

**EXTREMISM AND THE ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF
NORTH AMERICA (ISNA)**

FEBRUARY, 2007

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since the September 11, 2001 attacks, the US has been increasingly concerned about its relations with Muslim communities. Domestically, it has reached out to various Islamic organizations in an effort to engage the Muslim-American population in the “war on terrorism” and the fight against Islamic radicals. One partner of the US State Department in this area has been the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), a self-described “umbrella” organization for Muslims in North America. ISNA has been involved in various State Department efforts to reach out to the Islamic world, such as a 2005 conference in Belgium that was intended to help create an international network of Islamic moderates. An important factor in ISNA’s special relationship with the US government is its designation and reputation as a “moderate” group. However, there is a substantial body of evidence that leads to the opposite conclusion. This is troubling from the standpoint of US policy, because if a major partner in the State Department’s relations with Muslim communities is associated with Islamic fundamentalism and radicalism, it would undermine and discredit the anti-extremism efforts of the US government.

ISNA is, in fact, an organization seriously tainted by extremism—the current views of the State Department and ISNA’s own protestations of moderation notwithstanding. This conclusion stems from a close analysis of three characteristics that can be used as indicators of extremism. ISNA’s organization was evaluated based on the presence of fundamentalism, anti-Semitism, and connections to terrorism. In this analysis, Islamic fundamentalism refers to “a political ideology based on a ‘selective and arbitrary politicization of religion.’” Charges of anti-Semitism can be leveled against individuals and organizations who decry “Zionist conspiracies,” such as the control of the media or governments. Terrorist organizations are designated according to the State Department’s own list. In looking at these criteria, an overwhelming body of evidence emerges that ISNA as an organization—its founding, funding, and leadership—is connected to a global network of extremists. Moreover, both its ideology and its practices exhibit clear extremist characteristics.

Outside money played a particularly important role in ISNA’s founding, and evidence indicates that its influence continues today. The complex that first housed ISNA’s operations was built in the late 1970’s and early 1980’s by the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT), an ISNA affiliate. The complex included a \$3.5 million 500-person mosque, an 80,000 volume library, and a research facility. The source of funding for such an impressive venture? 21 million dollars from Muslim Brotherhood leaders Youssef Qaradawi and Youssef Nada as well as the emir of Qatar. Qaradawi, who has multiple ties to ISNA’s founding and recent history, is by no means a moderate influence. His extremism is well documented: Qaradawi has issued fatwas backing suicide bombings against civilians in Israel and U.S. troops in Iraq and defended “the death penalty under sharia law for homosexuals”. The influence of Saudi money in ISNA’s operations has been decried by other Muslims as early as the early 1980s. As recently as 2002, the Islamic Centre in Toronto, which houses ISNA, and an ISNA-run high school and scholarship fund were the beneficiaries of Saudi grants. Additionally, financial information relating to NAIT’s ownership of nearly a third of American mosques is markedly opaque, although media reports have tied NAIT’s assets to Saudi funding as well. Both ISNA’s founding and its recent history are marked by funding from outside extremist groups and individuals, and the organization has nothing to show in the way of transparent financial statements to dispel these accusations.

ISNA’s links to Muslim Brotherhood leader Youssef Qaradawi are by no means ISNA’s only connection to the Muslim Brotherhood, an organization that one international terrorism consultant called a “stepping stone” to radical Islam and terrorism. ISNA’s founders and parent organizations, such as the Muslim Student Association (MSA), had unambiguous roots in the Muslim Brotherhood network. ISNA and its leadership also have ties to numerous Muslim Brotherhood affiliates, such as the Gesellschaft Muslimischer Sozial und Geisteswissenschaftler (GMSG) in Germany, the Muslim Association of Britain, and the fundamentalist Pakistani political party

Jamaat-e-Islami (JEI). Prominent figures in ISNA, such as board member Jamal Badawi, have appeared at conferences held by these groups, and leaders of these groups, such as JEI leader Zazi Hussain Ahmad, have spoken at annual ISNA conferences. ISNA is also tied to two key Saudi groups—the Muslim World League (MWL) and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY)—groups that have been targeted by US government investigations into fundraising and support for religious extremism... As recently as July 2002, former ISNA President and current board member Dr. Siddiqi were part of a Muslim World League delegation which toured the United States. The group included Abdullah al-Turki, secretary general of the MWL and one of the reports described Dr. Siddiqi as a member of the League. Although for the sake of its image ISNA officials may try to distance their organization from these extremist groups, in practice the connections are rooted in ISNA's history and continue to this day.

The global Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood network is only the beginning, however, as ISNA also has ties to groups with even more immediate links to terrorism. One particularly salient example is Kuwaiti-born Sami Al-Arian, who in May 2006 was sentenced to almost five years in prison in connection with his role as a leader of the terrorist group Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) in the United States. After Al-Arian's arrest, an ISNA statement criticized the government, saying that Al-Arian was being targeted as a Muslim. The defensive reaction should not be too surprising, however, considering ISNA's history with Al-Arian. The International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) provided funding for Al-Arian and his organization when it was headed by the current president of the ISNA affiliated Fiqh Council of North America (FNCA), Taha J. Alwani. ISNA's connection to terrorism goes beyond a single individual, as it is also linked to various Hamas front groups and affiliates. Even ISNA Secretary-General Sayyid Syeed admitted donating money to Hamas fundraiser the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) and to the defense fund of Hamas leader Mousa Marzook, who was deported from the US in 1997 and is on the State Department's designated terrorist list. Syeed's defense of ISNA's support is characteristically weak: "It doesn't hurt if you give a few words of support or if you give a few words of sympathy"—this in reference to a known terrorist!

As it did with Al-Arian's arrest, ISNA responded to US actions against the HLF with criticisms and accusations, claiming in December 2001 that HLF had been "targeted by pro-Israel organizations and individuals," calling investigations an "unjust and counterproductive move." Since that time, the HLF and several of its directors have been indicted on criminal charges in connection with terrorist attacks by Hamas. ISNA's ties to Hamas also involve a group named by a Treasury Department intelligence official as the "mouthpiece" of Hamas in the United States, the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP). A federal judge found that the group was legally responsible for the death of an American teenager killed by Hamas—not exactly the hallmark of a moderate partner. In 2000, current FCNA board member Solah Sultan "spoke in support of martyrdom operations" at an IAP convention. One would think that a "moderate" organization would be more careful, after these previous unsavory connections, to partner with groups that may have ties with extremism. ISNA, however, has not. After denying knowledge of the HLF's connection to terrorism, ISNA quickly became involved with KindHearts, described by a Treasury Department investigation as "the progeny of Holy Land Foundation and Global Relief Foundation." There were numerous signs that any conscientious moderate organization would have taken as a warning of connections to terrorism, such as the fact that much of the leadership of KindHearts, including its founder and CEO, had previously held positions in HLF and other Hamas groups. Despite these warning signs, however, ISNA developed a working relationship with KindHearts, including letting KindHearts advertise in ISNA's *Islamic Horizons* magazine that lasted up until four days before the U.S. Treasury Department froze KindHeart's accounts on February 19, 2006.

ISNA is clearly connected to Islamic radicals and terrorist organizations, but it is not simply guilty by association—its own ideology is marked by extreme social, political, and religious views. Although the organization declares itself to be nonviolent, such fundamentalist views are still dangerous, as evidenced by a 1995 speech by Youssef Qaradawi that illustrates the strategy of ISNA and likeminded groups: "Conquest through dawah, that is what we hope for...we will

conquer America, not through the sword but through dawah.” Examples of ISNA’s fundamentalist leanings are numerous, but a few key issues stand out. The first is on women’s issues, where ISNA has taken a very conservative, regressive stance, supporting the hijab, restricting women’s rights to travel and associate with men, and supporting some form of corporal punishment for wives. Former ISNA president Muzzamil Siddiqi, for example, said in a 2004 fatwa that a husband could have recourse to “light disciplinary action in order to correct the moral infraction of his wife.” ISNA board member Jamal Badawi characterized the hijab as “a command of Allah to Muslim women,” denying its role as a symbol, whether religious or political.

A second area of fundamentalism in ISNA’s ideology is its leaders’ views of Islam within the context of religion and politics, where they believe in Islamic supremacy. FCNA chairman Dr. Alwani leaves particularly little room for other faiths: “In considering the earth as an arena for Islam, Allah has promised its inheritance to His righteous people, and He has promised that Islam will prevail over other religions.” With such a stance of Islamic exceptionalism, it is difficult to imagine that the organization could be fully committed to pluralism and a liberal political system that is based on the idea of equality. In fact, it isn’t. Referring to the hijab, Dr. Badawi said that it would ideally be enforced by an Islamic state: “So long as there is a state in place, an Islamic state, it would be the duty of the state to enforce [the Hijab] on other levels.” ISNA supporters may point to its willingness to engage in the democratic political process in the United States, but their activity is disingenuous. The political engagement that ISNA advocates is not done out of the same ethos of civic duty and responsibility that is the life-blood of American domestic politics; instead, it is simply a means of furthering their Islamic goals. Dr. Siddiqi put it this way: “In Islam there is no division between religion and politics...We have to see everything from the Islamic point of view, whether social, economical, or political.” The sense of political responsibility, then, springs not from a commitment to the American political system, but from a duty to promote the Muslim ummah. There is no room for commitment to American civil society, as Dr. Badawi makes clear: “Muslims should not melt in any pot except the Islamic brotherhood pot.” It is not surprising then, that ISNA is not ultimately committed to the political process in which it participates, since the culmination of their view of the ummah’s interests is in the establishment of an Islamic state. Dr. Siddiqi sums up the view nicely: “We must not forget that Allah’s rules have to be established in all lands, and all our efforts should lead to that direction.”

This conservative ideology is not limited to a few isolated members of ISNA’s leadership. On the contrary, it is enforced throughout the organization through various pressures that are brought to bear on all those with opposing interpretations of Islam and Muslim duty. ISNA claims it is “non-sectarian,” and Secretary-General Syeed points to a combination of Shia and Sunni leaders as well as a female vice president as evidence of his assertion. However, there is a difference between window-dressing and the reality of ideological control. ISNA has excluded individuals and groups, such as Sufi cleric Shaykh Hisham Kabbani, chairman of the Islamic Supreme Council of America (ISCA). Through a combination of bureaucratic niceties and intimidation by security officials, ISNA has prevented Shaykh Kabbani and other progressive Islamic groups from participating in their conferences and conventions. Another, more insidious tactic is the takeover of mosques through ISNA-affiliated NAIT. Multiple reports have shown the following pattern: NAIT assumes the deed of a mosque that has previously been run by relatively moderate leaders. NAIT is able to invest large sums of money in the mosque, drive out the former leaders, and install new, fundamentalist clerics in their place who espouse and enforce their conservative views on the community, segregating women and men for services and promoting a Wahhabi interpretation of Islam.

Part of the danger of ISNA’s extremism, apart from its lack of commitment to American societal and political values, is that it provides ideological support for terrorism while simultaneously protesting its support for nonviolence. One way of doing this is by preaching anti-Semitism. Even in a time of intense national sensitivity, ten days after the 9/11 attacks, Dr. Alwani blamed the tragedy on a joint American/Israeli intelligence operation, calling it “the merger between two security theories, the Israeli and the American.” Self-serving Zionist conspiracy theories are

rampant among these leaders, as they are throughout Muslim extremist groups; Dr. Badawi emphasized that “the Zionist Israel propaganda have succeeded...to make the truth falsehood and the falsehood truth, to make real terrorism self-defense and self-defense terrorism,” saying in a separate sermon that the “pro-Zionist lobby” controls “the White House, the Congress, the media, everything.” ISNA is also linked to virulently anti-Semitic individuals through its leadership and involvement in hosting conferences. Dr. M. Amir Ali, the founder of the Institute of Islamic Information and Education (IIIE) in Chicago, of which Dr. Siddiqi was elected Chairman in 2002, states in an article on his website: “When Hitler reluctantly started to implement his “final solution” in dealing with German Jews...whatever else he was, he was no dummy! What did he know – about which we are as yet blissfully unaware?” Hatem Bazian, a speaker at an ISNA-sponsored conference in 1999, said this: “in the Hadith, the Day of Judgment will never happen until you fight the Jews...until the trees and the stones will say, oh Muslim, there is a Jew hiding behind me. Come and kill him!”

With its connection to ideologies of hatred and conspiracy theories that fuel that hatred, an organization that was committed to nonviolence should have been a strong critic of the terrorism, especially religious-inspired terrorism that has grown as a threat in the last few years. ISNA, however, has done the opposite. Shortly after 9/11, Dr. Badawi made the following statement to a Muslim Community Conference in Dallas, Texas: “Suicide out of despair is not acceptable...Giving one's life in a military situation is different and can be heroic if there is no other way of resisting...Killing civilians should be avoided is possible, but not everyone out of uniform is a civilian.” Such a statement can easily be interpreted as providing a justification for suicide bombings by redefining them as “a military situation.” ISNA's negligible actions in opposition to terrorism lend further credence to this interpretation. A July 28, 2005 fatwa against terrorism was issued by FCNA Muzzamil Siddiqi, who was accompanied by ISNA president Nur Abdallah, among others. The fatwa received broad-based criticism, however, for a number of problems that rendered it a feeble and ineffectual alternative to opposing fatwas in support of the attacks made by Salafist clerics. For example the authors of the fatwa were unwilling to invoke religious language to condemn the attacks, calling them simply unlawful; the fatwa was not specific, i.e. not unequivocally in condemnation of bin Laden, al-Qaeda, etc., and the term “civilian” was undefined. Coupled with the previous statement by Dr. Badawi, the latter criticism is especially troubling, because it leaves open the possibility of designating Israeli citizens as legitimate targets.

While some attempts were made to clarify the fatwa after the criticisms were widely reported, ISNA's reaction came nowhere near to what would have been necessary to constitute a strong, unequivocal, impassioned opposition to terrorism and the hijacking of the great religion of Islam by radical, violent extremists. This is simply yet another instance in a string of half-measures, self-serving denials, and last-minute assertions of innocence by ISNA and its leaders. From Al-Arian, to KindHearts, to terrorism itself, ISNA has publicly distanced itself from extremists only when there was no other choice. As one of the largest Muslim American organizations in the United States, its failure to strongly oppose terrorism is inexcusable, but not particularly surprising when one considers the organization in greater depth. ISNA's history and past and present leadership are characterized by a long-standing relationship and connection with extremist groups and fundamentalist ideology. It has taken no decisive actions toward reform, such as purging its leadership of those members who have been most clearly linked with extremist views. Ultimately, the weight of evidence pointing toward ISNA's extremist nature is too great to be explained away by coincidence, circumstance, or ignorance. It must be held accountable for its harmful influence, and certainly does not merit its status as a “moderate” partner of the State Department on the increasingly crucial area of relations with the Muslim community.

