03.1963	İNİGÖL
161	M. Marmara	İLYAZ	SAĞLAM	TEŞKİLAT	BAĞIŞÇI	0532 213 58 03	01.11.1970	İSTANBUL
162	M. Marmara	İMDAT	AVLI	STK	ÖRNEKTEPE	0531 663 33 10	20.03.1964	İSTANBUL
163	M. Marmara	İSMAIL	SAMUR	TEŞKİLAT		0532 670 20 68	15.02.1960	GÖLCÜK
164	M. Marmara	İSMAIL	BAYRAKLI	TEŞKİLAT				
165	M. Marmara	İSMAIL	BAYRAKLI	TEŞKİLAT				

166	M. Marmara	İSMAL	YEŞİLDAL	TEŞKİLAT		0532 291 23 95	20.03.1978	KOCAELİ
167	M. Marmara	İSMAL HAKKI	VEHAPOĞLU	TEŞKİLAT		0544 511 05 06	01.05.1968	BURSA
168	M. Marmara	İZZETTİN	GEÇEN	TEŞKİLAT		0544 511 05 06	01.05.1968	ALANYA
169	M. Marmara	KADİR	GÜMÜŞTAŞ	GÖNÜLLÜ		0532 471 40 11	21.02.1963	İSTANBUL
170	M. Marmara	KAZIM HARUN	BAĞCI	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0535 376 24 91	10.09.1985	İSTANBUL
171	M. Marmara	KEMAL	GÜMÜŞ	MEDYA	VAKIT	0538 659 44 57	22.03.1977	İSTANBUL
172	M. Marmara	KEHAL	CELEN	TEŞKİLAT	ANADOLU PLATFORMU	0530 433 35 30	04.07.1972	İSTANBUL
173	M. Marmara	KENAN	KARAKUŞ	STK	GENÇLİK KÜLTÜR MERKEZİ	0534 979 27 62	21.03.1982	İSTANBUL
174	M. Marmara	KENAN	AKÇİL	TEŞKİLAT	ÇAĞRI DER	0536 693 57 95	14.02.1972	ERZURUM
175	M. Marmara	KEZBAN	AKTÜRK	KADIN GÖNÜLLÜ		0555 526 37 39	04.10.1984	ANKARA
176	M. Marmara	KÜRSAT	BAZHAN	MEDYA	ZAMAN GAZETESİ	0537 975 33 03	01.08.1981	İSTANBUL
177	M. Marmara	LUTFI	GENÇAL	STK	SULTAN BABA	0542 342 16 16	05.08.1956	İSTANBUL
178	M. Marmara	MAHMUT	DOĞAN	BAĞIŞCI	İSMAL OSMANI	0535 746 11 06	03.02.1975	İSTANBUL
179	M. Marmara	MAHMUT	COŞKUN	SAĞLIK		0532 566 54 86	30.08.1970	İSTANBUL
180	M. Marmara	MEDET	KAN	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0530 871 51 00	01.01.1981	İSTANBUL
181	M. Marmara	MEDİHA	OLGUN	MEDYA	SABAH	0554 976 11 18	15.07.1974	İSTANBUL
182	M. Marmara	MEHMET	IRIZ	GÖNÜLLÜ		0543 205 25 21	04.05.1985	İSTANBUL
183	M. Marmara	MEHMET	ALBAYRAK	STK	TİYENDER	0216 492 92 45	18.10.1971	İSTANBUL
184	M. Marmara	MEHMET	ÖZMEŞE	STK	SEYİTDAN	0533 633 43 10	26.03.1971	İSTANBUL
185	M. Marmara	MEHMET	ÇAKAN	TEŞKİLAT	AGD	0507 201 59 92	01.06.1972	VAN
186	M. Marmara	MEHMET	VURAL	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0533 732 35 68	04.02.1972	MANİSA
187	M. Marmara	MEHMET	YILDIRIM	TEŞKİLAT		0505 701 17 65	20.11.1978	MUS
188	M. Marmara	MEHMET	BARAZI	STK	ÖZEL FM	0535 783 27 10	09.02.1962	İSTANBUL
189	M. Marmara	MEHMET	ÇİMSİR	TEŞKİLAT	Sakarya İYC	0532 478 66 61	01.06.1958	ADANA ZARİ
190	M. Marmara	MEHMET	SEVİN	TEŞKİLAT	ÖZGÜR DER	0532 277 78 02	01.01.1960	BATMAN
