



# The Ikhwan in North America: A Short History

By Douglas Farah and Ron Sandee

## **Executive Summary**

The current federal court case against the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF) in Dallas, Texas,<sup>1</sup> offers an unprecedented inside look into the history of the Muslim Brotherhood in the United States, as well as its goals and structure. The documents discuss recruitment, organization, ideology and the development of the organization in different phases in the United States. The prosecution in the case has presented many internal Muslim Brotherhood documents from the 1980's and early 1990's that give a first-ever, public view of the history and ideology behind the operations of the Muslim Brothers (known as the *Ikhwan* or *The Group*) in the U.S. over the past four decades. For researchers, the documents have the added weight of being written by the *Ikhwan* leaders themselves, rather than interpretations of secondary sources.



The most compelling evidence of the Brotherhood's true aims is contained in an internal memorandum written in 1991 by a senior Brotherhood leader and titled: "On the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America." In the document, the author is strikingly clear about the ultimate goal of the Muslim Brotherhood in the United States:

"The Ikhwan must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and "sabotaging" its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated and God's religion is made victorious over all other religions."<sup>2</sup>

The exhibits make four things clear:

- 1) Many of the existing organizations that have set themselves up as the interlocutors between the Islamic community in the United States and the outside world (including government, law enforcement and other faiths) were founded and controlled by the Muslim Brotherhood from their inception. Many of them changed their names over time to achieve broader national acceptance.
- 2) The Brotherhood established a highly-structured organization with many different faces inside the United States while deliberately and continually seeking to hide the Brotherhood's links to its front groups.
- 3) The agenda to be carried out by these groups in the United States in reality had little to do with publicly-proclaimed goals of the organizations, such as promoting civil rights protection for Muslims. Rather, the true goal is to destroy the United States from the inside and work for the establishment of a global Islamist society.

<sup>1</sup> United States of America v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development et al, No. 3:04-CR-240-G, United States District Court for the Northern Division of Texas, Dallas Division. All exhibits are referred to by the number assigned to them in court, and are additionally available for download via the NEFA Foundation website: <http://www.nefafoundation.org>.

<sup>2</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0085; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.21.

- 4) The primary function of the Brotherhood structures, from the early 1990s forward, was to support, materially and politically, the Hamas movement in the Palestinian territories, as instructed by the office of the general guide of the Muslim Brotherhood in Cairo.

## **Introduction**

To understand the role and importance of the Brotherhood, (officially known as *al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin*), it is essential to understand the history of the movement. It is not a single, monolithic organization, but rather a collection of some 70 national organizations with competing interests and desires, with an international directorate.<sup>3</sup> The Brotherhood was founded in Egypt in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna in response to the recent collapse of the Muslim Caliphate. Al-Banna called for establishment of a world Islamic state governed by Koranic law, ruled by a single caliph. The Brotherhood's creed is: "God is our objective; the Koran is our constitution; the Prophet is our leader; *jihad* is our way; and death for the sake of God is the highest of our aspirations."<sup>4</sup>

The Brotherhood took a sharply anti-Western tone under the ideological influence of Sayyid Outb. In a seminal 1946 article published in Egyptian *al-Risala* magazine after visiting the United States, Outb wrote: "All Westerners are the same: a rotten conscience, a false civilization. How I hate these Westerners, how I despise all of them without exception." He came to believe the world is now in a state of *jahiliyyah* or the primitive savagery of pre-Islamic revelation and the Muslims had lost their way, in large part because of Western influences.