Extremism and the Islamic Society of North America

SYNOPSIS

The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) describes itself as an umbrella organization for U.S. Islamic groups that is non-sectarian, moderate, and transparent. This report provides substantial public evidence that ISNA and its key leadership are, in fact, associated with Islamic fundamentalism, anti-Semitism, and support for terrorism. Despite a track-record of self-serving denials with regard to extremism, ISNA continues to function as an important component of the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood global network.

BACKGROUND

In April 2006, a U.S. State Department bulletin announced that the United States hoped to help create an “international network that allows mainstream Muslims in Europe and North America regularly to discuss issues of alienation and extremism.”¹ The bulletin cited Tom Korologos, U.S. ambassador to Belgium, who said that the concept was initiated at a November 2005 meeting in Belgium of American and Belgian Muslims that was partially hosted by the U.S. Embassy. Ambassador Korologos went on to say that “Four or five more conferences like this can lead to a network of moderate Muslims.” Ambassador Korologos testified before the U.S. Senate that “We vetted, checked and rechecked those we invited.”² He acknowledged that:

“Some of the organizations whose members participated in the Conference have been accused of being extremist. It is possible that some individual members of those organizations have made statements that have been termed extremist. Our view however, was to base our selection on the stated policies and specific actions of organizations and individuals today with regard to harmonious Muslim integration into American and European society. We wanted them to hear and participate in our dialogue with fellow moderates.”

According to the organization website, the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) “played a major part in facilitating the planning of the conference from the US side” while the State Department release reported that:³

“Representatives of the Islamic Society of North America attended the conference and announced a package of internships, scholarships and exchanges for Belgian imams, Muslim leaders, teachers and students to visit the United States and continue their interactions with the U.S. Muslim community.”

The ISNA website also indicated that other U.S. Muslim groups attended the conference including the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR), the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), and the Muslim Students Association of the US and Canada (MSA).

It is clear that the State Department has designated ISNA, CAIR, and the other U.S. Muslim groups as “moderates”. However, these same groups have been repeatedly accused by opponents of being extremists with connections to fundamentalism, anti-Semitism, and terrorism. This report examines the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) to determine whether or not the charge of extremism can be supported.

SCOPE OF INQUIRY AND DEFINITIONS

This inquiry used a relatively simple set of criteria to assess the charge of extremism, or more properly, to determine whether or not ISNA should be considered a moderate organization.

1. Fundamentalism

The term fundamentalism is used in many different contexts. Perhaps the most common usage is in reference to the belief that particular religious scriptures are the “authentic and inerrant word of God.”⁴ This usage characterizes beliefs held in many religions and serves no useful purpose in this inquiry which will instead rely upon the work of Syrian-born Muslim scholar Bassam Tibi who distinguishes “between Islam as a religious belief” and Islamic fundamentalism as a political ideology” based on a “selective and arbitrary politicization of religion.”⁵

2. Anti-Semitism

Common expressions of anti-Semitism are not difficult to identify but problems arise when attempting to distinguish between criticism of the State of Israel and anti-Semitism. Often, anti-Semitism is couched using references to “Zionism” but there are also those who argue that criticism of the founding of the State of Israel is inherently anti-Semitic. For purposes of this inquiry, criticism of “Zionism” as an ideology is not considered anti-Semitic but positing of “Zionist conspiracies” such as the “Zionist control” of media or government is taken as evidence of anti-Semitism.

3. Terrorism

This inquiry will rely upon the State Department’s own list of “Foreign Terrorist Organizations.”^a Evidence of any form of support for an organization on this list will be considered support of terrorism.

For the purposes of this report, an organization will be said to be moderate if it is reasonably free of these three characteristics. Both the organization and/or its key leadership were examined and where possible, the most recent activities of the organizations were evaluated. This inquiry into ISNA was confined to the subject of extremism and in doing so, the record of the organization in doing “good works” was not examined. Experience with some Islamic charities has shown that a record of socially useful activities does not necessarily preclude involvement with extremism.

^a See <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/fs/37191.htm>

FOUNDING OF ISNA

By their own admission, the Saudi government has spent “many billions of Saudi Riyals” in a massive effort to propagate Islam around the world. According to a Saudi government newspaper:

“The determination of the Kingdom to support Islam and Islamic institutions to the best of its ability was evident from the formation of the Kingdom by King Abdul Aziz but it was only when oil revenues began to generate real wealth that the Kingdom could fulfill its ambitions of spreading the word of Islam to every corner of the world, of assisting Muslim countries less well endowed economically and of alleviating the suffering of Muslim minorities wherever they might live.”⁶

A former Treasury Department official estimated in 2004 that the Saudis had spent over \$75 billion in this effort.⁷ A Council on Foreign Relations report identifies the nature of the Saudi campaign:

“As a core tenet of its foreign policy, Saudi Arabia funds the global propagation of Wahabism, a brand of Islam that, in some instances, supports militancy by encouraging divisiveness and violent acts against Muslims and non-Muslims alike. We are concerned that this massive spending is helping to create the next generation of terrorists and therefore constitutes a paramount strategic threat to the United States. Through the support for madrassas, mosques, cultural centers, hospitals, and other institutions, and the training and export of radical clerics to populate these outposts, Saudi Arabia has spent what could amount to hundreds of millions of dollars around the world financing extremism.”⁸

Some scholars such as French scholar Gilles Kepel have documented the formation of Saudi Arabian institutions created to propagate Saudi fundamentalist Islam throughout the world. These include the Muslim World League that was established in 1962, followed by the International Federation of Student Organizations and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth.^{9 10} These and other such institutions were often staffed by members of the Muslim Brotherhood who had fled to Saudi Arabia from Egypt and other countries, both fleeing oppression in their home countries and seeking the wealth and employment offered by Saudi Arabia. Evidence indicates that ISNA emerged from a matrix of Islamic organizations that were created as part of this partnership between Saudi Arabia and the Muslim Brotherhood.

Three individuals; Ahmed Totonji, Hisham Altalib, and Jamal Barzinji; played critical roles in the founding of these organizations. All were all born in the Kurdish, northern part of Iraq and may have met there or possibly later in the UK, where all three received their undergraduate education in engineering.^{11 12 13} After completion of their studies in the UK, the three came to the United States, ostensibly for graduate study but also to continue organizing Muslim youth activities. Dr. Totonji and Dr. Barzinji are known to have been instrumental in the early history of the Muslim Student Association (MSA), first established in 1963 at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana.^{14 15} A September 2004 Washington post article cites a speech by Muslim Brotherhood leader Sheikh Youssef Qaradawi in which he confirms the connections between MSA and the Muslim Brotherhood as well as the fundamentalist nature of the organization:¹⁶

“In a 1995 speech to an Islamic conference in Ohio, a top Brotherhood official, Youssef Qaradawi, said victory will come through dawah -- Islamic renewal and'Conquest through dawah, that is what we hope for,' said Qaradawi, an influential Qatari imam who pens some of the religious edicts justifying Hamas suicide bombings against Israeli civilians. 'We will conquer Europe, we will conquer America, not through the sword but through dawah,' said the imam, who has condemned the Sept. 11 attacks but is now barred from the United States. In his speech, Qaradawi said the dawah would work through Islamic groups set up by Brotherhood supporters in this country. He praised supporters who were jailed by Arab governments in 1950s and then came to the United States to 'fight the seculars and the Westernized' by founding this country's leading Islamic groups. He named the Muslim Students Association (MSA), which was founded in 1963.”

The article also documents the connections between Dr. Barzinji, MSA, and the Muslim Brotherhood stating that “An engineering student and top MSA leader, [Dr. Barzinji] joined MSA associates in 1971 to host the top leaders of the Egyptian Brotherhood, just released from 16 years in prison, for two weeks of meetings in Indiana.”¹⁷

Further confirmation of Dr. Barzinji’s connection to the Muslim Brotherhood is provided by the Washington Post article which reported that Dr. Barzinji “fled his native Iraq in 1969 when the Baathist regime started executing fellow Islamists.”^{b 18}

Barzinji, Totonji and Altalib appear to have spent the next decade continuing their Muslim youth activities. The International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations (IIFSO), an international counterpart to MSA, was founded in 1969. After a series of exploratory meetings in Africa, an organizational meeting was held in Mecca during February 1969 and a draft constitution for the organization circulated. The IIFSO held its first and second meetings in 1969 and 1971 in Aachen, a known center of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood in Germany.¹⁹ A letter to the UN Secretary General from Dr. Totonji dated 24 August 1969 identifies Dr. Totonji as the IFSO Secretary General and, according to his own biography; Dr. Hisham Altalib was the second IIFSO Secretary General.^{20 21} Dr. Kepel has written that the IIFSO translated the works of Sayyid Qtub, Sayyid Mawdudi, and Hassan al-Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood. These three authors are key ideologues in the Muslim Brotherhood and fundamentalist Islamic movement.²²

Following the establishment of the IIFSO, the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) was created with its headquarters in Saudi Arabia. As the IIFSO website explains:

“It was out of the IIFSO’s experience of success that the WAMY was born. WAMY was founded in 1972 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, at an international meeting of Islamic workers involved in youth activities and representatives of youth organizations. It was established to help youth organizations around the world implement their planned projects.”²³

Dr. Totonji and Dr. Barzinji were both involved in the founding and early history of WAMY and Dr. Totonji served as the Deputy to the first Secretary-General - Dr. Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman.^{c 24} In 1982, Dr. Barzinji was listed as a board member of WAMY with an address in Saudi Arabia.²⁵

The North American Islamic Trust (NAIT) was established on May 23, 1973 and later became known as an affiliate of ISNA. According to the incorporation documents, the purpose of NAIT was to “serve the best interests of Islam and the Muslim Student’s Association of the United States and Canada” by establishing a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation to hold “investment property.” Dr. Altalib was listed as the Resident Agent for the corporation whose address was the Masjid Al-Amin Mosque in Gary, Indiana and Dr. Barzinji was one of the four original board members. The establishment of NAIT appears to have been part of an effort by Dr. Barzinji, and Dr. Altalib to move their Islamic organizing efforts from the campus to the outside world. An Islamic scholar writes:

“With its ability to raise funds, especially from overseas, MSA began establishing business and professional organizations useful in establishing off-campus institutions. The North American Islamic Trust (NAIT) became instrumental in establishing masjid, student houses, Islamic centers, full-time schools, and literature publishing (under the American Trust Publications, International Graphics Press, and Islamic Book Service). Its members created the American Muslim Scientists and Engineers (AMSE), the American Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS), and the Islamic Medical Association (IMA).”²⁶

^b The year is probably wrong since Dr. Barzinji appears to have graduated in the UK in 1962.

^c For Dr. Sulayman’s resume, see http://www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/humanrelations/crisis_in_the_muslim_mind/author.html

In 1975, the MSA developed plans to set up a permanent secretariat and a center for Islamic activities in North America.²⁷ The MSA headquarters was moved from Gary, Indiana to Indianapolis and in September 1976, NAIT acquired 124 acres of land a few miles west of the Indianapolis airport. MSA offices were immediately moved into the existing buildings.^{28 29}

An Islamic author has reported that in 1977, Dr. Totonji and Dr. Barzinji participated in a meeting held in Lugano Switzerland described as the “first organized conference on the Muslim intellectual crisis, which was held in Lugano, Switzerland during 1977.” This conference was said to be hosted by Mahmoud Abu Saud, an important figure in the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and an expert in Islamic banking. Other important attendees included the following important Islamic fundamentalists:^{d 30}

- Mahmud Rashdan former secretary general of the Muslim Students Association and ISNA founder
- Ismail al- Faruqi proponent of the “Islamization of Knowledge”
- Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman founder of WAMY, founder of International Institute of Islamic Thought
- Youssef Qaradawi well known extremist Islamic cleric
- Muhammad al Mubarak probably professor Muhammad ibn Sa’ood University
- Jamaluddin Atia a.k.a. Gamal Attia, expert in Islamic banking
- Khurshid Ahmad leader of Pakistani Jamaat-e-Islami
- Ahmad al Assal President, International Islamic University, Islamabad
- Taha J. Alwanii President of International Institute of Islamic Thought and Chairman, Fiqh Council of North America

In June 2003, Soliman Biheiri, an Egyptian businessman linked to Saudi Arabia and the Muslim Brotherhood, told U.S. Customs agents that “he had heard of a famous Islamic conference in Lugano, Switzerland in 1973, concerning the contemporary problems of the Muslim ummah.” Mr. Biheri stated that he believed this conference took place in the home of Youssef Nada, an important Muslim Brotherhood leader, and that “many high-ranking individuals in the Islamic world took part.” He also stated that he believed that the conference provided a “blue print” for much of the worldwide Islamic movements in the 1980s.³¹

Another meeting was held in 1977 in Plainfield, Indiana which established a task force that recommended establishing a “broader umbrella organization” to be known as the Islamic Society of North America. An Islamic scholar gives the rationale for the founding of ISNA:

“The leaders of MSA who were no longer students realized that they had to formally change their name and structure to meet the needs of the Muslims and maintain any leadership status among Muslims in America. It was aware of other national groups which were focused on community development before it. However, it felt that those groups of converts were not knowledgeable enough to lead them so it had to try to fulfill that need”^{32 33}

In May 1977, Dr. Barzinji was quoted in local news media about NAIT’s plans to construct a mosque on the land purchased by NAIT. He was described at that time as the “general manager”

^d The affiliations listed for these individuals are those deemed to be most significant.

of NAIT.³⁴ In January 1978, plans were announced for a 42-acre compound on the Plainfield, Indiana site to include a mosque, classrooms, residences, gymnasium, and recreational area.³⁵ In early March 1978, the local zoning authority approved the plans for the complex which had an estimated cost between \$5 million and \$10 million dollars.³⁶ There are varying reports on when construction actually began, but what was called Phase 1 appears to have been completed in January 1983 and consisted of a \$3.5 million 500-person mosque, 80,000-volume library, and a research facility.³⁷ According to local histories, the compound reportedly began serving as headquarters for MSA, ISNA, and NAIT as well as for other affiliated organizations while ISNA was referred to as being “led by the Muslim Brotherhood.”^{38 39} The Washington Post reported in 2004 that the complex was funded by \$21 million raised from Muslim Brotherhood leaders Youssef Qaradawi and Youssef Nada as well as the emir of Qatar.^{e 40}

ISNA was officially incorporated in Indiana on July 14, 1981 with the stated purpose “to advance the cause of Islam and serve Muslims in North America so as to enable them to adopt Islam as a complete way of life.”⁴¹ The address for ISNA at that time appears to be the Plainfield property where the new facility was built.^f The three Incorporators were listed as:^g

- Iqbal J. Unus current dean of students, School of Islamic and Social Sciences
- Talat Sultan current President Islamic Circle of North America
- Mahmoud Rashdan^h former secretary general of the Muslim Students Association

The initial Board of Directors was listed as:

- Sayyed M. Syeed current ISNA Secretary-General
- M. Naziruddin Ali current NAIT General Manager
- Talat Sultan current President Islamic Circle of North America
- Imtiaz Ahmad current VP ISNA Canada
- Haroon Qazi current Member Islamic Medical Association of North Americaⁱ

As indicated above, all but one of the ISNA founders remains active either in ISNA or in one of its affiliated organizations. It should be noted that according to his resume, Sami Al-Arian also played a role in the founding of ISNA.⁴² Dr. Al-Arian was leader in the terrorist group Palestinian Islamic Jihad and will be discussed later in connection with ISNA and terrorism.