191	M. Marmara	MEHMET	TUNÇ	TEŞKİLAT	MESALE	0535 652 81 66	14.02.1967	MALATYA
192	M. Marmara	MEHMET	YILDIRIM	TEŞKİLAT	Yeryüzü V.	0505 804 97 99	16.07.1967	ANTALYA
193	M. Marmara	MEHMET ALI	AKDENİZ	BAĞIŞCI		0532 335 64 01	16.08.1975	İSTANBUL
194	M. Marmara	MEHMET ALI	GÜNDÜZ	STK	AKDAV	0532 790 88 59	01.01.1973	İSTANBUL
195	M. Marmara	MEHMET ALI	ZEYBEK	TEŞKİLAT	İlim A.K.DER.	0507 244 43 54	01.04.1982	Diyarbakır
196	M. Marmara	MEHMET ARIF	KOÇER	STK	MAZLUMDER	0532 686 00 70	31.02.1965	VAN
197	M. Marmara	MEHMET CÜNEYT	SARITAŞAR	STK	MAZLUMDER	0530 501 96 70	07.05.1963	İSTANBUL
198	M. Marmara	MEHMET DURAK	YUNUŞAK	STK	SEYİTDAN	0555 699 07 71	01.01.1939	İSTANBUL
199	M. Marmara	MEHMET EMIN	KAYA	TEŞKİLAT	Çağlayand. DER	0555 489 24 24	09.05.1987	DENİZLİ
200	M. Marmara	MEHMET EYÜP	ACAR	TEŞKİLAT		0532 515 77 14	09.12.1985	VAN
201	M. Marmara	MEHMET MUHLIS	TURAN	STK	DARUL HİKME	0537 364 09 79	01.01.1970	
202	M. Marmara	MEHMET MURAT	YILDIRIM	TEŞKİLAT	ADIVAMAN	0555 843 05 52	01.06.1969	ADIVAMAN
203	M. Marmara	MEHMET ŞEFİK	DİNC	MEDYA	HABER TÜRK	0532 328 11 13	10.03.1978	
204	M. Marmara	MEHMET ŞERİF	MİZİPLİĞİU	TEŞKİLAT	ERDEMİLER	0532 574 96 20	01.01.1969	GAZİANTEP
205	M. Marmara	MEHMET SÜKRÜ	ÖZBERBER	TEŞKİLAT	BULBULZADE	0536 548 44 23	01.07.1947	GAZİANTEP
206	M. Marmara	MEHMET ZEKİ	SÖNMEZLER	TEŞKİLAT	SAĞDET P. 59	0532 346 48 47	01.05.1949	TATVAN



207	M. Marmara	MERAL	KAYA	KADIN GÖNÜLLÜ		0532 213 60 58	03.03.1976	İSTANBUL
208	M. Marmara	METİN	ÇALIŞKAN	BAĞIŞCI	PENDİK BAĞIŞCI	0532 587 83 49	11.05.1973	İSTANBUL
209	M. Marmara	METİN	AKTAŞ	STK	TGTV	0533 760 63 53	10.06.1987	İSTANBUL
210	M. Marmara	METİN	YARDIM	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0542 632 23 28	28.03.1965	SİİRT
211	M. Marmara	METİN	YILMAZ	GÖNÜLLÜ	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ		07.01.1974	
212	M. Marmara	MEVLT	YURTSEVEN	SAĞLIK		0532 264 06 10	25.06.1963	İSTANBUL
213	M. Marmara	MİKAIL	KURT	GÖNÜLLÜ		0532 262 57 53	03.03.1972	İSTANBUL
214	M. Marmara	MİKAIL	YILDIRIM	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0555 283 97 31	20.06.1970	SİLVİRİ
215	M. Marmara	MİNE	KARAKAŞ	İHH	DİŞ İUŞKİLER	0532 496 22 11	24.05.1978	İSTANBUL
216	M. Marmara	MUAMMER	CAN	GÖNÜLLÜ		0535 736 39 20	01.01.1966	İSTANBUL
217	M. Marmara	MUAMMER	KAVAKÇIOĞLU	TEŞKİLAT		0530 518 78 99	25.02.1971	İSKENDERUN