Outb's thinking crystallized in a slim tract, now his most enduring work, titled "Milestones," which outlines not only the dismal state of the world, but the duty of Islam to dispel the darkness by spreading Islam by whatever means available. All non-Islamic states were deemed illegitimate, including that of his native Egypt. Only the Koran, with its laws, is viewed as legitimate.<sup>5</sup> Outb was hanged in 1966, but his book has remained in print in many languages, and is sold on Muslim Brotherhood websites and in mosques around the world. The book can be found here: [http://www.youngmuslims.ca/online\\_library/books/milestones/hold/index\\_2.asp](http://www.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/milestones/hold/index_2.asp)

Many of the Brotherhood's early leaders, who opposed both colonialism and the secular regimes in which they lived, were killed and others driven out of their homelands. Many of the survivors, including many highly-educated men with skills lacking in much of the Arab world, eventually found refuge in Saudi Arabia, where the anti-Western *wahhabi* establishment welcomed them. In the 1970's, flush with cash from the first oil boom and deeply disturbed by the successful Islamic revolution in Shi'ite Iran, Saudi leaders set out to spread their own conservative brand of Sunni Islam.

Brotherhood activists helped launch the largest Saudi charities, including the Muslim World League and World Assembly of Muslim Youth, all closely tied to the conservative Saudi clergy. Branches of these groups would later be implicated in funding al Qaeda.<sup>6</sup> A non-exhaustive list of the militant Islamists and organizations that emerged from the Brotherhood's ranks include many now-familiar names: Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, the "Blind Sheik" responsible for killing hundreds of civilians and serving a life sentence in New York for planning terrorist attacks in the United States; the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), founded and funded by the Brotherhood in 1987, to destroy Israel; Ayman Zawahiri, founder of the Brotherhood-based Egyptian Islamic Jihad, and currently Osama bin Laden's chief deputy; Abdullah Azzam, bin Laden's teacher of Islamic Studies at the university in Saudi Arabia who later went on to Afghanistan and eventually became a co-founder of al Qaeda; Hassan al-Turabi, bin Laden's

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<sup>3</sup> Muslim Brotherhood homepage:  
<http://web.archive.org/web/19990209054822/http://www.ummah.org.uk/ikhwan/index.html>

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> The most readily available version of the book is published by the Mother Mosque Foundation of Cedar Rapids, IA.

<sup>6</sup> Mintz, John and Douglas Farah, "In Search of Friends Among the Foes," The Washington Post, Sept. 11, 2004, p. A1.

benefactor and host during his stay in Sudan.<sup>7</sup> Khalid Sheik Mohammed, the architect of the 9-11 attacks, told U.S. interrogators he was drawn to violent *jihad* in Kuwait after joining the Brotherhood and attending its desert youth camps.<sup>8</sup> Spanish judge Baltasar Garzon accused Imad Eddin Barakat Yarkas, the alleged mastermind of the March 11, 2004 attack on a Spanish train that killed 198 people, and others implicated in the attack, of belonging to the Brotherhood.<sup>9</sup>

Lesser known figures in the United States but prominent in the Brotherhood who have been designated as terrorist supporters by the U.S. Treasury Department and the United Nations include: Yousef Nada, an Egyptian and naturalized Italian citizen who joined the Brotherhood at 16 and identifies himself as the Brotherhood's foreign minister; and his frequent business partner, Ahmed Idris Nasreddin, a wealthy Eritrean.<sup>10</sup>

### **The Muslim Brotherhood in the United States**

The U.S. Chapter of the international Muslim Brotherhood was formed in the 1960s, according to the documents presented in court. This coincides with increasing repression of the Brotherhood in Egypt, where the movement was born, as well as increasing pressure in other secular Arab states. As a result, many Brotherhood members moved to the more hospitable environment of Saudi Arabia.

During the first years in the United States, the *Ikhwan* were only loosely organized. A U.S. Chapter of the Muslim Brotherhood was formed in the early 1960s after hundreds of young Muslims came to the U.S. to study, particularly at large Midwestern universities in Illinois, Indiana and Michigan. The center of activity was the Muslim Students Association, founded in 1963. Some belonged to the Muslim Brotherhood in their homelands and wanted to spread its ideology here.<sup>11</sup> In the 1970s, a new influx of Muslim Brothers from the Middle East created first tensions but in the end led to a more professional organization. Years later the leader of the organization office of the U.S. chapter of the Muslim Brotherhood, identified as Zeid al-Noman, said the first gathering of a grouping for Islam activists was without an organizational affiliation.