It appears that Saudi money was funding ISNA from the very beginning of the organization. Dr. Mohammad Omar Farooq, an associate professor of economics and finance at Upper Iowa University, has stated:

“It was in 1981 when I first attended ISNA convention. I attended its convention again in 1985. The Saudi money was having serious influence on ISNA during these periods, which caused significant problems in various communities, where there were attempts to control khutbah, activities and services of those mosques and centers that were with the ISNA’s Trust. We have

^e Barzinji and Altalib were known to have worked for Youssef Nada during this time period.

^f RR 1 Box 667 Plainfield, IN 46168

^g The affiliations for these individuals are current affiliations.

^h Probably Prof. Dr. Mahmood Rushdan (Jordan) associated with the Dawa Academy in Islamabad. See <http://www.dawahacademy.org/faculty.htm>

ⁱ The Islamic Medical Association is affiliated with ISNA.

experienced this first hand, even in academic-type affiliates, such as Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS), where I have presented papers several times.”⁴³

Another report quotes Kaukab Siddique, the radical editor of New Trend, an Islamic periodical:

“New Trend tried right from 1977 to warn the people about this danger of monopoly created by funds coming in from Saudi Arabia... the Ikhwan mafia, a group of six were bringing in funds from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states.¹ The movement for reform was quashed by the mafia (who are the revered ‘elders’ of ISNA) who went from city to city.”⁴⁴

Today, ISNA now supplies “educational and support services to about 1100 of the approximately 1500 North American mosques.”⁴⁵

ISNA STRUCTURE AND OPERATIONS

Since its inception, ISNA has grown to the point where it describes itself as “the largest and oldest umbrella organization for the estimated 6-8 million Muslims embracing over 300 community organizations and professional organizations in North America.”⁴⁶ The organization is probably best known for its annual conference which had an expected attendance of some 40,000 in 2005.⁴⁷ The current website, which according to its secretary-general receives an average of 2.6 million hits a month, describes ISNA as:

“an association of Muslim organizations and individuals that provides a common platform for presenting Islam, supporting Muslim communities, developing educational, social and outreach programs and fostering good relations with other religious communities, and civic and service organizations.”^{48 49}

ISNA membership confers the following benefits on affiliated community organizations:⁵⁰

- Free ISNA magazine subscriptions for all members and 25% discount on advertising
- Endorsements for domestic and overseas fundraising projects
- Five members of the ISNA Board elected from affiliates
- Access to ISNA Speakers Bureau
- Discount on ISNA membership for all members

ISNA publishes Islamic Horizons, described as “a news and information magazine which is read by about 250,000 people” and operates the ISNA Leadership Development Center which:⁵¹

- Sets standards, trains and certifies imams and chaplains.
- Conducts conferences, seminars, workshops, continuing education for imams and community leaders
- Publishes guides, manuals, handbooks, and other material for training purposes.
- Organizes programs with various universities and colleges in North America.⁵²

¹ An Arabic term usually translated as the Muslim Brotherhood.

Other services offered by ISNA include a Zakat fund as well as Shahadah, Islamic marriage and Halal certification.^k ISNA has recently been involved with “cultural sensitivity training” for law enforcement and other organizations.^{53 54} The organization has also already received two grants in 2003 and 2004 under the faith-based initiative from the Department of Health and Human Services in order to conduct social services training.⁵⁵

Affiliates

ISNA has a number of affiliated organizations which are so closely related that their activities and leadership are included in this report.^l These include:

1. The Association of Muslim Social Scientists

As noted earlier, the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS) grew directly out of MSA. The current AMSS website states:

“AMSS was founded in 1972 to provide a forum through which Islamic positions on various academic disciplines can be promoted. From the beginning, AMSS has based its activities on the belief that the development of Islamic thought is vital for the prosperity of the Muslim world and for the continuity of the Islamic intellectual heritage.”⁵⁶

Dr. Jamal Barzinji was a founding member of AMSS and the first President of AMSS was Ismail Faruqi, one of the founders of IIIT.^{57 58} AMSS has sponsored annual conferences for 32 years, publishes a journal entitled American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences (AJISS) in conjunction with the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), and has published numerous papers.^{m 59}

2. Fiqh Council of North America

According to its current website, the Fiqh Council of North America (FCNA) explains its origins as follows:⁶⁰

“The Fiqh Council of North America traces its origins back to the Religious Affairs Committee of the then Muslim Students Association of the United States and Canada in the early 1960s. This Religious Affairs Committee evolved into the Fiqh Committee of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) after the founding of ISNA in 1980. As the needs of the Muslim community and the complexity of the issues they faced grew, the Fiqh Council was transformed into the Fiqh Council of North America in 1986. The Council continues to be an affiliate of ISNA, advising and educating its members and officials on matters related to the application of Sharīlah in their individual and collective lives in the North American environment.”^{n 61}

In March of 2002, the Fiqh Council was targeted in a Treasury Department raid, codenamed “Operation Greenquest,” along with its director, Taha Jaber Al-Alwani. The mission of this raid was to “destroy the US based terrorist funding infrastructure through identification, disruption, prosecution and dismantling of the terrorist funding networks.”⁶² This raid, according to the Treasury Department, “initiated 859 financial investigations involving suspected terrorist financing and referred 1,109 leads on potential terrorist financial activities...[this]...resulted in 47 arrests, 28 indictments, and the seizure of \$7.3 million.”⁶³

^k Charity donations, Islamic conversion, and food certification respectively.

^l Two other organizations closely affiliated to ISNA, the Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers and the Muslim Youth of North America, will not be examined in this report.

^m The connections between ISNA and IIIT will be explored later in this report.

ⁿ One scholar cites FCNA head Taha Alwani as stating that FCNA was established on March 10th 1988. See <http://www.e-prism.org/images/IdeologicalIslam.pdf>

3. North American Islamic Trust

According to the current website, the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT) explains itself as follows:

"The North American Islamic Trust (NAIT) is a waqf, the historical Islamic equivalent of an American trust or endowment, serving Muslims in the United States and their institutions. NAIT facilitates the realization of American Muslims' desire for a virtuous and happy life in a Shari'ah-compliant way. NAIT is a not-for-profit entity that qualifies as a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. NAIT was established in 1973 in Indiana by the Muslim Students Association of U.S. and Canada (MSA), the predecessor of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA). NAIT supports and provides services to ISNA, MSA, their affiliates, and other Islamic centers and institutions. The President of ISNA is an ex-officio member of the Board of Trustees of NAIT."⁶⁴

The NAIT website goes on to explain:

"NAIT holds titles to mosques, Islamic centers, schools, and other real estate to safeguard and pool the assets of the American Muslim community, develops financial vehicles and products that are compatible with both the Shari'ah (Islamic law) and the American law, publishes and distributes credible Islamic literature, and facilitates and coordinates community projects."⁶⁵

The NAIT website states that it "holds the title of approximately 300 properties" a figure consistent with a LEXIS/NEXIS search showing 332 properties in the real-estate related database and with a report by the Council on American Islamic Relations which says that NAIT owns about 27 percent of the estimated 1200 mosques in the United States.^{66 67} **In a hearing before the United States Senate, witness testimony shows that NAIT holds the deeds to between 50% and 79% of American mosques.**⁶⁸

The North American Islamic Trust also served as an adviser group to Amana Mutual Funds Trust, whose founder, Yacqub Mirza, was targeted in raids conducted by the Treasury Department and the FBI on several Virginia-based Islamic charities in 2002.⁶⁹

Leadership

The leadership structure of ISNA consists of an executive council and a board of directors which is attached to this report as Appendix 1. The following five individuals have been active since the beginnings of ISNA and were judged to be the most important members of this leadership based on factors such as length of service, public visibility, media attention, and other institutional affiliations. All have early backgrounds in Islamic fundamentalism although it should be noted that all mention of their origins in fundamentalist Islamic political movements have been omitted from their standard biographies.

1. Sayyid Muhammad Syeed (Secretary-General)

Dr. Sayyid was born in Kashmir where, according to a magazine interview, he was incarcerated for two years, possibly in connection with activities related to the Kashmiri separatist movement.⁷⁰
⁷¹ Following his emigration to the U.S, he graduated from Indiana University in 1984 and appears to have spent his entire professional life working for organizations related to ISNA. According to this ISNA biography:

"As President of the Muslim Students Association of USA & Canada (1980-1983), he pioneered its

transformation into the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA). During 1984-1988, he was Secretary General of the International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations (IIFSO)...Dr. Syeed has been General Secretary of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS), a national professional organization founded 31 years ago. " ⁷²

Interestingly, Dr. Sayyid's ISNA biography does not mention that from 1984 until 1994, he was the Director of Academic Outreach at the International Institute of Islamic Thought, an organization discussed later with extensive ties to Islamic extremism. ⁷³ Dr. Sayyid has served as the ISNA Secretary-General since 1994. ⁷⁴

2. Muzammil H. Siddiqi (Board Member and Past President)

An Islamic scholar has said that Indian-born Dr. Siddiqi was "reared in Pakistan's religious party", reported to be Jamaat -e- Islami (JEI), the large Pakistani Islamic political party founded in 1941 by Islamic ideologue Maulana Abul Ala Maududi. ^{75 76 77} An authoritative Islamic biography says that Dr. Siddiqi received his early education at Aligarh Muslim University and Darul Uloom Nadwatul Ulama, Lucknow, India all known to be associated with JEI as well as the Muslim World League. ⁷⁸ ^{79 80} According to his ISNA biography, Dr. Siddiqi graduated with a BA in Islamic & Arabic Studies in 1965 from the University of Medina, founded in 1961 and staffed by "Wahhabi clerics and members of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood who had sought asylum in the Kingdom." ⁸¹ A British journalist has described the University as:

"one of the Muslim world's most prestigious universities, founded in 1961 by the Saudi king 'to convey the eternal message of Islam to the entire world'. Teaching at Medina is orthodox and ultra-conservative, based on a literal reading of the Koran, a rigid interpretation of Islamic law, and constant harking back to the lives and deeds of the earliest Muslims. But outside the classrooms, the university is known as a recruiting ground for militants and fighters, despite official clampdowns. Some students are who studied at Medina are known to have drifted into circles associated with the Saudi-born terrorist Osama bin Laden." ⁸²

While completing a doctorate in theology at Harvard, Dr. Siddiqi served as the Chairman of Religious Affairs Committee of the Muslim Students Association in US and Canada and Chairman of the Department of Religious Affairs at the Muslim World League Office to the United Nations and U.S.A. from 1976 to 1980. ⁸³ After a short stint as Director of the Islamic Center in Washington, Dr. Siddiqi became the Religious Director of the Islamic Society of Southern California where he has served since 1981. ^{84 85} Dr. Siddiqi served as the president of ISNA from 1996 – 2000 and has also been a member of the board of the North American Islamic Trust. ⁸⁶ He is currently a member of the ISNA Executive Council and chairman of the election committee. ^{87 88}

3. Jamal Badawi (Board Member)

According to online biographies and local media reports, Dr. Badawi was born in Egypt sometime in 1939 or 1940. ⁸⁹ One online biography states that Dr. Badawi received his undergraduate degree from Ain Shams University in Cairo, known to be a center for Muslim Brotherhood activity at that time. ⁹⁰ Well-known Islamic extremists with connections to terrorism were known to have studied at Ain Sham during that time period including Sheikh Ahmed Yassine, the late Hamas leader and Sheikh Abdul Majeed al-Zindani, then head of Yemen's Muslim Brotherhood, and known to be the spiritual mentor for Osama Bin Laden. ^{91 92 93} A connection between Dr. Badawi and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt is further supported in a local media profile which stated:

^o In an April 2005 Islamic radio interview, Dr. Siddiqi was asked directly about his father's profession and avoided answering the question only stating that his father was born in India. See

<http://www.radioislam.com/asx/radioislam/2005-April%2025-1450.asx> time 6:05

"[Dr. Badawi] left Egypt when President Abdul Nasser's revolution of 1952 rolled out a new sense of communism and, with it, ushered in fear and oppression that ultimately hastened the exodus of young Arab Islamists in the '60s."⁹⁴

According to a media interview, Dr. Badawi arrived in the US in 1963 to obtain his PhD in management at the University of Indiana.^P During his studies at the University, local media reported that Dr. Badawi joined the Muslim Student Association. Following completion of his Masters and PHD, local media reported that Dr. Badawi taught briefly at the University of Maine and then moved to Halifax in 1970 where he began teaching management at Saint Mary's University, a position he held until his retirement last year.^{95 96 97} In a media interview, Dr. Badawi acknowledges having been a member of the Islamic Association of North America (ISNA) since the inception of the organization.⁹⁸ According to an ISNA biography, Dr. Badawi joined the board of the Islamic Association of North America (ISNA) board in 1988 and served on the board of the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT) from 1991 until 1993.^{99 100} Over the last ten years, Dr. Badawi appears to have spent an enormous amount of time speaking at various venues around the world. He has told the media that he has spent as many as 40 weekends a year traveling on speaking engagements and has been invited as a guest speaker in 27 other countries.^{101 102}