218	M. Marmara	MUHAMMED	DALYAN	STK	MEDENİYET DERNEĞİ	0542 330 79 17	28.10.1985	İSTANBUL
219	M. Marmara	MUHAMMED İKBAL	KÖSEOĞLU	STK	PİMA	0555 552 03 91	02.01.1983	İSTANBUL
220	M. Marmara	MUHAMMET	ZENGİN	GÖNÜLLÜ		0531 233 26 97	25.11.1980	İSTANBUL
221	M. Marmara	MUHAMMET CİHA	ÜLKÜ	STK	FİLİZDER	0535 843 32 79	15.05.1988	İSTANBUL
222	M. Marmara	MUHAMMET LATİF	KAYA	STK	İNSAN MEDENİYET HAREKETİ	0555 565 07 71	05.04.1977	İSTANBUL
223	M. Marmara	MUHARREM	GÜNEŞ	TEŞKİLAT	KALENDER	0532 650 25 03	25.07.1986	ELAZIĞ
224	M. Marmara	MUHİTTİN	ACICI	STK	BBP	0533 565 94 04	01.01.1966	İSTANBUL
225	M. Marmara	MUHİTTİN	GİLİ	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0536 619 78 62	09.10.1964	BİNGÖL
226	M. Marmara	MUHSİN	ENGİN	STK	İHYADER	0535 841 57 61	08.03.1979	İSTANBUL
227	M. Marmara	MUHYETTİN	YILDIRIM	TEŞKİLAT	ADYAR	0537 419 19 18	01.02.1969	ADANA
228	M. Marmara	MUKADDER	TANOK KIRBAŞ			0532 240 38 61	01.06.1967	
229	M. Marmara	MURAT	PALAVAR	MEDYA	YENİ SAFAK		10.06.1976	İSTANBUL
230	M. Marmara	MURAT	ATMACA	STK	HİKMET YARDIMLAŞMA VAKFI	0535 312 94 89	28.06.1982	İSTANBUL
231	M. Marmara	MURAT	SARITÜRK	TEŞKİLAT	ANADOLU PLATFORMU	0535 572 71 85	11.20.1974	KAHRAMANMARAŞ
232	M. Marmara	MURAT	TAŞGIN	TEŞKİLAT	Seydişehir	0538 591 58 76	10.01.1977	KONYA
233	M. Marmara	MURAT	YILMAZ	İHH	YONETİM	0532 261 88 73	26.04.1974	İSTANBUL
234	M. Marmara	MURAT HOSEYİN	AKINAN	STK	FATİH AKINCLARI	0536 544 35 44	19.01.1962	İSTANBUL
235	M. Marmara	MUSA	ÜZER	STK	ÖZGÜRDER		01.01.1976	İSTANBUL
236	M. Marmara	MUSA	ÇİFTÇİ	TEŞKİLAT		0544 768 14 27	01.01.1974	OSMANİYE
237	M. Marmara	MUSA	ÇOĞAŞ	TEŞKİLAT	IZYAD	0534 250 40 60	29.08.1962	İZMİR
238	M. Marmara	MUSTAFA	AĞBULUT	BAĞIŞCI	BAĞCILAR	0532 624 63 28	05.05.1970	İSTANBUL
239	M. Marmara	MUSTAFA	ÖZCAN	MEDYA	VAKIT	0555 437 74 12	11.02.1962	İSTANBUL
240	M. Marmara	MUSTAFA	TATLIŞU	MEDYA	KONTV	0533 556 50 54	16.04.1970	İSTANBUL
241	M. Marmara	MUSTAFA	SİMŞEK	STK	PENDİK	0554 802 17 29	05.06.1989	İSTANBUL
242	M. Marmara	MUSTAFA	TUNA	STK	VAHDET VAKFI	0533 514 68 17	18.12.1955	İSTANBUL
243	M. Marmara	MUSTAFA	AFŞAR	TEŞKİLAT	ÖZGÜR DER	0506 632 70 50	05.01.1973	BATMAN
244	M. Marmara	MUSTAFA	BATIRHAN	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0541 369 47 63	06.06.1980	MARDİN
245	M. Marmara	MUSTAFA	ERİKÇİ	TEŞKİLAT	AYDER	0537 628 48 87	27.01.1981	KONYA
246	M. Marmara	MUSTAFA	SEKMEN	TEŞKİLAT		0546 210 34 15	10.03.1964	KARAMAN
247	M. Marmara	MUSTAFA	ÖZTÜRK	İHH	PROPOKSTİYON	0537 274 79 68	14.09.1975	İSTANBUL