"So, the first generation of the Muslim Ikhwan in north America composed of a team which included he who was an Ikhwan in his country or he who was a member of The Worshipers of the Merciful Group or he who doesn't have a direction but who is active in Islamic activism."<sup>12</sup>

A historical outline of achievements of the Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S. written on 25 October 1991 as an internal work paper to the Shura Council of the group in the U.S. states: "In 1962, the Muslim Students Union was founded by a group of the first Ikhwan in North America and the meetings of the Ikhwan became conferences and Students Union Camps."<sup>13</sup> The Muslim Students Association (MSA) was founded in 1963.<sup>14</sup>

Zeid al-Noman indicated that the first Muslim brothers who came to the United States were still seen as members of the Muslim Brothers of their country of origin. If a Muslim Brother came from a country that had no large '*gathering*' in the U.S., he was advised to associate with

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<sup>7</sup> These and other ties are outlined in several articles, including: Mintz and Farah, op cit; Michael and Mark Hosenball, "Jihad's Long Reach," Newsweek Web Exclusive, www.newsweek.com, Sept. 17, 2003; Farah, op cit., pp 145-157.

<sup>8</sup> Mintz and Farah, op cit.

<sup>9</sup> Ministracion de Justicia, Juzgado Central de Instruccion No. 005, Sumario (Proc. Ordinario) 0000035/2001 E.

<sup>10</sup> U.S. Treasury Department Statement on Terrorist Designations, Aug. 12, 2002; Mark Hosenball with Kevin Peraino and Catherine Skipp, "Is al Taqwa, a Shadowy Financial Network, a Secret Money Machine for Osama bin Laden?" *Newsweek*, March 25, 2002, p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/chi-0409190261sep19,1,4013775.story?coll=chi-religion-utiltop>; Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.2.

<sup>12</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.2.

<sup>13</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0003; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al.

<sup>14</sup> Gutbi Mahdi Ahmed, Muslim Organizations in the United States, in Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (Ed), *The Muslims of America* (New York 1991) p. 14.

the “nearest movement to them. So, for instance, an Iraqi might have joined Jordan’s Ikhwan and, for instance, a Libyan might associate with Egypt’s Ikhwan and so forth.”<sup>15</sup>

“The Movement went through different organizational formats. One of the first organizational formats tried here were the regional gatherings as each movement had (...) with a leadership and the collection of this leadership formed Group’s or what is called the Coordination Council. There were meetings and the resolutions of that Council were non-binding for its members.”<sup>16</sup>

Later a more formal structure was created and according to the bylaws and Zeid al-Noman, “the highest organization in the Group is the Organizational Conference. The Organizational Conference is a stemming from the Ikhwan bases; every Usra elects one or two according to its number. (...) After that, the Shura Council comes then the Executive Council.”<sup>17</sup>

“During this stage, the name of this gathering was not important but the affiliation with the Ikhwan’s name was an affiliation due to the size of thought of this Movement. (...) This was the reason for which the name ‘The Muslim Brotherhood’ was adopted as a basis for this work. (...) There was an attempt to change the name of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement to The Islamic Movement... As for recruitment in the ranks of this Movement, its main condition was that a brother must be active in the general activism in the MSA, a person who attends its general conferences or participating in its executive committees, whether local or central, and this was the Movement’s condition in the 60’s. (...) Recruitment used to take place in the following format: attending the MSA conferences and choosing active Arab elements and approaching them to join the Ikhwan. This was followed by visits to the local branches and, consequently, choosing active elements over there and approaching them to join the Ikhwan.”<sup>18</sup>

### **New Influx from the Middle East: the 1970’s**

Continuing from the personal account of Zeid al-Noman, as taken from government exhibits presented in United States of America v. Holy Land Foundation:

“In the beginning of the 70’s a new era started. We can call it the stage of codification. The people put together the first bylaws. (...) There started to be an emphasis on the Ikhwan’s formula for this Movement. Prior to this stage, young elements came to America, (e)specially Gulf elements or Saudi elements which joined the ranks of the Movement regularly.”<sup>19</sup>