^P The year is mentioned at <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Acropolis/6808/iifmuslims.html> (home page)

4. Mohammed Nur Abdullah (President)

An online biography of Sheikh Abdullah states:

“Sheikh Mohammed Nur Abdullah was born and raised in Sudan. After completing schooling in Sudan, Sheikh Nur attained a B.A. in Shari’ah from the Islamic University in Medina, Saudi Arabia. Afterwards, he worked on his M.A. in the same concentration from Umm Al Qura University in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. Upon completion, Imam Nur emigrated to the United States in 1978. Imam Nur Abdullah continued his studies upon arrival in the United States, where he enrolled in a masters program in Islamic Studies at the University of Chicago (Illinois). He is currently a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Chicago. Aside from continuing his studies, Sheikh Nur is, to put it lightly, an active member of his community. Since 1982, Sheikh Nur has been a vital member of the Fiqh Council of North America. He was also for some time the Chairman of the Fiqh Council for the Islamic Society of North America. He is also a member of the Shari’ah Scholars Association of North America, based in Royal Oak, Michigan. Aside from legal studies, Sheikh Nur works hard on the education of Muslim youth and currently serves as principal of the Al Salaam Day School. He also is presently the full time Imam and Director for the Islamic Foundation of Greater St. Louis. Along with all these commitments, Sheikh Nur is the current president of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA). He presently works as a marriage counselor in his community, and so writes from his own experiences. He currently resides in St. Louis, Missouri with his family.”¹⁰³

5. Taha J. Alwani (Chairman of the Fiqh Council of North America)

An online biography of Dr. Alwani states:

“Dr. Taha Jabir Alalwani, was born in 1935 in Iraq and received both his primary and secondary education there. Afterwards, Dr. Alalwani left home and began a career as a student in the College of Shari’ah and Law at al Azhar University (Cairo). In 1959, he graduated with an Honors Degree. He continued at the college, and in 1968 was awarded a Master’s Degree, receiving his doctorate in Usul al Fiqh in 1973. Ten years following the completion of his doctorate, Dr. Alalwani taught Usul al Fiqh at Imam Muhammad ibn Sa’ood University in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Following this, Dr. Alalwani came to America and immediately started work in his community. Dr. Alalwani was a founding member of the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) and currently serves as the institute’s president as well as being a member of the board of trustees. He was a founding member of the Council of the Muslim World League in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. He currently also serves as president at the school run under the institute, The Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences, in Virginia. He is also a professor at this institution, and occupies the Imam Al Shafi’i Chair in Islamic Legal Theory. Since 1988, Dr. Alalwani has been president of the Fiqh Council of North America, run under the Islamic Society of North America. He is also a member of the OIC Islamic Fiqh Academy based in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia and has been a member since 1987.”¹⁰⁴

It should be noted that Muhammad ibn Sa’ood University is generally described as Saudi Arabia’s premier Islamic educational institution known for upholding strict, fundamentalist Islamic teachings.¹⁰⁵ In August 2004, the Washington Post called the University the “main citadel for Wahhabi instruction.”¹⁰⁶

Funding

The secretary-general of ISNA has stated that the organization preaches “transparency,” yet there appears to be little information available regarding the organization’s funding.¹⁰⁷ ISNA is classified as a Church for tax purposes and therefore not required to file Form 990’s. It does appear however, that as in the beginning, Saudi Arabia has played an important role in funding the organization. A former FBI analyst has testified before the Senate about a 1991 ISNA financial

statement which indicated that Saudi Arabia was the largest source of donations at that time.¹⁰⁸ In 1996, a national media report indicated that the Saudi royal family had cut funding for ISNA when ISNA took no position on the Gulf war in 1990 but another news report indicates that in 1994, ISNA accepted at least \$500,000 in donations from Saudi Arabia.^{109 110}

In the wake of a 2004 Senate investigation into possible links between Islamic charities and terrorism, ISNA Secretary-General Sayyid M. Syeed made several statements denying that the organization received funds from Saudi Arabia:

- In January 2004, he told the New York Times that “his group once accepted money from Muslims overseas but had not for the last two or three years. Dr. Syeed said he was confident that the only overseas Muslims who sent money to the Islamic Society were people who supported the moderate vision that he said his group represented.”¹¹¹
- In March 2004, Dr. Syeed stated in an interview that ISNA received no funds whatsoever from the “Saudi government or Saudi citizens with close ties to the royal family.”¹¹²
- In May 2004, Dr. Syeed told a Florida newspaper that Saudi financial backing for ISNA had ended “more than 10 years ago.”¹¹³

In November 2005, however, Canadian media reported that in 2002, Saudi King Fahd gave \$5-million and an annual grant of \$1.5-million to the Islamic Centre in Toronto which also houses ISNA and that in 2005, the Saudi Islamic Development Bank announced a \$275,000 grant to ISNA’s high school, as well as a scholarship program.^{q 114} The website of the Islamic Development Bank confirms both awards.^{115 116}

According to an ISNA newsletter, the 2004 operating budget for the organization was approximately \$3 million, two-thirds of which was being sought through fundraising.¹¹⁷ No explanation was given for the source of the remaining third. The ISNA 2004 Annual Report indicates that the organization received approximately \$400,000 above their expenses resulting in cash in hand of approximately \$2.1 million.¹¹⁸

The ISNA website states that “our eventual goal is to help ISNA become financially self-sufficient through the Endowment Fund.” The ISNA 2004 Annual report indicates that the endowment fund grew from \$1.4 million in 2003 to \$2.9 million in 2004. No source for the large increase was reported.¹¹⁹ As early as 1994, there was a media report that ISNA had invested in at least one Halal meat processing plant.¹²⁰

Even more ambiguous is the source of funding for the ISNA affiliated North American Islamic Trust (NAIT) which as noted above, holds title to a large number of Islamic properties. According to the NAIT website, the organization both raises funds and “has advanced millions of dollars in interest-free loans to centers to complete their infrastructure projects.”¹²¹ A variety of media reports indicate that NAIT directly purchases properties for use as Islamic facilities.¹²² However, the organization is a 501(c)3 Public Charity and is not required to file an annual return with the IRS because it claims an income of less than \$25,000.¹²³ One media report stated that “The Islamic trust now owns nearly a third of all mosques and Muslim centers in the United States, many of them acquired in the 1980s through funds provided by the Saudi government.”¹²⁴ An investigation by a Florida newspaper revealed that a local mosque received “secret funding” by Saudi Arabia after NAIT took title to the property.¹²⁵

^q The article also says that the awards were featured on the ISNA website but there was nothing found concerning the awards on the ISNA site at this time.

EXTREMISM—GLOBAL AFFILIATIONS

ISNA has strong ties to both international and U.S extremist organizations. The following section will examine some of these connections.

Saudi Arabian Fundamentalism

This report has already documented the massive efforts of Saudi Arabia in partnership with the Muslim Brotherhood to propagate fundamentalist Islam throughout the world. In August 2004, the Washington Post cited a study of U.S mosques that was sponsored by four Islamic organizations including ISNA. Even this study showed that showed the impact of the Saudi Arabian campaign:

"The most comprehensive study, a survey of the 1,200 U.S. mosques undertaken in 2000 by four Muslim organizations, found that 2 million Muslims were "associated" with a mosque and that 70 percent of mosque leaders were generally favorable toward fundamentalist teachings, while 21 percent followed the stricter Wahhabi practices. The survey also found that the segregation of women for prayers was spreading, from half of the mosques in 1994 to two-thirds six years later."¹²⁶

The article went on to quote John L. Esposito, a Georgetown University scholar known to be sympathetic to the Saudi Arian/Muslim Brotherhood network, who acknowledged that the Saudi campaign had resulted in:

"the export of a very exclusive brand of Islam into the Muslim community in the United States" that "tends to make them more isolationist in the society in which they live."

This report has also documented the formation of the major Saudi institutions designed to facilitate this effort. Numerous sources have provided evidence about the role that these Saudi organizations have continued to play in this global campaign that only began to draw government scrutiny after 9/11.¹ This report has shown that ISNA was created within the same matrix that created two of the most important Saudi organizations- the Muslim World League (MWL) and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY). The following section presents evidence that both the MWL and WAMY continue to facilitate extremism and that ISNA maintains close relationships with both.

1. Muslim World League

The Muslim World League (MWL), also known as the Rabita, is located in Mecca and reportedly has the following organizational objectives:¹²⁷

- To disseminate Islamic Dawah and expound the teachings of Islam.
- To defend Islamic causes in a manner that safeguards the interests and aspirations of Muslims, solves their problems, refutes false allegations against Islam, and repels inimical trends and dogma which the enemies of Islam seek to exploit in order to destroy the unity of Muslims and to sow seeds of doubt in our Muslim brethren.

The Virginia U.S offices of the MWL were raided by in 2002 and 2005 by Federal law enforcement agents reportedly looking for evidence that the organization was used to fund Al-Qaida.¹²⁸

In September 2005, a U.S Government Accounting Office (GAO) report cited State Department officials when it stated that the MWL was among the Saudi charities that have been linked to supporting Islamic terrorist organizations globally.¹²⁹ "As recently April of this year, an Assistant Secretary of State testified that:

¹ For a comprehensive journalistic account of the Saudi effort, see ¹ USNews.com: How billions in oil money spawned a global terror network http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/031215/15terror_3.htm

“We continue to stress the need for appropriate regulatory oversight of all charitable organizations headquartered [in Saudi Arabia], such as the World Muslim League, the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY).¹³⁰

In 2004, the ISNA Secretary-General acknowledged receiving funding from the Muslim World League in the past “when it was considered a legitimate and respectable institution” but attempted to disassociate ISNA from the organization:

“Now, many of [these types of organizations] have been reluctant to support ISNA. The Salafi influence in them is very powerful, and ISNA was seen as too moderate.”¹³¹

Despite this statement, key ISNA leaders appear to enjoy recent and close relations with the MWL. Past president and current ISNA board member Muzzamil Siddiqi is particularly close to the MWL:

- Dr. Siddiqi was the Chairman of the Department of Religious Affairs at the Muslim World League Office to the United Nations from sometime in the 1970’s until 1980.
- In July 1998, Dr. Siddiqi was among a group of speakers at the opening ceremonies for the King Fahd Mosque near Los Angeles, financed by Prince Abdulaziz of Saudi Arabia. Speakers included Dr. Abdullah Al-Obaid, Secretary-General of the Muslim World League; Warith Edeen Muhammad, of the Muslim American Society and Pete Wilson, Governor of California.¹³²
- Media reports indicate that Dr. Siddiqi was part of a Muslim World League delegation which toured the United States in July 2002. The group included Abdullah al-Turki, secretary general of the MWL and one of the reports described Dr. Siddiqi as a member of the League.^{s 133}
- An internet publication reported in March 2004 that Dr. Siddiqi was listed on the MWL website as the organization’s official representative in the United States.¹³⁴
- Online biographies indicate that Dr. Siddiqi is a member of the Supreme Council of Mosques in Makkah, Saudi Arabia, described on a MWL website as “created in accordance with a resolution adopted at the conference on the vocation of the Mosque which was held in Makkah in mid-Ramadan 1395 H. at the behest of Rabita.”^{135 136}

ISNA leader and board member Jamal Badawi also has ties to the MWL:

- Dr. Badawi was part of the Muslim World League delegation that toured the United States in 2002 headed by Dr. Abdullah al-Turki, Secretary General of the Muslim World League.¹³⁷
- Dr. Badawi is currently listed among the Muslim World League “Scholars” posted on the Canadian Muslim World League website.¹³⁸

Taha J. Alwani, head of the ISNA affiliated Fiqh Council of North America (FCNA), also has connections to the MWL:

- A 2003 Malaysian media report refers to Dr. Alwani as one of the founders of the Muslim World League (MWL).¹³⁹

^s It is not clear whether or not Dr. Siddiqi actually toured with the group.

- An online biography refers to Dr. Alwani as a current member of the MWL¹⁴⁰
- The Canadian office of the MWL lists Dr. Alwani as one of its “scholars.”¹⁴¹

Other links from ISNA to the MWL include:

- Past funding as acknowledged by the ISNA Secretary-General.¹⁴²
- The MWL Canada website lists ISNA as one of only a handful of U.S Islamic organizations designated as its “International Connections.”¹⁴³
- The ISNA website currently lists a report from Muzzamil Siddiqi on the MWL Fourth General Conference in Saudi Arabia from April 6-9, 2002.¹⁴⁴
- The MWL Canada website continues to post an ad for the 31st Annual ISNA Canada Convention May 21-22 2005.¹⁴⁵
- The ISNA Canada and MWL Canada offices are less than five miles apart in the same Toronto suburb.^{146 147}

2. World Assembly of Muslim Youth

The World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) has described itself as:

“an independent international organisation and an Islamic forum that supports the work of Muslim organisations and needy communities the world over. WAMY’s headquarters are based in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.”¹⁴⁸

According to the Saudi government, the work of WAMY includes building mosques, distributing religious literature, and humanitarian relief.¹⁴⁹ Although the above description states that WAMY is “an independent organization”, the current President of WAMY, Sheikh Saleh Al-Asheikh, is also the Saudi Minister of Islamic affairs.^{150 151}

In 2005, the U.S. Government Accounting Office (GAO) issued a report which linked WAMY to:

“Saudi funding and export of a particular version of Islam that predominates in Saudi Arabia has had the effect, whether intended or not, of promoting the growth of religious extremism globally.”¹⁵²

As recently as this year, U.S. officials expressed concern about WAMY and its activities. In an April 2006 testimony before Congress, an Assistant Secretary of State testified that:

“We continue to stress the need for appropriate regulatory oversight of all charitable organizations headquartered [in Saudi Arabia], such as the World Muslim League, the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY).”¹⁵³

WAMY has been linked to fundamentalist and/or terrorist financing and activities in Bosnia, India, and in Israel through financial support of Hamas.^{154 155 156} A 2002 study by two NGO’s found that “Saudi officials disseminate hate literature openly in the United States, through such entities as the Institute for Islamic and Arabic Sciences in America (IIASA), in Fairfax, Va. and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), in Alexandria, Va. They show that official Saudi