248	M. Marmara	MUSTAFA A.	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖMÜLLÜ	0533 223 66 44	07.03.1951	KONYA
249	M. Marmara	MUSTAFA ASIM	SAĞLIK		0505 355 66 66	01.02.1965	KONYA
250	M. Marmara	MUZAFFER	TEŞKİLAT	AGD	0555 570 06 07	07.12.1967	AYDIN
251	M. Marmara	MUZAFFER	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖMÜLLÜ	0533 472 34 69	21.06.1966	KONYA
252	M. Marmara	MUBEYyen	KADIN GÖMÜLLÜ		0532 263 58 60	11.10.1965	MERSİN
253	M. Marmara	MUCAHİD	TEŞKİLAT	AGD	0532 280 17 20		BARTIN
254	M. Marmara	MUCAHİD ŞAHİN	TEŞKİLAT	SAADET P.	0539 411 21 33	13.03.1983	KONYA
255	M. Marmara	MÜKERREM	KADIN GÖMÜLLÜ		0537 233 89 01	30.01.1974	BURSA
256	M. Marmara	MADİM	TEŞKİLAT	ENDÜS/ÖTK	0532 257 45 29	25.10.1978	GERZE
257	M. Marmara	NALAN	İHH	DIŞ İLİSKİLER	0530 926 67 59	11.02.1971	İSTANBUL
258	M. Marmara	NECATI	STK	ÖRNEKTEPE	0533 959 08 65	02.01.1973	İSTANBUL
259	M. Marmara	NECDET	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0533 598 41 17	15.08.1978	İSTANBUL
260	M. Marmara	NECDET	STK	HAKDER	0532 717 14 38	14.03.1949	İSTANBUL
261	M. Marmara	NECETTİN	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖMÜLLÜ	0533 619 20 47	18.02.1958	KİLİS
262	M. Marmara	NEDİM	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0535 211 06 54	05.03.1968	İSTANBUL
263	M. Marmara	NEVZAT	TEŞKİLAT	BİLGİ-HİKMET	0543 550 17 22	11.12.1970	ADYAMAN
264	M. Marmara	NIHAT	İHH	ACIL YARDIM		24.06.1960	İSTANBUL
265	M. Marmara	NİLÜFER	KADIN GÖMÜLLÜ			20.09.1973	İSTANBUL
266	M. Marmara	NUH	GÖMÜLLÜ		00 33632680713	21.07.1981	İSTANBUL
267	M. Marmara	NURİ	TEŞKİLAT	MARŞ İYD	0505 677 72 44	28.08.1965	K.MARŞ
268	M. Marmara	NUSRETTİN	TEŞKİLAT	BEYDER	0535 376 50 74	01.01.1971	BATMAN
269	M. Marmara	OKTAY	TEŞKİLAT		0262 452 33 10	30.09.1975	KOCAELİ
270	M. Marmara	ÖRAL	BAĞIŞCI		0532 467 64 49	08.02.1968	İSTANBUL
271	M. Marmara	ORHAN	STK	HASTA HAKLARI	0533 325 73 00	01.06.1976	İSTANBUL
272	M. Marmara	ORHAN	TEŞKİLAT		0538 673 64 08	25.08.1961	KAYSERİ
273	M. Marmara	ORHANGAZİ	MEDYA	TRT HABER	0532 402 15 98	20.01.1969	İSTANBUL
274	M. Marmara	OSMAN	İHH	YONETİM	0533 599 24 13	27.08.1963	İSTANBUL
275	M. Marmara	OSMAN	TEŞKİLAT		0537 890 57 86	01.03.1967	ERZİNCAN
276	M. Marmara	OSMAN	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0532 365 24 24	10.03.1978	İSTANBUL
277	M. Marmara	ÖMER	GÖMÜLLÜ	SAVAŞCI	0532 327 68 50	01.02.1968	İSTANBUL