“In 1972, the Muslim Kuwaiti Youths Association was founded which was later developed in 1976 into the Muslim Arab Youths Association and its work centered around the Muslim students coming to America from all the Arab countries. It developed significantly during the eighties and the Ikhwan play a fundamental role in leading and directing it at the leadership and the grassroots levels.”<sup>20</sup>

In the second half of the 1970’s an “era of dedication for general activism began”, according to Zeid al-Noman.<sup>21</sup> “The first Ikhwan’s plan was the five-year plan the Ikhwan put together lasting from ’75-’80. Its primary focus was general work and dedication to the general work organizations.”<sup>22</sup> This phase led not only to greater ties between the North American Brotherhood members, but an increasing emphasis on secrecy, as well as the imposition of the need for long-term planning. It was also a time of deep internal divisions within the movement, and bitter rivalries:

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<sup>15</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.2-3.

<sup>16</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.2. Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.1.

<sup>17</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.15.

<sup>18</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.3.

<sup>19</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.3.

<sup>20</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0003; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al.

<sup>21</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.4.

<sup>22</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.7.

"During the same time, the Ikhwan's foreign connections became strong and that was due to the fundraising campaigns which were launched by the Ikhwan which made it possible for the Ikhwan in the leadership to meet (the) leadership from the Orient. Therefore, membership here of the brothers who were members in their countries was easier, more easier. Those people come to the Movement and found some organizational practices such as means and priorities which were different from the ones they were accustomed to in their countries. So, they started to inquire, "Where is the strictness in the conditions? And where are these conditions? Where is the secrecy, where is (the) organizational connection and where are the educational programs? What are the goals of the Group here? What are the goals of these programs?" All of these questions were resurfacing on the field anew. Therefore, regional organizational pockets started to form during this time period. Also, rumors and suspicions started to circulate among the ranks of the Group regarding individuals in the leadership. So, the Movement's then-current situation exploded during the camp of '77 and a new leadership came on board in '78 whose work was bitter as it was trying to purge the Group's body from regional restrictions and gatherings of from the organizational pockets and tied its parts together but, during this time period, it was a non-harmonious leadership and going back and forth was evident in its positions."<sup>23</sup>

An interesting comment from Zeid al-Noman is about the difference between the Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S. and in the Middle East. Al-Noman said: "our methods and means are different from the Orient unless it was compatible with the reality of the Islamic Movement over here. Our methods are always driven from the nature of the organizational base, from the nature of the country which is America and also from the nature of the base from which we move, the people we move between are mostly highly-educated youth. (...) They are more aware than the youth who are of the same stage or age in the Orient."<sup>24</sup>

"The conferences of '77, '78 and '79 used to end with tears and pain but (...) were very important for what happened after that. This time period was characterized by change; a change in Ikhwan who wanted to change the status quo and others who want to maintain the status quo. (...) For the first time actual accountability of the leadership was enacted even though this accountability was unfair at times. In the past, leadership was seen as a group of infallible Ikhwan. Therefore, holding them accountable was rare or simple."<sup>25</sup>

"In 1976, the Malaysian Group for Islamic Studies was founded and it now has an annual conference (attended by 600 students in 1990), a leadership conference and other camps in various regions. Its work is centered on the students coming from Malaysia and Southeast Asia. The leadership of the Ikhwan plays a general role in directing the Malaysian Group."<sup>26</sup>

### **Professionalization: The 1980's**

The time of turmoil led to a more structured Brotherhood organization in the United States, with a centralized leadership and the formation of many of the organizations that continue to function today. For the first time the leadership is seeking to build permanent structures with the idea of settling permanently in various U.S. cities.