¹ Interestingly, the latest version of this description omits any mention of Saudi Arabia. See http://www.wamy.co.uk/bd_about.htm

representatives in the United States promote belief that Jews are the source of all conflicts in the world, that Shi'a Muslims are part of a Jewish conspiracy, and that Muslims, Jews, and Christians cannot live together."¹⁵⁷

This report has already noted that the important early founders of ISNA were also founders and early executives of WAMY. Also, U.S. government documents indicate that Taha Alwani, head of the ISNA affiliated Fiqh Council of North America, was a director of WAMY in October 1980 and listed his address at WAMY in Saudi Arabia.¹⁵⁸ Ties between WAMY and ISNA have continued until the current day. For example, the ISNA affiliated Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS) enjoys a close relationship with its German counterpart the Gesellschaft Muslimischer Sozial und Geisteswissenschaftler (GMSG).^u According to the organization's website, GMSG was founded in 1996 with the "support" of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (USA).¹⁵⁹ A newsletter of the AMSS identifies FCNA affiliate Chairman Dr. Alwani as an "international advisor" for GMSG and Dr. Alwani has visited Germany at least twice in the last 10 years in connection with GMSG activities.^{160 161 162} Also, a conference was held September 27-29, 2002 in Bonn Germany entitled "Muslim Education in Germany." The conference was jointly sponsored by GMSG and AMSS.¹⁶³ Attending the conference were Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman and Dr. Taha J. Alwani. An important leader and founder of the GMSG is Ibrahim El-Zayat, also the head of WAMY for Western Europe.^{164 165 166}

Other connections between ISNA and WAMY include:

- In 1998, then WAMY Secretary-General Maneh Aljohani appeared during the welcome and inauguration of the ISNA Annual Convention.¹⁶⁷
- In 1999, a WAMY website listed ISNA as one of only three Islamic organizations in the United States.¹⁶⁸
- Two widely quoted booklets of ISNA leader and board member Dr. Jamal Badawi, "Gender Equity in Islam" and "The Status of Women in Islam, are published by WAMY and the WAMY website lists Dr. Badawi and Tariq Ramadan as the two speakers for a September 2005 WAMY conference on "Youth Identity."^{v 169 170 171}
- In September 2003, Canadian media reported that WAMY Canada and ISNA shared the same building in a suburb of Toronto.¹⁷²

Muslim Brotherhood

A Washington Post article describes the Muslim Brotherhood as:

"a sprawling and secretive society with followers in more than 70 countries. It is dedicated to creating an Islamic civilization that harks back to the caliphates of the 7th and 8th centuries, one that would segregate women from public life and scorn nonbelievers. In some nations -- Egypt, Algeria, Syria, Sudan -- the Brotherhood has fomented Islamic revolution. In the Palestinian territories, the Brotherhood created the Islamic Resistance Movement, or Hamas, which has become known for its suicide bombings of Israelis. Yet it is also a sophisticated and diverse organization that appeals to many Muslims worldwide and sometimes advocates peaceful persuasion, not violent revolt. Some of its supporters went on to help found al Qaeda, while others launched one of the largest college student groups in the United States. For decades, the Brotherhood enjoyed the support of the government of Saudi Arabia and its oil billions, which helped the group expand in the United States."¹⁷³

^u Society of Muslim Social Scientists

^v The "Gender Equity" booklet may indicate that Dr. Badawi is or was a member of WAMY.

However, the Treasury Department's former counter terrorism chief, Juan Zarate, told the Washington Post that until recently, "there wasn't a recognition of the logistical and financial ties to terrorism through the Muslim Brotherhood."¹⁷⁴

Although the Egyptian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood is officially committed to "non-violence", as the above article notes, it created the terrorist group Hamas and close relations between the two have persisted until the present time. In September 2005, Middle Eastern media reported that:

"Egypt's banned but tolerated Muslim Brotherhood movement watched Friday as hundreds of armed militants from Hamas paraded through the ruins of a former Jewish settlement. Nizar Rayan, a Hamas leader, urged a huge crowd of supporters to welcome the Brotherhood visitors from Egypt, as more than a thousand Hamas militants marched, brandishing M-16s and rocket-propelled grenade launchers."¹⁷⁵

There are other reasons to suspect the group's commitment to non-violence. In April 2005, A Council on Foreign Relations analyst wrote:

"One reason the Brotherhood's commitment to nonviolence is unclear: The original Egyptian organization has spawned branches in 70 countries. These organizations bear the Brotherhood name, but their connections to the founding group vary and some of them may provide financial, logistical, or other support to terrorist organizations. Some terrorist groups—including Hamas, Jamaat al-Islamiyya, and al-Qaeda—have historic and ideological affiliations with the Egyptian Brotherhood. In addition, some of the world's most dangerous terrorists were once Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood members, including Osama bin Laden's top deputy Ayman al-Zawahiri. The organization is like "stepping stone," says Evan Kohlmann, an international terrorism consultant. "[For] someone who is interested in dedicating their lives to a radical Islamist cause, it can be a pathway up...to a more serious dealing with Islam."¹⁷⁶

In September 2004, the Washington Post reported that:

"For years federal agents paid little heed to the Brotherhood, but after Sept. 11 they noticed that many leads went back to the Brotherhood. 'We see some sort of nexus, direct or indirect, to the Brotherhood, in ongoing cases,'"said Dennis Lormel, until recently a top FBI counterterrorism official."¹⁷⁷

In addition to terrorism, there is concern that Muslim Brotherhood fundamentalism poses a threat to democratic government. A recent Wall Street Journal article has warned about the potential threat posed by the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe:

"As Europe has become Islam's new frontier, the Brotherhood has spread political Islam, which weds religion and politics into a potent force that clashes with pluralistic democracies."¹⁷⁸

Muslim Brotherhood leaders have also made a series of anti-Semitic statements centering on Holocaust denial. In December 2005, the Supreme Guide Muhammad Mehdi Akef was reported to have said that:¹⁷⁹

"Western democracy has attacked everyone who does not share the vision of the sons of Zion as far as the myth of the Holocaust is concerned."

He reportedly cited as evidence the cases of French convicted Holocaust denier French Roger Garaudy and the British historian David Irving who was also later convicted of Holocaust denial.^w In February 2006, Muslim Brotherhood leader Youssef Qaradawi said on Qatar TV:

"Can you mock the Jews? Here they stopped. The Jews are protected by laws - the laws that protect Semitism, and nobody can say even one word about the number [of victims] in the alleged

^w Mr. Akef's office later issued a denial that this statement was Holocaust denial.

Holocaust. Nobody can do so, even if he is writing an M.A. or Ph.D. thesis, and discussing it scientifically. Such claims are not acceptable. When Roger Garaudy talked about it, he was sentenced to jail, according to the laws.”¹⁸⁰

This report has already noted that the founders of ISNA had strong ties to the Muslim Brotherhood. Although there was a reported falling out between the Brotherhood and Saudi Arabia over criticism of the Kingdom’s decision to allow the Americans to defend them against Saddam Hussein, evidence indicates that the relationship between the Muslim Brotherhood and ISNA continue to the present day.¹⁸¹

1. Youssef Qaradawi

Perhaps the clearest example of the ties between ISNA and the Muslim Brotherhood is the association between ISNA and Qatari Sheikh Youssef Qaradawi, generally acknowledged to be an important Muslim Brotherhood leader.¹⁸² The Wall Street Journal notes that Dr. Qaradawi:

“has also has issued fatwas backing suicide bombings against civilians in Israel and U .S . troops in Iraq. And he has defended the death penalty under sharia law for homosexuals, writing : "While such punishments may seem cruel, they have been suggested to maintain the purity of the Islamic society and to keep it clean of perverted elements ."¹⁸³

Dr. Qaradawi has appeared at ISNA Annual Conferences and one media source reports that ISNA has been selling Dr. Qaradawi’s book through its internet site.^{184 185} When questioned about Dr. Qaradawi’s appearances at ISNA conventions, ISNA Secretary-General Syeed was reported to have said “that may have happened ‘ten to fifteen years ago -- some time when he was totally a non-entity.”¹⁸⁶

Although Dr. Syeed may be trying to minimize ISNA’s with Dr. Qaradawi, Islam Online, an internet Islamic news service owned by Dr. Qaradawi, does not appear to be minimizing the relationship. A Google search for Islam Online web pages that mention ISNA shows 504 such pages.^{x 187} Also, ISNA leader and board member Jamal Badawi and FCNA member Salah Soltan are members of the European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR) where Dr. Qaradawi is President.^{188 189} A Spanish Islamic center also identifies FCNA Chairman Dr Taha Alwani as a member of the ECFR.¹⁹⁰

The Wall Street Journal has described the ECFR as:

“Europe’s most influential Muslim rulemaking bodyIt was set up by an organization and scholars tightly allied with the Muslim Brotherhood, an Islamist group that has widely penetrated Muslim life in Europe .”¹⁹¹

The article goes on to report that although the ECFR has issued some relatively moderate rulings, at one ECFR meeting:

“a council member cited "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a notorious anti-Semitic forgery written in czarist Russia, in a position paper on how Muslim families are under threat in Europe . The Protocols, the speaker said, was evidence of a Jewish plot to undermine Muslim moral values through sexual permissiveness.”

2. Gesellschaft Muslimischer Sozial und Geistenwissenschaftler

Another example of the ties between ISNA and the Muslim Brotherhood can be seen in ISNA’s relationship with the Gesellschaft Muslimischer Sozial und Geistenwissenschaftler (GMSG). As

^x A current ISNA webpage cites the rulings of the ECFR in its discussions about terrorism. See <http://www.balancedislam.org/ATAECbrochure.pdf>

noted above, the ISNA affiliate the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS) enjoys a close relationship the GMSG. The most important leader of the GMSG is Ibrahim El-Zayat, also head of the Islamische Gemeinschaft Deutschland, officially designated by the German internal intelligence agency as the representative of the Muslim Brotherhood in Germany.¹⁹² Also, Tariq Ramadan, the grandson of the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, attended the 2002 conference in Bonn, jointly sponsored by GMSG and AMSS.¹⁹³

3. Muslim Association of Britain

Ties between ISNA and the Muslim Brotherhood also exist through ISNA leader and board member Jamal Badawi's relationship to the Muslim Association of Britain. These ties were clearly visible in the summer of 2004 when Dr. Badawi made numerous appearances in the UK most of which were associated with the visit of Dr. Qaradawi to the 2004 ECFR meeting:

- Dr. Badawi gave a talk at the annual conference of the Federation of Students' Islamic Societies (FOSIS) held at Nottingham University from 17 to 20 June, 2004. Other speakers included Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood figures Tariq Ramadan, Turki al-Faisal, and Ahmed Al-Rawi, head of FIOE.^{194 195} FOSIS is known to be close to the MAB.¹⁹⁶
- Dr Badawi was scheduled to speak at was described by local media as the "first conference of a campaign to safeguard the right of Muslim women to wear the Hijab" which was held on July 12, 2004 at London City Hall. Other speakers included the Mayor of London Ken Livingston, Tariq Ramadan, and Youssef Qaradawi. The conference was sponsored by a group called Pro-Hijab that has strong connections to the MAB.^{197 198}
- Dr. Badawi spoke at the MAB annual summer conference in London on July 10, 2004 entitled "Islam, Mercy to Mankind."¹⁹⁹
- Dr. Badawi served as the translator for Youssef Qaradawi at a conference on the education of Muslims in the West entitled "Our Children Our Future."²⁰⁰

Connections between the MAB and the Muslim Brotherhood include:

- One of the original founders of the MAB was Dr. Kamal Al-Helbawi, known to be the former spokesperson for the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe.²⁰¹
- The MAB has stated that "MAB enjoys good relations with every mainstream Islamic organisation in the UK and abroad. One of these organisations is the Muslim Brotherhood."²⁰²
- Dr. Osama Altikriti, the father of Anas Altikriti has been a member and leader of the Muslim Brotherhood since he was 15.
- In a letter to a British newspaper, the MAB stated that it "shared ideas, values and expertise" with the Muslim Brotherhood.²⁰³

4. Jamaat-e-Islami

ISNA has close relations with the Jamaat-e-Islami (JEI), a fundamentalist political party in Pakistan and which is known to have a close relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood.^{204 205} Evidence for this relationship includes:

- A media report states that Qazi Hussain Ahmad, a JEI leader, has been a frequent guest speaker at ISNA conferences and there is documentation of his appearance at the 1998

ISNA conference.^{206 207 208}

- The 1999 ISNA Annual Convention was addressed by Dr. Ayyub Thukar, President of the World Kashmir Freedom Front.²⁰⁹ Dr. Thukar was associated with Jamiat-e-Talaba, described as “a student organization ideologically born of the JI.”^{210 211}
- In 2003, ISNA provide booth space at its annual convention to the US-based Islamic Foundation, known to be associated with the JEI.^{212 213}

The International Board of Educational Research and Resources

ISNA has ties to an organization known as the International Board of Educational Research and Resources (IBERR) founded by Yusuf Islam (aka Cat Stevens) and ISNA board member Abdalla Idris Ali.²¹⁴ An IBERR document describes the organization as follows:

“The International Board of Educational Research and Resources (IBERR) represents a core of international educationists committed to implementing the aims and objectives of the First World Conference held in Makkah in 1977. IBERR, through its global network of several hundred schools in the USA, UK, South Africa, Nigeria, Australia and other countries, is involved in several research initiatives. IBERR’s plans include helping existing and new schools to cope with the academic and cultural needs of Muslim communities.”^{y 215}

IBERR appears to be part of an international Islamic educational network that includes the following known Islamic fundamentalist organizations:²¹⁶

- World Muslim League
- Iqra Charitable Society (Jeddah)
- International Islamic University (Malaysia)
- Zarqa University (Jordan)
- Islamic University (Uganda)
- IIIT (Herndon, Virginia, USA)
- ICNA (USA)
- Islamic Schools Trust (Nigeria)

The stated goal of IBERR is to promote the “islamization of knowledge” as first expounded by Ismail Faruq with an emphasis on developing Islamic curriculums for grades 1-12.²¹⁷ In the U.S, IBERR appears to be closely related to ISNA .One of the founding members and Trustee of IBERR, Dr Abdalla Idris Ali, is a current board member and former president of ISNA and has described his background in Islamic education dating back to the origins of the MSA in 1963.²¹⁸ At least one IBERR meeting has been held at an ISNA school in Canada and IIIT has designed the book criteria for the IBERR curriculum.²¹⁹

Tablighi Jamaat

In July 2003, a New York Times article featured an Islamic group known as the Tablighi Jamaat (TJ) calling it:

“one of the most widespread and conservative Islamic movements in the world. It describes itself as a nonpolitical, and nonviolent, group interested in nothing more than proselytizing and bringing wayward Muslims back to Islam.” The name Tablighi Jamaat is Arabic for the "group that propagates the faith," and its members visit mosques and college campuses in small missionary

^y The 1977 meeting date is consistent with other conferences identified in this report that played a role in the founding of ISNA.

bands, preaching a return to purist Islamic values and recruiting other Muslim men - often young men searching for identity - to join them for a few days or weeks on the road.”²²⁰

The article goes on to cite concerns by law enforcement and security officials that (TJ), although itself non-violent, may be playing various roles in facilitating terrorism.