278	M. Marmara	ÖMER	TEŞKİLAT		0532 664 15 13	25.06.1986	BURSA
279	M. Marmara	ÖZLEM	KADIN GÖMÜLLÜ		0505 258 64 68	10.03.1974	ANTALYA
280	M. Marmara	RAMAZAN	MEDYA		0535 505 63 80	01.01.1956	İSTANBUL
281	M. Marmara	RAMAZAN	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖMÜLLÜ	0532 645 35 86	05.03.1970	ŞANLIURFA
282	M. Marmara	RECAİ	BAĞIŞCI		0535 623 26 85	20.09.1968	İSTANBUL
283	M. Marmara	RECEP	GÖMÜLLÜ		0532 296 00 59	08.10.1958	İSTANBUL
284	M. Marmara	RECEP	İHH	PRODUKSİYON	0538 452 15 23	28.01.1989	İSTANBUL
285	M. Marmara	RECEP	İHH	PRODUKSİYON	0537 677 22 65	03.02.1980	İSTANBUL
286	M. Marmara	RECEP	STK		0533 568 38 44	20.01.1960	İSTANBUL
287	M. Marmara	RECEP	TEŞKİLAT	D.BAKIR İYD	0505 642 39 57	01.01.1966	Diyarbakır
288	M. Marmara	RECEP	TEŞKİLAT	AKY/79	0536 635 76 67	05.10.1950	ANKARA



289	M. Marmara	REVAHA	GUMRUKÇU	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0543 407 09 91	20.10.1986	İSTANBUL
290	M. Marmara	RUDVAN	KAYA	STK	ÖZGÜRDER	0533 762 65 40	25.05.1964	İSTANBUL
291	M. Marmara	SABRI	TÜRK	TEŞKİLAT		0532 475 16 19	26.04.1974	BOLU
292	M. Marmara	SAİD	IBİCİOĞLU	STK	ANADOLU GENÇLİK	0554 635 67 42	23.05.1987	İSTANBUL
293	M. Marmara	SALAHATTİN	ÖZER	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0536 603 97 60	06.09.1970	İSTANBUL
294	M. Marmara	SALİH	BULCI	İHH	İLETİŞİM	0533 220 82 07	01.01.1979	İSTANBUL
295	M. Marmara	SALİH	MERDİVAN	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0533 740 97 68	10.01.1965	ZONGULDAK
296	M. Marmara	SALİHA SULTAN	AKINAN	KADIN GÖNÜLLÜ		0531 634 86 61	12.03.1992	İSTANBUL
297	M. Marmara	SALİM	SEYYAR	STK		0532 266 55 97	29.10.1957	İSTANBUL
298	M. Marmara	SAMET	DOĞAN	MEDYA	TARAF GAZETESİ	0541 415 34 57	27.01.1988	İSTANBUL
299	M. Marmara	SAMI	DUR	GÖNÜLLÜ		0506 315 68 05	09.01.1970	İSTANBUL
300	M. Marmara	SEBAHAATTİN	KATANALP	GÖNÜLLÜ		0530 402 73 89	01.05.1980	İSTANBUL
301	M. Marmara	SEBAHAATTİN	SELİMEFENDİGİL	STK	AKDAY	0535 201 06 59	01.01.1974	İSTANBUL
302	M. Marmara	SEHİM	AYDINLAR	BAGIŞCI		0532 216 76 27	25.09.1962	İSTANBUL
303	M. Marmara	SELİM	ÖZKABAKÇI	TEŞKİLAT	İLKE-DER	0532 316 93 53	01.11.1969	ÇORUM
304	M. Marmara	SELİM SARDER	KÜÇÜK	TEŞKİLAT		0555 361 28 99	12.11.1971	SAMSUN
305	M. Marmara	SEMA	İŞLEK	SAĞLIK	İHH	0533 251 05 66	01.12.1989	İSTANBUL
306	M. Marmara	SENEM	OÇAL	MEDYA	ALJAZEERA BELGESEL	0532 644 53 88	05.10.1977	İSTANBUL
307	M. Marmara	SEYFULLAH	ÖZGÜVEN	TEŞKİLAT		0533 572 00 74	25.06.1959	KAYSERİ