"The elections of '79 came along and the Shura Council came in '80 and '81 and the road in front of it was paved and the Shura Council came in '80 and '81 and the road in front of it was paved and work began to unify the Group's ranks, codification of work and pushing the Movement's forward. For the first time then, we had a General Masul who was dedicated to the Group's affairs alone and also the Shura Council started to play its true role which is planning and monitoring the executive leadership. The executive leadership was carrying its tasks through a Shura atmosphere and continuous contacts. Its meetings were held consistently on monthly basis."<sup>27</sup>

"In 1980, the Muslim Students Union was developed into the Islamic Society in North America (ISNA) to include all the Muslim congregation from immigrants and citizens, and to be a nucleus for the Islamic Movement in North America...The ISNA has developed significantly in the eighties but

<sup>23</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.4.

<sup>24</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.10.

<sup>25</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.4.

<sup>26</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0003; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al.

<sup>27</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.5.

the Ikhwan's leadership and direction of it started to gradually decrease due to their scarce presence in it."<sup>28</sup>

The second five-year plan for 1981-1985 was focused on self-structure and the settlement of the Dawa'a, including trying to increase the influence of the Brotherhood in organizations that were evolving among young Muslim immigrants.<sup>29</sup>

"By 'Settlement of the Dawa'a', the Muslim Brotherhood Dawa'a is meant. It is not meant to spread Islam as spread of Islam is a general thing and it is indeed a goal for each Muslim in general terms. The second thing is the settlement of the Dawa'a and finding permanent fundamentals in the cities where Ikhwan now live in the order for them to be the meeting points for the coming brothers... In 1985, the Youths Organization in North America was founded as an independent organization but with a relationship with the ISNA. The Ikhwan played no role in founding it and directing it but the matter is gradually improving. Its work is centered on the children of the Muslim congregations from immigrants and citizens in North America. It has a general annual conference and regional conferences across the continent."<sup>30</sup>

In contradiction to this is the fact that Ahmed Elkadi, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood in the United States between 1984 and 1994, helped to create several Islamic organizations, including the Muslim Youth of North America. This organization attempted to draw thousands of high school students to Islam by sponsoring soccer teams, providing scholarships and offering a line of clothing.<sup>31</sup>

### **Front Groups and Weapons Training**

This phase also brought the explicit use of front groups and a more sophisticated division of labor among the different Brotherhood groups, including seeing media exposure. However, secrecy and compartmentalizing work were stressed. Zeid al-Noman stressed both in his extensive discourse, emphasizing the care that must be put into the formation of front groups, while explicitly naming the Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP) as one of those groups:

"[Fronts groups are] one method to communicate the Ikhwan's point of view. A front is not formed until after a study and after an exhaustive study. I mean, the last front formed by the Group is the Islamic Association for Palestine. So, Ikhwan, this did not come out over night, or it was not the Ikhwan who are in charge went to sleep, dreamed about it and met the next day and decided to do it. Not at all, by God. This went through lengthy meetings and took long discussions."<sup>32</sup>

The focus of the Brotherhood efforts at this time was the IAP.

"In 1981, the Ikhwan founded the Islamic Association of Palestine to serve the cause of Palestine on the political and the media fronts. The Association has absorbed most of the Ikhwan's Palestinian energy at the leadership and the grassroots levels in addition to some of the brothers from the other countries. Attention was given to the Arab new arrivals, immigrants and citizens in general, while focusing on the Palestinians in particular. The Association's work had developed a great deal since its inception, particularly with the formation of the Palestine Committee, the beginning of the Intifada at the end of 1987 and the proclamation of the Hamas movement, The Association has organizations affiliated with it such as (The United Association for Studies & Research, The Occupied Land Fund and The Media Office), dedicated main personnel, several periodicals, research, studies and field branches in all the regions."<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0003; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al.

<sup>29</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.7.

<sup>30</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.8.

<sup>31</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0003; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al.;

<http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/chi-0409190261sep19,1,4013775.story?coll=chi-religion-utiltop>

<sup>32</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.12.