A former Indian counter terrorism official stated in 2003 that ISNA was “closely associated” the TJ.²²¹ ISNA leader Dr. Muzzamil Siddiqi appears to support this claim when he wrote on Islam Online:

“the Tablighi Jam’ah is one the active Islamic organizations in the field of Da’wah, mostly among Muslims. They have done a good service by reminding Muslims to observe their religious acts of worship (‘ibadaat). Their approach is very limited, but we ask Allah to reward them, for all of their good efforts. At present, the Tablighi Jama’ah of the United States is not apart of the North American Shura council. But I hope they will join in the future.”^{z 222}

EXTREMISM—U.S. AFFILIATIONS

Within the United States, ISNA and its affiliates are part of a constellation of Islamic organizations that are connected to each other through their founders, current and interlocking boards of directors. These organizations include the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), the American Muslim Council (AMC), the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), and the Muslim American Society (MAS). All are listed by the MWL Canada website lists as only a handful of U.S Islamic organizations designated as its “International Connections.”²²³

The connections between ISNA and IIIT are numerous and include:

- Four of the important individuals involved with either the ISNA predecessor organizations or the founding of ISNA itself were also involved with the founding of IIIT in 1980- Jamal Barzinji, Ahmed Totonji, Taha J. Alwani, and Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman. At that time, they listed WAMY in Saudi Arabia as their address.^{224 225 226 227}
- Dr. Barzinji, Dr. Totonji, Dr. Alwani, Dr. Abu Sulayman and Hisham Altalib are all listed as current IIIT officers and/or Trustees.²²⁸
- Louay Safi, the current Executive Director of the ISNA Leadership Development Center, served as the Executive Director (1995-97) and Director of Research (1999-2003) of IIIT.²²⁹
- Current ISNA Secretary-General Sayiid. Syeed was Director of Academic Outreach (1984-1994) at IIIT.²³⁰
- The 2004 IIIT tax return lists numerous donations to ISNA as well as to CAIR.²³¹

Connections between ISNA and the other U.S Islamic organizations include but are not limited to:

- Abdulrahman Alamoudi is the founder of the American Muslim Council (AMC) and a former member of the board of directors as well as its Executive Director for several years. According to his resume, from 1985 to 1990, he was executive Assistant to the President of the SAAR Foundation, a foundation founded and operated by Jamal Barzinji, Ahmed Totonji, Hisham Altalib, and Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman. Alamoudi was at one time "regional representative" for ISNA's Washington, D.C. chapter.^{232 233}

^z Dr. Siddiqi is chairman of the Council.

- The ISNA affiliated Fiqh Council of North America (FCNA) was founded by Jamal Barzinji and Abdulrahman Alamoudi. Incorporation documents indicate that the registered address for FCNA was the same address used by the SAAR Foundation and its many affiliates including IIIT. The documents state that upon dissolution of the organization, FCNA assets should be distributed either to the Safa Trust, IIIT, or the North American Islamic Trust. Current FCNA Chairman Taha Alwani was the President of IIIT at the time of FCNA's incorporation.
- According to the organization's website, ISNA leader and board member Dr. Badawi is a board member of the Canadian chapter of the Council on Islamic-American Relations (CAIR-CAN).^{234 235} At least two other ISNA board members hold board positions with local CAIR chapters.^{236 237}
- Dr. Badawi is also closely affiliated with the Muslim American Society (MAS). In 2002, he was referred to as the MAS Da'wah chairman for the on the website of an American Islamic organization.²³⁸ In 2003, a local MAS chapter listed him as an MAS board member.²³⁹
- A December 2001 CAIR web page lists six ISNA Secretary-General Sayyid Syeed, as a member of the CAIR Advisory Board.^{240 241}

It is interesting to note that many of these same organizations shared the same Internet hosting service provided by InfoCom, a company operated by three brothers recently convicted on a variety of terrorist offenses and believed by the U.S. government to be "front for Hamas."²⁴² Organizations using the service of InfoCom included ISNA, CAIR, and WAMY USA.^{243 244 245} Leaders of the above organizations often appear together at ISNA conferences and a recent statement by CAIR identified itself, ISNA, the MAS, and other related organizations as "mainstream Muslim groups."^{246 247}

All of these groups have strong ties to Islamic extremism. The connections of CAIR to extremism will be discussed in the second part of this report. A full examination of the extremist connections of IIIT, the AMC, and the MAS are beyond the scope of this report. However, it is clear that all three have connections to terrorist and/or extremist activity. In May 2006, Kuwaiti-born Sami Al-Arian was sentenced to almost five years in prison in connection with his activity in support of Palestinian Islamic Jihad in the United States. During his sentencing, the Federal judge who heard the case made the following remarks to Dr. Al-Arian:

"You looked your neighbors in the eyes and said you had nothing to do with the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. This trial exposed that as a lie.... The evidence was clear in this case that you were a leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad... But when it came to blowing up women and children on buses, did you leap into action then? ... No. You lifted not one finger, made not one phone call. To the contrary, you laughed when you heard about the bombings, what you euphemistically call "operations." ... And yet, still in the face of your own words, you continue to lie to your friends and supporters, claiming to abhor violence and to seek only aid for widows and orphans. Your only connection to widows and orphans is that you create them, even among the Palestinians; and you create them, not by sending your children to blow themselves out of existence. No. You exhort others to send their children... You are indeed a master manipulator."²⁴⁸

A Federal search warrant identified the following ties between IIIT, Al-Arian, and Al-Arian's organization known as the World and Islamic Studies Enterprise (WISE):²⁴⁹

- "A[hmed] Totonji is also referenced in another seized letter from Al-Arian to Alwani. In this letter, Al-Arian solicited more funding and referred to a meeting he had with Totonji where Totonji promised him another \$20,000. As recently as November 1, 2001, Totonji signed

a check for \$10,000 to Al-Arian through Al-Arian's organization known as the Tampa Bay Coalition for Justice and Peace, drafted on the account of Safa Group charity IIIT"

- "Discovered in the Tampa searches in 1995 were letters indicating that in 1991 and 1992, IIIT contributed at least \$50,000 to PIJ front-group WISE. Moreover, another document seized during these warrants was a 1991 letter from Shallah – now the leader of PIJ – to an administrator of the University of South Florida, with a copy to Nafi, stating that IIIT was the largest contributor to WISE. connections between IIIT and both Al-Arian, and Nafi remained close even after WISE and ICP shut down operations"
- "Al-Arian sponsored Nafi into the United States in 1992 and 1995, on the grounds that Nafi was to be the Director of Research for WISE in Tampa, Florida. In July 1996, Nafi was removed from the United States pursuant to a deportation order based on allegations that included that although he was admitted as a worker for WISE, in October 1994 he was employed at IIIT, a Safa Group charity in Herndon, Virginia."

There are other allegations against IIIT and its related organization known as the SAAR Foundation and in March 2002, they were raided as part of a Federal law enforcement operation known as Operation Green Quest.²⁵⁰ The outcome of this investigation is still pending.

In October 2004, Abdurahman Alamoudi of the AMC plead guilty and was sentenced to 23 years in prison for his role in a Libyan plot to kill Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah.²⁵¹ Supplemental Federal documents also indicate that Mr. Alamoudi was involving the financing of Hamas.²⁵²

The Muslim American Society is known to be closely associated with the Muslim Brotherhood, already identified as an important Islamic extremist organization.²⁵³ It should be also noted that the MAS has recently been holding joint conferences with the Islamic Circle of North America.^{254 255} A full analysis of ICNA is also beyond the scope of this report but there is evidence to suggest that the organization has close connections to the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood network. Various sources have asserted that ICNA is closely tied to the Jamaat-e-Islami organization of Southeast Asia, known to be allied with the Muslim Brotherhood, and the current President of ICNA, Talat Sultan, was formerly associated with both MSA and ISNA.^{aa bb 256 257} ISNA leader and board member Dr. Jamal Badawi has been speaking at numerous ICNA events since at least 1991.²⁵⁸
259 260

ORGANIZATIONAL EXTREMISM—FUNDAMENTALISM

The introduction to this report introduced a definition of fundamentalism as a political ideology based on a "selective and arbitrary politicization of religion."²⁶¹ ISNA and its key leaders can be classified as fundamentalists based on this definition. Evidence for this determination is as follows.

Statements of Leaders

While ISNA's key leaders have made a large number of public statements over the years, it is always difficult to characterize the belief system of individuals based solely on media interviews, press releases, and the like. The charge is often made that such statements are "taken out of context", misquoted by journalists, or subject to other sorts of distortions. Nevertheless, the

^{aa} In September 1998, Maulana Siraj ul Hasan, described as the "Amir-e-Jamaat-e-Islami, India" was scheduled to speak at an ICNA event in Los Angeles. See "Pakistan Link Headlines"<http://www.pakistanlink.com/community/98/Sept/04/01.html>

^{aa} A previous report has documented that Talat Sultan was one of the original founders of iSNA

available statements by ISNA's leaders do appear to reveal a common extremist ideology which is consistent with the other evidence of extremism presented in this report.

1. Rejection of Other Islamic Practices

The ISNA leadership does not accept Islamic practices that fall outside the version of Islam propagated by Saudi Arabia and the Muslim Brotherhood. For example, past ISNA President Dr. Siddiqi's views can be characterized as in line with "Wahhabi" teachings. An April 1999 media report stated that Dr. Siddiqi rejects "hierarchies, holy men and the 'grave worship' of saintly intercession," views that are known to be facets of Wahhabi doctrine.^{262 263} A January 2000 media report indicates that Dr. Siddiqi is quite enthusiastic about Koran memorization, another practice associated with Saudi Wahhabism.²⁶⁴ Most telling, however, is a July 2002 media report which indicated that the President of Dr. Siddiqi's mosque "acknowledged that the Muslim World League adhered to Wahhabism" and that he and Dr. Siddiqi both defended Wahhabism by explaining that it is "simply a more doctrinal 'pure' form of Islam that does not advocate violence."

In a fatwa carried on Islam Online, Fiqh Council of North America chairman Dr. Taha Alwani admonishes what he calls "Innovative Sufism."²⁶⁵ This fatwa appears to reject the legitimacy of Sufism as practiced by groups such as the Islamic Supreme Council of America discussed below:

"We should be careful when we deal with this issue and we should judge the people and the orders according to the light of the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him. We need to adopt the Sufism which was practiced by the Companions and the Rightly Guided Caliphs."

Another example of the Islamic theology supported by ISNA is the reading list recommended by author Rukhsana Khan who is touted in a 2003 Islamic Horizons article as an Islamic author for children.²⁶⁶ Her recommended works on Islam include such fundamentalist authors as ISNA leader Dr. Jamal Badawi, German Murad Hoffman, and Dr. Maurice Bucaille."²⁶⁷

2. Extreme Social Views

The views of the ISNA leadership on social issues are quite orthodox and harsh. Dr. Alwani has called homosexuality "an abomination and a crime" and that homosexuals should "seek a cure for themselves from their own illness" and not be allowed to mix with and "corrupt" Muslim children.²⁶⁸ Muzzamil Siddiqi has said that "Homosexuality is a moral disorder. It is a moral disease, a sin and corruption." A June 2001 media report indicates that Dr. Siddiqi supports the death penalty for homosexuality in countries where such laws exist.²⁶⁹

With respect to women, Dr. Alwani also upholds the Hijab (head covering) for women. In a January 2000 media interview, Dr. Alwani characterized the Hijab as:

"part of the protection of the family and family values....We don't like to see in society any woman to show herself in a way that attracts husbands of other wives."

ISNA leader and board member Dr. Jamal Badawi is also a strong defender of the Hijab for women. In a fatwa posted on Islam Online, he states that unlike religious symbols such as the cross:²⁷⁰

- "It is not a matter of religious symbolism, but it is a command of Allah to Muslim women, and it is part of their religious practice, not symbolism."
- "Muslim women who choose to observe that religious practice are not doing that to challenge the political system, but to practice their due religious freedom, which is by no means intended to hurt others or make any political statements. "

- The nature of Islam as a religion is such that the practice of modesty includes both private and public life. This is part of secularism, not to promote religion or oppress it for that matter.

In a statement posted on an Islamic website, Dr. Badawi suggests that although “vigilantism” is unacceptable, the Hijab would ideally be enforced by an Islamic state:²⁷¹

"It must be emphasized that the concept of vigilante is unacceptable in certain kinds of enforcement of the law....So long as there is a state in place, an Islamic state, it would be the duty of the state to enforce it [the Hijab] on other levels. It is not the right of individuals or groups to enforce criminal law, for example, otherwise it would be a total chaos, because these are matters that require due process of law in front of competent judges. One cannot refer to the broad Quranic injunction to enjoin the good and forbid the evil to justify enforcement of criminal law. Organizations however, may within the boundaries of the law advise and encourage the enjoining the good and forbidding the evil just as individuals do."