308	M. Marmara	SİTKİ	PIŞKIN	TEŞKİLAT		0505 954 85 75	01.01.1944	OSMANİYE
310	M. Marmara	SİNAN	ALBAYRAK	MEDYA		0532 283 73 87	27.02.1973	İSTANBUL
311	M. Marmara	SUAT	KOŞMAZ	TEŞKİLAT	ADYAR	0555 996 46 42	14.01.1974	ADANA
312	M. Marmara	SÜLEYMAN	ÇAKMAK	MEDYA	ATV AVRUPA KOORDİNATÖRÜ	0532 228 09 87	12.10.1962	
313	M. Marmara	SÜMEYYE	ERTEKİN	MEDYA	TYNET	0545 247 47 37	19.10.1982	İSTANBUL
314	M. Marmara	ŞAHİN	UZUN	GÖNÜLLÜ		0507 722 00 04	13.05.1974	İSTANBUL
315	M. Marmara	ŞAHİN İBRAHİM	GÜLERYÜZ	STK	İNSAN MEDENİYET HAREKETİ	0532 681 92 25	11.03.1966	İSTANBUL
316	M. Marmara	SEMSETTİN	İPEK	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0555 504 84 38	14.03.1963	İSTANBUL
317	M. Marmara	SENAY	AYDIN	SAĞLIK	İHH	0532 660 65 16	30.03.1978	İSTANBUL
318	M. Marmara	SEVKET	GÖKMEN	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0555 872 70 78	09.06.1976	İSTANBUL
319	M. Marmara	SÜKRÜ	PEKER	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0535 817 97 03	26.07.1974	İSTANBUL
320	M. Marmara	SÜKRÜ	MORTÇU	TEŞKİLAT	AYDER	0535 698 15 27	01.01.1974	KONYA
321	M. Marmara	TAHIR	İPEK	MEDYA		0537 568 23 42	15.03.1972	ALMANYA
322	M. Marmara	TAHSİN	ETLİ	TEŞKİLAT	ANİSD	0506 602 28 32	01.01.1971	ANTALYA
323	M. Marmara	TUNCER	ALTUNTAŞ	GÖNÜLLÜ		0535 562 37 61	14.05.1941	İSTANBUL
324	M. Marmara	TÜRKER	SALTAĞAŞ	İHH		0532 570 55 42	07.03.1958	İSTANBUL
325	M. Marmara	TÜRKER	KAĞAN	KADIN GÖNÜLLÜ			04.05.2009	İSTANBUL
326	M. Marmara	UĞUR	TOĞRUL	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0535 500 53 40	09.09.1978	İSTANBUL
327	M. Marmara	UĞUR SÜLEYMAN	SOVLEMEZ	BAGIŞCI		0533 551 72 19	29.07.1963	İSTANBUL
328	M. Marmara	ÜMIT	SÖNMEZ	İHH	PRODUKSİYON	0533 956 38 95	28.06.1970	İSTANBUL
329	M. Marmara	ÜSAME	SEKİZKARDEŞ	GÖNÜLLÜ		0553 483 00 00	31.01.1994	İSTANBUL
330	M. Marmara	VAHDETTİN	SURMENELİ	GÖNÜLLÜ	ÇAYIRLI 89	0505 958 93 25	28.02.1975	İSTANBUL

331	M. Marmara	VAROL	YILMAZ	TEŞKİLAT	İNİYAD	0542 421 06 25	05.01.1970	İNİGÖL
332	M. Marmara	VEDAT	ALTUN	TEŞKİLAT	YÜK GEMİSİ	0542 315 59 41	05.05.1976	GERZE
333	M. Marmara	YAHYA	COSKUN	MEDYA	ULKE TV	0533 635 56 37	15.08.1986	İSTANBUL
334	M. Marmara	YAKUP	ALINAK	TEŞKİLAT	Sedley Def.	0538 953 73 73	24.01.1971	Alanya
335	M. Marmara	YASIN	İSPAR	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0506 600 35 72	01.01.1984	İSTANBUL
336	M. Marmara	YASAR	KUTLUAY	İHH	YÖNETİM	0533 328 81 25	05.06.1972	İSTANBUL