<sup>33</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0003; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al

In 1982-1983 the main goals of the Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S. are, according to Zeid al-Noman: "Strengthening the internal structure, administrative discipline, recruitment and settlement of the Dawa'a, energizing the organizations' work, energizing the political work fronts. As for the secondary goals, they are eight: first, financing and investment; second, foreign relations; third reviving women's activity; four, political awareness to members of the Group; five, securing the Group; six, special activity; seven, media; eight, benefiting from human potentials."<sup>34</sup>

The need for security and vigilance against outside forces was growing and becoming a more important concern. It also appears that the Brothers had developed some sort of military capacity. This is clear from the exchange between al-Noman and an unidentified questioner, who asks if the Special Activity (number 6 above) referred to military work. Al-Noman responded:

"Special work" means military work. "Securing the Group" is the Groups' security, the Group's security against outside dangers. For instance, to monitor suspicious movement (...) which exist on the American front such as Zionism, Masonry...etc. Monitoring the suspicious movements or the sides, the government bodies such as the CIA, FBI...etc, so that we can find out if they are monitoring us, are we not being monitored, how can we get rid of them."<sup>35</sup>

Almost immediately afterward, he went on to clarify and talk about Brotherhood weapons training in the United States: [I]t is not possible to have military to have military training in Jordan, for instance, while here in America there is (sic) weapons training in many of the Ikhwan camps (...)<sup>36</sup>

A little further on, al-Noman returns to the topic, describing how in some areas, such as Oklahoma, weapons training has become more difficult because the authorities had "started to get strict about letting Muslims use the camps. They would ask them, for instance, to submit their name and they would ask you to bring an ID or something to prove our name."<sup>37</sup> However, he added that "here in Missouri" the Brothers could still "request a camp that has a range, a shooting range, and one which has a range to shoot, one which has a range which they use for shooting. You could find that in some of the camps."<sup>38</sup>

### **The Formation of Hamas**

A defining moment for the Brotherhood presence in the United States (and elsewhere) was the formation of Hamas in 1987, as an armed group. What set Hamas apart from other Islamist groups was its public and organic link to the Muslim Brotherhood. Article 2 of the Hamas Charter states that:

"The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the wings of the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine. The Muslim Brotherhood Movement is a universal organization which constitutes the largest Islamic movement of modern times. It is characterized by its deep understanding, accurate comprehension and its complete embrace of all Islamic concepts of all aspects of life, culture, creed, politics, economics, education, society, justice and judgment, the spreading of Islam, education, art, information, science of the occult and conversion to Islam."<sup>39</sup>

This explicit endorsement of Hamas by the U.S. Group carries over to many other documents. A December 1990 memorandum titled "Lessons and Morals from the Reality of Intifada Work," begins by saying: "Hamas is a Godly gift to the Palestinian people, the Muslim nation and the International Islamic Movement: like the gift of the Afghani Jihad; and the establishment of the nation of Islam in Sudan; and the triumph Islam and Muslim in several places (Algeria, Jordan, Malaysia, Turkey...; the fall of Communism and the liberation of Islamic states; the endurance of the International Movement in face of many shocks (The Gulf crisis, the internal conflicts..)"<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.9.

<sup>35</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.13.

<sup>36</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.13

<sup>37</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.18

<sup>38</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0089; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.18

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.mideastweb.org/hamas.htm>.

<sup>40</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0010; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al, p. 1.

The same document hints at internal security problems for the Brotherhood and a direct role in trying to counter the information coming from the confessions of arrested *Ikhwan* members (possibly Hamas members, but not explicitly stated in the document) in Israel and the Palestinian territories. The document says that the “discovery of moles” does not mean “that the movement is destroyed.”<sup>41</sup> The document analyzes why some of those captured confess, and how to mitigate the damage, particularly by using dead drops, further compartmentalizing Brotherhood work and added security precautions.

At the same time, it is clear that the Brotherhood groups in the United States are steadily branching off and building groups that are to be perceived as being independent entities, but in reality are all linked. A document titled “Annual Report for year 89-1990, Presented to the Organizational Conference,” states that: “The Central Committee for Palestinian Activism in America is in charge of planning, directing and following up on all work related to and connected to the Group. It includes several committees and organizations, some of which are: The Islamic Association of Palestine, the Occupied Land Fund, The United Association for Studies and Research, the Office of Foreign Affairs, The Investment Committee, The Rehabilitation Committee, the Medical Committee and the Legal Committee.”<sup>42</sup> This is an unambiguous statement of the Brotherhood (Group) linking the IAP, the OLF (which later became the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development)<sup>43</sup> and the UASR, the Group’s main think tank for many years. The same document notes that HLFRD invested \$100,000 in real estate with an ICNA-affiliated group, further indications of a strong relationship.<sup>44</sup>

### **The Smoking Gun**

One document titled “An Explanatory Memorandum; On the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America”<sup>45</sup> stands out as being of particular importance because it so clearly and unambiguously articulates the goals of the Muslim Brotherhood, articulated elsewhere by Yousef al Qaradawi and other *Ikhwan* leaders, in the context of the Brotherhood efforts inside the United States. Dated 22 May 1991, it is important both for its content as well as its authoritative authorship, carrying the weight of the *Shura Council* and the Organizational Conference of 1987.

The author, Mohamed Akram, is probably the same person as Dr Mohamed Akram Adlouni (or Adluni). At the time of writing Adlouni was one of the key players within the Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S. He was a member of the Shura Council and five departments with the apparatus including the Planning department; the Special Committee and the secretary of the Palestine Committee.<sup>46</sup> Currently Adlouni is the Secretary General of the International al-Quds Foundation in Lebanon and the director of the al-Quds International Institute.<sup>47</sup> It is interesting to note that the International al-Quds Foundation is headed by Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, one of the most influential *Ikhwan* thinkers and theologians of recent decades.

According to Adlouni the International al-Quds Foundation is an independent Pan-Arab NGO whose mission it is to sustain the Arab identity of Jerusalem and support its development which is outlined in the main mechanisms it uses to implement its goals including: educational and health projects; youth and women programs; cultural and media programs; a brotherhood with families in Jerusalem program; and a Jerusalem working fund. Furthermore al-Quds Foundation channels funds directly into the Occupied Palestinian Territories for such projects as restoring destroyed homes and land purchasing programmes.<sup>48</sup> During a conference of the

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<sup>41</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0010; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al, p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Government Exhibit 003-005; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al, p. 3

<sup>43</sup> Government Exhibit 003-008; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al, p. 6. It is interesting to note that the name change from Occupied Land Fund to Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development was made after extensive consultations inside and outside the Brotherhood organization.

<sup>44</sup> Government Exhibit 003-008; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al, p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0085; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al.

<sup>46</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0064; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.8; Government Exhibit 003-0001; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.3-4.

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.cg.gov.dz/actualite/activites/audiences.htm>; <http://www.ameinfo.com/17847.html>.

<sup>48</sup> <http://www.escwa.org.lb/main/pal/docs/PAIP01E.pdf> . P. 15



Jamaat al-Islami in Pakistan it was stated that the International al-Quds Foundation is an organization formed in Lebanon to counter US and Western conspiracies against Islam.<sup>49</sup>

In order to establish his authority in the Explanatory Memorandum, Adlouni states that it is derived from the 1987 *Shura Council* and Organizational Conference of 1987, the highest governing bodies of the Brotherhood in the United States. To claim this authority he quotes the group's agreed goals from that conference, including: "Enablement of Islam in North America, meaning: establishing an effective and stable Islamic Movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood which adopts Muslims' causes domestically and globally, and which works to expand the observant Muslim base, aims at unifying and directing Muslims' efforts, presents Islam as a civilization alternative, and supports the global Islamic state wherever it is."<sup>50</sup>