337	M. Marmara	YAVUZ	BAYSAN	STK	SENABİL	0555 269 75 21	09.07.1979	UŞAK
338	M. Marmara	YETİS	CAN	TEŞKİLAT	İsmailiye Cem.	0530 274 37 68	28.02.1948	İZMİR
339	M. Marmara	YILDIZ	ÇİÇEKDAĞLI	KADIN GÖNÜLLÜ	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0542 654 79 00	12.04.1976	İSTANBUL
340	M. Marmara	YILMAZ	AKBULUT	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0534 738 75 10	06.01.1988	GAZİANTEP
341	M. Marmara	YUSUF	KINOLUCE	İHH	ACIL YARDIM	0532 730 91 99	07.11.1976	AFYONKARAHİSAR
342	M. Marmara	YUSUF	ÖZÇOBAN	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0533 381 42 28	12.03.1980	İSTANBUL
343	M. Marmara	YUSUF ZIYA	DÖNMEZ	İHH	MAİL İŞLER	0545 510 77 00	20.04.1984	İSTANBUL
344	M. Marmara	YÜCEL	VELİOĞLU	MEDYA	ANADOLU ALANSI	0532 277 68 00	10.01.1970	İSTANBUL
345	M. Marmara	YÜKSEL	AYDOĞAN	GÖNÜLLÜ	PRODÜKSİYON	0537 589 68 59	20.06.1989	İSTANBUL
346	M. Marmara	YÜKSEL MURAT	YAVUZ	İHH	FİDDER	0533 371 56 99	24.03.1967	İSTANBUL
347	M. Marmara	ZAKARLA	MAHOL	STK	İLETİŞİM	0535 367 07 97	27.06.1980	İSTANBUL
348	M. Marmara	ZEHRA	ÖZTÜRK	İHH	GÖNÜLLER	0530 885 98 07	07.07.1983	HATAY
349	M. Marmara	ZEKERİYA	KAYA	TEŞKİLAT	İskenderiye İYD	0532 635 49 35	28.04.1967	DENİZLİ
350	M. Marmara	ZEKERİYE	KANAT	TEŞKİLAT	İHH GÖNÜLLÜ	0538 299 79 98	01.02.1954	İSTANBUL
351	M. Marmara	ZEKİ	KAYA	İHH	İLETİŞİM	0544 321 61 61	02.06.1976	GÖNEN
352	M. Marmara	ZELİHA	SAĞLAM	İHH	ANKARA İHH	0554 246 17 89	12.01.1961	ANKARA
353	M. Marmara	ZELİHA	SERTKAYA	KADIN GÖNÜLLÜ	KONYA İHH	0533 626 25 75	01.09.1980	
354	M. Marmara	ZEYNEP ABİDİN	ÖZKAN	TEŞKİLAT	ANADOLU PLATFORMU	0531 346 80 47	24.05.1949	URFA
355	M. Marmara	BAYRAM	BARAN	STK	ACIL YARDIM	0532 491 18 98	01.01.1970	
356	M. Marmara	MUHUS	YASAR	GÖNÜLLÜ	ACIL YARDIM	0543 521 02 30	01.01.1965	
357	M. Marmara	EYÜP	KOÇ	İHH		0533 613 81 83	26.09.1973	
358	M. Marmara	MEVLUT	YACEL	GÖNÜLLÜ		0533 617 52 22	24.07.1983	
359	M. Marmara	ALL	TUNABOYLU	STK		0532 617 43 37	27.04.1940	İSTANBUL
360	M. Marmara	ÖZKAN	KARAOĞLU	TEŞKİLAT		0535 560 53 77	26.05.1905	KAYSERİ
361	M. Marmara	ANMET AYDAN	BEKER	MEDYA		0533 607 12 03	23.10.1982	İSTANBUL
362	M. Marmara	AYŞE RABİA	SARIOĞLU KAYRAL	İHH		0505 491 41 97	07.09.1964	
363	M. Marmara	ALPASLAN	TÜRK	SAGLIK		0533 394 79 71	27.12.1970	
364	M. Marmara	MURAT PERTEV	ELİFİ	GÖNÜLLÜ		0546 809 16 69	03.06.1989	
365	M. Marmara	MUHAMMED ESAT	DAĞIL					
366	M. Marmara							