After going into some detail in establishing the relevance and authority of his missive, the author spends considerable time on the fundamental Concept of Settlement, central to the Muslim Brotherhood-led efforts in North America. He describes settlement as necessary so "That Islam and its Movement become a part of the homeland it lives in." The process of settlement is also defined as follows: "In order for Islam and its Movement to become "a part of the homeland" in which it lives, "stable" in its land, "rooted" in the spirits and minds of its people, "enabled" in the live of its society and has firmly established "organizations" on which the Islamic structure is built and with which the testimony of civilization is achieved, the Movement must plan and struggle to obtain "the keys" and the tools of this process in carry out this grand mission as a "Civilization Jihadist" responsibility which lies on the shoulders of Muslims and – on top of them – the Muslim Brotherhood in this country..."<sup>51</sup> This last statement clarifies that the concept of settlement is not intended solely to allow the *Ikhwan*-led Muslims in North America to leave peacefully, but is, in fact, part of *jihad* or holy war for the conquest of the land by Islam.

Adlouni is clear when he writes about the role of the Muslim Brother in North America, built on his previous statements, and is also clear that the Brothers must understand both the gravity and importance of their undertaking in the process of settlement:

"The process of settlement is a 'Civilization-Jihadist Process' with all the word means. The Ikhwan must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and "sabotaging" its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated and God's religion is made victorious over all other religions. Without this level of understanding, we are not up to this challenge and have not prepared ourselves for Jihad yet. It is a Muslim's destiny to perform Jihad and work wherever he is and wherever he lands until the final hour comes, and there is no escape from that destiny except for those who chose to slack. But, would the slackers and the Mujahedeen be equal."<sup>52</sup>

The writer understands that the Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S. is not strong enough to perform the "*Civilization Jihad*" on its own but clearly sees the Muslim Brothers as a vanguard:

"As for the role of the Ikhwan, it is the initiative, pioneering, leadership, raising the banner and pushing people in that direction. They are then to work to employ, direct and unify Muslims' efforts and powers for this process. In order to do that, we must possess a mastery of the art of "coalitions", the art of "absorption" and the principles of "cooperation".<sup>53</sup> "We need to adopt the principle which says, "Take from people...the best they have", their best specializations, experiences, arts, energies and abilities. By people here we mean those within or without the ranks of individuals and organizations. (...) To me, there is no choice for us other than alliance and mutual understanding of those who desire from our religion and those who agree from our belief in work. And the U.S. Islamic arena is full of those waiting..., the pioneers."<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> <http://www.jamaat.org/news/2003/pr120603.html>

<sup>50</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0085; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.18

<sup>51</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0085; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.19

<sup>52</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0085; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.21

<sup>53</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0085; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. P.21

<sup>54</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0085; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.22

To emphasize the strength of the Group, the author concludes by listing 29 groups under the heading: "A List of our organizations and the organizations of our friends [Imagine if they all march according to one plan!!!]"<sup>55</sup> Those listed include ISNA, MSA, NAIT, MAYA, IIIT, and OLF (later the HLF) and other groups that continue to operate as publicly as independent groups with no ties to each other or to the Muslim Brotherhood.

## **Conclusions**

- These evidentiary documents demonstrate unambiguously that the international Muslim Brotherhood has, for more than three decades, carried out a systematic plan to implement "civilization jihad" against the United States, with the aims of making the nation part of the broader Islamic *caliphate* or Muslim global state. This has been the task of the inter-related organizations that make up the Muslim Brotherhood presence here.
- While membership in the Muslim Brotherhood is not illegal, the Group has shown a keen desire to portray each group as independent and unaffiliated with the *ikhwan* structure. To this end, strict security measures have been implemented in the organizations and security and secrecy are sources of worry and discussion.
- The documents also show that while not publicly advocating violence, the Brotherhood has engaged in weapons training and has maintained a specific, clandestine security branch to monitor law enforcement and intelligence agencies' interest in the Brotherhood activities.
- It is interesting to note that none of the documents deal with the stated goals of the Group organizations, such as protecting the legal rights of Muslims or insuring their civil rights are honored. Rather, in both tone and tenor, the documents deal with the advancement of the "civilization-jihad" theme in different ways, demonstrating that this was the primary goal of these organizations since their inception.

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<sup>55</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0085; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.32