In an August 1996 statement currently posted on Pakistan Link, Dr. Siddiqi also makes it clear that the headscarf is obligatory for women:

"A woman has to wear the scarf when she is in the presence of non-mahram men, otherwise in her own home, in front of other women or mahram men she is allowed to take off her scarf."²⁷²

Dr. Siddiqi has gone even further in advocating the restriction of rights for women:

- In a November 2005 fatwa, he stated that it was forbidden for boys and girls to socialize. "In all our correspondence and conversations we must observe *haya'* or modesty. Boys and girls should not chat with each other just for socialization or passing time. It is haram (unlawful) for a non-mahram Muslim male and female to indulge in long conversations with each other unless it is necessary for education or for business."²⁷³
- In a statement currently posted on Pakistan Link, Dr. Siddiqi has also written that "it is not allowed in Islam to take a non-mahram person or persons of the opposite gender as a very close friend."^{cc}
- In a December 2000 fatwa posted on Islam Online, Dr. Siddiqi ruled that women generally cannot travel alone: "However, a woman cannot travel without a mahram unless there is a big need for her journey like her parents are sick."^{dd 274}

Dr. Badawi also endorses some form of travel restrictions on women although he says "the verdict on travel may change with time, place and circumstance, as long as the basic tenets of Islam are retained."²⁷⁵ He also has stated that men and woman who are unrelated are not allowed by Islam to enjoy "complete privacy" with each other:

"the Prophet Muhammad [Peace be upon him] taught Muslims to avoid having a complete privacy between males and females who are not married or are not close kins like fathers, mothers, sisters."²⁷⁶

Both Dr. Siddiqi and Dr. Badawi support some form of corporal punishment for wives in line with a 1984 book by Youssef Qaradawi in which he wrote:

^{cc} Mahram refers to the group of people who are unlawful for a woman to marry due to marital or blood relationships.

^{dd} In an April 2001 rulling, Dr. Siddiqi seems to soften this position somewhat. See "Islam-Online Web Site - Your Source To The World Of Islam! Communication Center" <http://www.islamonline.net/livefatwa/english/Browse.asp?hGuestID=Ce64KQ>

^{dd} This appears to be related to similar rulings by Youssef Qaradawi.

"If the husband senses that feelings of disobedience and rebelliousness are rising against him in his wife, he should try his best to rectify her attitude by kind words, gentle persuasion, and reasoning with her. If this is not helpful, he should sleep apart from her, trying to awaken her agreeable feminine nature so that serenity may be restored, and she may respond to him in a harmonious fashion. If this approach fails, it is permissible for him to beat her lightly with his hands, avoiding her face and other sensitive parts."²⁷⁷

In an April 2004 Fatwa, when asked if wife-beating is permissible in Islam, Dr. Siddiqi states that "light disciplinary action" is permissible:^{ee}

"It is important that a wife recognizes the authority of her husband in the house. He is the head of the household, and she is supposed to listen to him. But the husband should also use his authority with respect and kindness towards his wife. If there arises any disagreement or dispute among them, then it should be resolved in a peaceful manner. Spouses should seek the counsel of their elders and other respectable family members and friends to patch up the rift and solve the differences. However, in some cases a husband may use some light disciplinary action in order to correct the moral infraction of his wife, but this is only applicable in extreme cases and it should be resorted to if one is sure it would improve the situation. However, if there is a fear that it might worsen the relationship or may wreak havoc on him or the family, then he should avoid it completely."²⁷⁸

In an article entitled "wife-beating", Dr. Jamal Badawi writes:

"In the event of a family dispute, the Qur'an exhorts the husband to treat his wife kindly and not overlook her POSITIVE ASPECTS (see Qur'an 4:19). If the problem relates to the wife's behavior, her husband may exhort her and appeal for reason. In most cases, this measure is likely to be sufficient. In cases where the problem continues, the husband may express his displeasure in another peaceful manner, by sleeping in a separate bed from hers. There are cases, however, in which a wife persists in deliberate mistreatment and expresses contempt of her husband and disregard for her marital obligations. Instead of divorce, the husband may resort to another measure that may save the marriage, at least in some cases. Such a measure is more accurately described as a gentle tap on the body, but NEVER ON THE FACE, making it more of a symbolic measure than a punitive one."²⁷⁹

Dr. Badawi also supports the idea that Western societies should allow Muslims to have their "personal law" and that under such laws, polygamy would be permissible in the West:

"If, however, in the future the non-Muslim societies give Muslims the same right to their personal law that Islam gives to its minorities, that is a different issue. It is known that historically and, in principle, Islam does allow religious minorities to have their own personal law regarding marriage, divorce, division of the estate, and custody of the children according to their own religious teachings. The Christians in Egypt enjoy such a right though they are only a tiny portion of the population. If the Western world reciprocated to Muslims in the West the same kind of tolerance and acceptance of autonomy in issues pertinent to religious practice, including marriage, I think polygamy would be quite legitimate, and there would be no contradiction between what is permissible under the Islamic Shari'ah and what is permissible under the Western laws."

3. Islamic Supremacy

Despite extensive interfaith activities, the ISNA leadership also appears to believe that Islam is superior to and destined to replace all other religious belief. In an article posted on Youssef Qaradawi's website Islam Online, Dr. Alwani makes it clear that he considers the Koran to be superior to all other religious texts:

"The Islamization of knowledge is an attempt to re-introduce the majestic Qur'an to the World, Ummah and resurgence movement as the only book that is capable of delivering-not only our Ummah but also-the whole mankind. Solely, the majestic Qur'an has the alternative, universal, epistemological and systematic conception"²⁸⁰

In another statement on Islam Online, Dr. Alwani makes also makes it clear that he believes that Islam is destined to replace all other religions:

"In considering the earth as an arena for Islam, Allah has promised its inheritance to His righteous people, and He has promised that Islam will prevail over other religions."²⁸¹

Dr. Siddiqi also considers Islam to be superior to all other religions. In a fatwa posted on Islam Online, he wrote in July 2004:

"The Qur'an makes us fully aware that there are a variety of religious communities, each happy with its own version of the truth (Al-Mu'minun: 53; Ar-Rum: 32). They all possess some truth which is a part of the true Islam in their midst, but regrettably none of them has preserved the message of Allah in its complete and authentic form (Al-Ma'idah: 13-14). Allah sent Prophet Muhammad to guide humanity to the original and authentic faith and the message of Allah."²⁸²

Dr. Siddiqi has also been critical of Christianity. For example, he appears to hold Islam superior to Christianity because of the lack of unanimity in Christianity with regard to religious texts. In August 2003, he stated in an ISOC sermon:

"A Christian friend once told me, 'You Muslims have different interpretation of the Qur'an, but you have an advantage over us. You believe that the text is authentic and it is all from God. But we Christians neither agree on the text of the Bible nor on its interpretation.' This was obvious last week when one of the major churches, the Episcopalians, elected by majority a self-proclaimed homosexual as their bishop. This shows that they neither agree on the text of the Bible nor on its interpretation. Now some of them want to do the same thing with the Qur'an and Islam."²⁸³

Islam Online cites a fatwa issued by Dr. Siddiqi which references the following Quranic verse which prophesizes the end of Christianity and the conversion of the "People of the Book" to Islam:

"Soon the Son of Mary will descend among you as a just judge. He will break the cross, kill the pig, remove the Jizyah and the wealth will overflow to the extent that people will get disinterested in it, and until the prostration (as-Sajdah) will be better than the world and whatever is in it. Then Abu Hurayrah said, 'Read if you wish, 'And there is none of the People of the Book but must believe in him before his death and on the Day of Judgment he will be a witness on them."²⁸⁴

Dr. Badawi has also made it clear that he believes it is incumbent upon Muslims to convert non-Muslims, though he says he prefers to use other language:

"To start with, and we must be frank about it, the Qur'an makes it incumbent on the Muslim to convey Allah's message in its final form, the Qur'an, to all humanity. We are not talking here about conversion. I do not like that word. Indeed, to turn to Islam, the religion of all the prophets in its final form, is not to turn one's back on the preceding prophets. It is an augmentation, rather than a conversion, because it does not involve changing one's basic spiritual nature. In the Qur'an, pure human nature is a "Muslim nature," which knows its Lord and wishes to submit to Him. The Qur'an states, "Let there be no compulsion in religion." (al-Baqarah; 2:256). My substitute for the term "conversion" is "reversion," in the sense of a return to the pure monotheism in which we were all created. Thus the Muslim is taught to be tolerant towards others. Indeed, the Qur'an not only prohibits compulsion in religion, but it prohibits aggression as well, although it allows defense: "Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but commit no aggression; for Allah loves not transgressors (al-Baqarah; 2:190)."²⁸⁵

4. Politics and Religion

The ISNA leadership encourages Muslims to view the political process solely through the eyes of their religion. In another statement posted on Islam Online, Dr. Alwani sets forth the basis on which he supports Muslim participation in American politics:

"Based on these considerations, I have reached the following conclusions regarding the participation of Muslims in American politics:

I. First, it is incumbent upon Muslims to actively participate for the following reasons:

- 1) In order to protect our rights as American citizens, we must be involved in politics.
- 2) Our involvement can facilitate our support of our fellow Muslims around the world.
- 3) Our interaction with non-Muslims and our involvement will help to spread Islam's message.
- 4) It helps to convey the universality of Islam.

Our participation is an obligation in Islam, and not merely "a right" that we can choose to forfeit at will. It affords us the opportunity to protect our human rights, guarantee the fulfillment of our needs, and work for the improvement of living conditions for Muslims and non-Muslims in America and abroad.

II. Whatever helps us to achieve these noble goals becomes Islamically obligatory. This includes:

- 1) Nominating qualified Muslims for public offices (as mayors, governors, Congress members, etc.) and supporting Muslim candidates in an effort to promote good and to forbid and prevent evil for the welfare of our society.
- 2) Individual Muslims nominating themselves for such offices.
- 3) Supporting (both politically and financially) those non-Muslim candidates whose beliefs and values are most compatible with ours as Muslims, and who most address and support our issues and causes.
- 4) Pursuing American citizenship because it is the basis by which we can exercise our rights.
- 5) Registering to vote and then voting. Although separate acts, they are both an essential part of the electoral process. Our participation in that process is mandatory."²⁸⁶

Dr. Siddiqi also believes that for Muslims, life in the West should be viewed entirely through the eyes of their religion. In August 1989, not long after coming to the United States, Dr. Siddiqi made it clear that the notion of a total Islam also applied to politics:

"In Islam there is no division between religion and politics...We have to see everything from the Islamic point of view whether social, economical or political."²⁸⁷

In a January 2003 Fatwa, Dr. Siddiqi sets forth his vision of a total Islam:

"Faith in Allah has everything to do with every aspect of our lives. We cannot compartmentalize religion or life. Islam requires that we live our whole life, every aspect of life in obedience to Allah. We are not part-time servants of Allah. We belong to Allah. We are for Allah, by Allah and moving towards Allah. We are His servants every moment of our life and we must live our whole life in obedience to Him. Our work, school, athletics activity, family life, economics, politics everything must be according to Allah's Rules. Whatever He Almighty has allowed is allowed for us, and whatever He Almighty has forbidden is forbidden. All His rules are for our own good and we must live by them. Religion in Islam is everything and it should be the common denominator in all the activities of our daily life. Our worship is religion. Our business is part of our religion. Our family, our education, our entertainment, our day and our night, and everything is part of our religion."²⁸⁸

Dr. Badawi holds similar views. In the absence of Islamic law, he has suggested that Muslim participation in the Western political process should not include ultimate allegiance to anything but the Muslim "Ummah." When asked about the notion of a "melting pot" for Muslims, Dr. Badawi stated:

"Muslims should not melt in any pot except the Islamic brotherhood pot. How could a person or community who [which] gives up its identity and world view as a Muslim guide others? There is a difference between ability to live in a pluralistic setting and losing ones identity for the sake of joining the Joneses."²⁸⁹

Dr. Badawi also believes that the only basis for a Muslim voting in the West should be whether or not the vote is beneficial or harmful to "Muslim causes". When asked if Muslims should support political candidates in the U.S or Canada, Dr. Badawi replied:

"On the first question I don't need to give verdict because many scholars, like the names I mentioned earlier, are of the opinion that if a person is doing that within the boundaries and the precautions that you can speak about then there is no harm if indeed it falls within these basic rules of Shariah. That the voting is likely to bring greater benefit or remove greater harm. I'll just give you one specific example. Suppose you have two candidates for president, for example. Both of them might be not even sympathetic to just Muslim causes, suppose. In most cases that is actually the situation. However, in terms of relative harm and benefit which is a rule of Shariah it may be the collective wisdom, for example, of Muslim voters that one of them would do even greater harm to Muslim causes than the other. Do you see what I mean? Well in that case, obviously, the lesser of the two harms, i.e. electing or voting for someone who will do less harm to Muslims obviously would be much better than sitting on the sidelines and just criticizing both and doing nothing about it. Having no clout or no use of the Muslim voting power to minimize the harm that is being done to Muslims whether in North America or overseas."²⁹⁰

Dr. Badawi goes on to give a specific example:

"By the way, it's not all a matter of overseas. Suppose two presidential candidates who are hostile, even, to Muslim candidates but one of them may be more inclined on the basis of the principles of democracy and American constitution to repeal the Secret Evidence Act which has terrorized many innocent people, for example, I'm just giving a practical example of the things that are current even in the news. Is it better to try to remove some of that harm than just sitting there and being totally apathetic to what is going on? So yes, in terms of our best judgment, if that is beneficial, yes we can vote, no problem."²⁹¹

5. Islamic Rule

The ISNA leadership believes that it is their duty and obligation to work towards the establishment of universal Islamic rule. Dr. Alwani has noted the existence in the Islamic world of concepts such as Dar al-Harb (Land of War), or Dar al-Kufr (Land of Infidelity) in which the world is carved up into two spheres according to whether or not the area is under Islamic rule.²⁹² Although in one statement, Dr. Alwani seems to reject this distinction along with other Wassatiya scholars such as Youssef Qaradawi, one scholar has noted that there appears to be a contradiction between Dr. Alwani's Arabic and English pronouncements on this subject.^{ff 293} In a statement posted on Islam Online, Dr. Alwani suggests that Muslims should interact with non-Muslims only in an attempt to understand them rather than to integrate into Western societies:

"I think that we should be not afraid to go out and socialize with the non-Muslim societies at all. We don't have to drink alcohol at their parties, dance and frolic around, but we should mingle with them in an effort to understand their culture, their values and norms. Muslims do not understand

^{ff} Dr. Qaradawi has alluded to the coming conquest of the West. See <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP44702>

the West and such occasions can be our chance to develop a deeper understanding of their culture, history and civilization. I have seen some people in the Muslim communities in the West who have been out here for decades and who cannot speak the local language. They have absolutely no clue to the ethos of these people. We should not dismiss the Western societies readily as un-Islamic and therefore not worth spending time with.”²⁹⁴

Although one media article quotes Dr. Alwani as stating that the U.S. Constitution is Islamic, a course description posted on the GSISS website suggests that current Western democracies are not appropriate for Muslims who view freedom instead as being led by clerics and intellectuals:

“Western scholarship and policy have set impossible cultural standards to achieve democracy in the umma. The reason is that the so-called universalism of democracy is in fact not universal. It is drawn from the European Enlightenment for use by the West. Hence the accusation of “illiberal democracy” that is pinned on Muslim aspirants for democracy. It is the ancient Western philosophy of republican democracy that is more appropriate for Muslims. Beginning with the Roman Livy down through Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Hamilton and Madison, freedom consists of confronting the tyrannical state through the leadership of the ulama and intellectuals acting on behalf of the masses. This is the theory of the Prophet in Medina and that of al-Mawardi and others down to the present day. Freedom is the ability to look the ruler straight in the eye and not blink.”²⁹⁵

Dr. Muzzamil Siddiqi has asserted that U.S. public policy should be subordinate to Islamic dictates. One media report cites a 1991 statement by Dr. Siddiqi in which he says that a military draft is not allowed under Islam to defend non-Muslim countries:

“Islam will not allow a Muslim to be drafted by non-Muslims to defend concepts, ideologies and values other than those of Islam. A Muslim shall defend non-Muslim lands not by bullets, chemical rockets or nuclear warheads.”^{99 296}

Dr. Siddiqi clearly has stated that it is the duty of Muslims to work toward an Islamic state:

“It is true that Islam stands for the sovereignty of Allah subhanahu wa ta'ala and Allah's rules are not limited to the acts of worship, they also include social, economic and political matters. By participating in a non-Islamic system, one cannot rule by that which Allah has commanded. But things do not change overnight. Changes come through patience, wisdom and hard work. I believe that as Muslims we should participate in the system to safeguard our interests and try to bring gradual change for the right cause, the cause of truth and justice. We must not forget that Allah's rules have to be established in all lands, and all our efforts should lead to that direction.”²⁹⁷

In September 1998, a Pakistani media site reported that Dr. Siddiqi “prayed for the success of Pakistan in enacting a truly Islamic system” at the 35th ISNA Convention at which attendees “warmly welcomed the Pakistani initiative to make Shariah law as the supreme law of the country.”²⁹⁸

At the root of Dr. Jamal Badawi's political ideology is the idea that Islam is the basis for all viewing all political relationships. In one of his papers posted on a Christian website, Dr. Badawi states clearly that he believes in this notion of “total Islam”:

“Conceptually, Islam is a complete and comprehensive way of life founded on divine guidance. It makes no distinction between the religious and material aspects of life.”²⁹⁹

In a December 2005 sermon, he said:

⁹⁹ The source of the original statement is cited as The Message International, “Basic Principles of Involvement in War in Islam,” February 1991. The original statement could not be located.

"Islam by its very nature is not a religion in the sense of worship and good deeds and all of that...it is a complete way of living there is no separation between so called secular and religious...they are intermingled."³⁰⁰

In another paper posted on Islam Online, he writes:

"Islam consists of a set of beliefs which organizes the relationship between the individual and his creator; between the person and other human beings; between the person and universe; and even the relationship of the person to himself."³⁰¹

Consistent with these views, Dr. Badawi does not support the separation of Church and State:

"Although this separation can be understood in terms of the circumstances surrounding the rise of the Church and its history in Europe, this doesn't mean that this principle of separation is either universal or that it has to be imposed on Islam, as Islam has its own system."³⁰²

Instead, Dr. Badawi believes that the Islam should be the source of all law. In a radio interview posted on the Canadian Muslim World league website, he stated:

"if a Muslim believes that there is any human being who has the right to make laws other than Allah then obviously this is total divergence from the path of Islam. Or any person who believes that secularism is superior to the law of Allah, he's violating the basic Quranic tenets."³⁰³

Ultimately, Dr. Badawi believes that it is the duty of all Muslims to work toward an Islamic state.^{hh} In a 2004 article posted on Islam Online he wrote:

"The Qur'an is full of direct and indirect, implicit and many times explicit indications that show that the establishment of the Islamic order is a requirement on Muslims whenever possible."³⁰⁴

Ideological Control

The above analysis shows that ISNA's leadership holds a consistent set of extremist views. The following demonstrates how such ideology is enforced by the organization itself. Evidence indicates that ISNA maintains tight ideological control through several mechanisms.

1. Exclusionary Policies

According to the current ISNA Secretary-General, the organization is "non-sectarian":

"We are non-sectarian" said Sayyid M. Syeed, ISNA's secretary general, who said his group has had leaders from both the Shia and Sunni currents of Islam and whose current vice president is a woman. "If we were Saudi-oriented, we would never have a Shia president or a woman in such a role", he said, adding that his group is also actively engaged in many "inter-faith partnerships".³⁰⁵

Despite this statement, some have complained that ISNA has not only excluded them from participating in the organization's activities, but have actively conspired to work against their interests. Perhaps the most well known complainant is Shaykh Hisham Kabbani, chairman of the Islamic Supreme Council of America (ISCA), described as "a scholar and Sufi sheikh of the Naqshbandi order."³⁰⁶ The ISCA website identifies ISNA as one of the organizations in the following complaint:

^{hh} It should be noted that Dr. Badawi has been a strong and vocal supporter of so-called "Shariah courts", civil arbitration tribunals based on Sharia law. See http://www.amperspective.com/html/muslim_leaders_liken.html

"In an attempt to censor the viewpoints of moderate Muslims living in America, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) in concert with six other 'American' Muslim organizations have unified to stifle the First Amendment rights of Shaykh Hisham Kabbani, chairman of the Islamic Supreme Council of America (ISCA), and have instigated a modern day Muslim lynch mob. On February 25, 1999, seven Muslim organizations (see end of release), issued a statement condemning the discussion by Shaykh Kabbani at a State Department Open Forum on Islamic extremism and demanded that he issue an apology and retraction. They deliberately distorted the words and took phrases out of context from the speech, knowing it would incite furor and hatred towards the council and its chairman. In response, many emotionally-charged individuals have issued threatening statements to Shaykh Kabbani and his council members."³⁰⁷

Among other complaints, a member of Sheikh Kabbani's organization wrote in an October 1998 article that Dr. Sayyid M. Syeed, General Secretary of ISNA, approached a prominent Malaysian businessman and asked him to start funding ISNA rather than this "group of Sufis, whose organization will expire after this conference."³⁰⁸ The article goes on to list a detailed and problem-laden effort to have Sheikh Kabbani and the ISCA participate in the ISNA Annual conventions:

"A group of mainstream scholars who had long been stifled by existing Islamic organizations requested Shaykh Hisham Kabbani to approach the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) on their behalf and on behalf of the silent majority of Muslims in America. Shaykh Kabbani appealed to ISNA executives in 1994, requesting they include in their annual conference planning, speakers who represent the silent majority of Muslims, those following the traditional mainstream teachings of the Ahl as-Sunna wal-Jama`at. Despite similar requests by numerous other members of the Muslim community, ISNA used bureaucratic tactics to consistently evade these requests. In the following months General Secretary Sayyid M. Syeed repeatedly answered in circles, saying that approval must be sought by various committees within the organization. No answer was ever given nor action taken."³⁰⁹

The article goes on to describe the "remarkable pattern of exclusion" which the author states prevented any meaningful participation by Sheikh Kabbani in the conferences.

Another group which has complained about being excluded from ISNA is called Muslim WakeUp, described by the Christian Science Monitor as "a progressive online Muslim-American magazine."³¹⁰ The website has described what they call the "police state mentality among ISNA officials" at the 2005 ISNA annual convention. This account cites the following incidents:

- "MuslimWakeUp.com's reporter, Mike Knight, was invited by ISNA to attend a press briefing by Karen Hughes. But during the press briefing, ISNA authorities asked security to get him out. They were suspicious about an image at the back of his jacket; then, they once again told him to go back and attend the briefing."
- "The publishers of a Sufi magazine, New Track, were allegedly thrown out of the convention area and a message announced to attendants discouraging alternative voices of Islam."
- "Flyers promoting an event with Muslim artists, comedian Azhar Usman, Nasheed singers 786 and Malaysian singer, Ani Zonneveld were snatched from volunteers and other attendants who had paid tickets to attend ISNA, and tossed out by ISNA representatives who called it 'trash' and 'un-Islamic filth.'"
- "One of the women was so humiliated as a result of ISNA's security methods that she began weeping as she waited outside for her family. 'I have never been stalked like this in my life,' she said. Later ISNA organized its thugs to parade a procession with banners and chants against the website and the event held. They yelled, 'Haram! Haram! Haram!'"

2. Control of Mosques

ISNA also appears to exercise control over the 332 mosques it owns through its subsidiary the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT). The NAIT website claims:

"The fundamental motivation for entrusting the title of a center to NAIT is that the founders who establish Islamic centers, and the committed successors who perpetuate them, want to keep these centers true to the Islamic purpose for which they were established. Many Islamic centers founded in the U.S., Europe, and Australia in the 19th and early 20th century became social clubs, or were lost through demographic changes, disrepair and property taxes. Placing a center in trust with NAIT ensures that a third party of national scope and stature is responsible for the preservation of the center for the Islamic aims for which it was founded. The trust document between the Islamic center and NAIT leaves the administration of the center to the local community, but requires NAIT to preserve it to serve the Muslim community in the cause of Islam."

³¹¹

However, a February 2004 Chicago Tribune investigation revealed that NAIT played an important role in the takeover of a Chicago-area mosque by Islamic fundamentalists who seized control from the original, moderate leaders of the mosque.^{ii 312} According to the newspaper, the original leader and members of the mosque were uneducated immigrants from a small Palestinian village who purchased land in the Chicago suburb of Bridgeview in order to build a mosque. By 1978, a new wave of more "political and educated" immigrants had arrived in Chicago and promised to help solicit funds for the construction of the mosque. These individuals were elected to the mosque foundation's board of directors and helped to raise \$1.2 million from the Saudi and UAE governments as well as Kuwaiti donors. The new leadership replaced the mosque leader with Ahmad Zaki Hammad, described as "a conservative Islamic scholar from Egypt." An assistant prayer leader was appointed who was identified as a Palestinian from Jordan who belonged to the Muslim Brotherhood. The mosque leaders were reported "adhering to a strict interpretation of Islam "who instructed women to cover their hair, wear looser clothing, and to stop smoking. The mosque's older faction fought the leadership's plans to deed the mosque to NAIT alleging that "the essence of NAIT is the [Muslim] Brotherhood" and wishing to preserve "the Islam of flexibility and commitment to faith rather than fundamentalism and tension." After a bitter and sometimes violent struggle, the mosque was deeded to NAIT in 1981.

In the following years, the mosque became one of the area's largest Islamic centers and Friday prayers grew from 75 people in 1982 to 800 in 1993. In 1985, Jordanian Sheikh Jamal Said became the new mosque prayer leader, replacing Ahmed Zaki Hammad who later became the President of ISNA. Sheikh Said was reported to have been inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood, educated at a Saudi Arabian University, and noted for his sermons espousing strict Islamic fundamentalist views and critical of America as "a land of disbelievers." Part of his salary was paid by the government of Saudi Arabia. Evidence of extremist activity at the mosque under Sheikh Jamal's directions included:

- Abdullah Azzam, Osama bin Laden's mentor, visited the mosque in the mid-1980s as part of a national tour to recruit supporters for the Afghan war against the Soviet Union.
- One of the mosque's eight-member executive committee was Muhammad Salah, a Muslim Brotherhood member who was arrested in Israel in 1993 and has since been identified as a Hamas military commander.
- Sheikh Jamal raised as much as \$1 million a year from mosque members which was then sent to overseas Muslim charities. In 2000, he raised money at one national Islamic conference by "asking people to donate in the memory of a Palestinian suicide bomber."

ⁱⁱ The following discussion of the Bridgeview mosque is based on this article.

- The mosque donated money to three Islamic charities that have since been identified as involved in financing terrorism—the Holy Land Foundation, Benevolence International, and the Global Relief Foundation.
- Mosque leaders were also leaders of the Al Aqsa Educational Fund, the Quranic Literacy Institute, and the Islamic Association for Palestine, all known to be associated with terrorism.
- In March 2002, the mosque hired a new assistant prayer leader who had run the local office of an Islamic charity until it was closed by the federal government for alleged terrorism ties.
- Sheik Jamal raised \$50,000 in May 2003 for Palestinian Sami Al-Arian, a former professor at the University of South Florida who was recently convicted and imprisoned for his support of Palestinian Islamic Jihad. At that time, Sheikh Jamal called Israel "a foreign, malignant and strange element on the blessed land."
- Most of the mosque's 24 directors belong to the Muslim American Society (MAS) are known to be strongly associated with the Muslim Brotherhood. The mosque vice president runs the society's local chapter of the MAS.

As of the time the article was written, Sheikh Jamal was still leader of the mosque and continued to espouse fundamentalist views, calling for an Islamic state, praising the views of Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Savid Qtub, and stating that women should not travel long distances without chaperones. The evening prayers at the mosque have reportedly grown to 2000 worshippers and the mosque community is said to be "more conservative than ever."

A 2003 investigation by the St. Petersburg Times revealed a similar pattern when NAIT assumed control of a Tampa, Florida mosque in 1989:

"In 1989, two years after the melee in Tampa, the trust took title to the mosque in Temple Terrace. The trust also owns the Islamic Academy of Florida, the school founded by Al-Arian, indicted Feb. 19 for his alleged leadership role in the Islamic Jihad. It is unclear whether Al-Arian would call himself a Wahhabist, but in taking over the Tampa mosque, his disciples appeared to follow the Wahhabi script. They drove out moderates, handed title of the mosque to the Islamic trust, and received secret funding linked to Saudi Arabia, documents show. ...Moderate Muslims filed a lawsuit in the early 1980s in an unsuccessful attempt to stop the Wahhabi takeover of their mosque in Bridgeview, Ill. The fundamentalists "infiltrated our community," the lawsuit said, "tearing down what we have been attempting to build for half a century."³¹³

The news investigation reported that "Similar scenarios took place in California, Illinois, Texas and Arizona" and states: "A law professor at the University of California-Los Angeles, professor Khaled Abou el-Fadl, told the New Republic magazine last year that radicals once chased him out of a mosque in Austin, Texas, owned by the Islamic trust. He says they threw a shoe at him. Khalid Duran, an Islamic scholar and author, said the trust wants "all the mosques to be ideologically pure in their own Wahhabist line. They want to prevent others from having influence." Duran and others said the trust often takes title to a mosque after extremists have seized control. Soon, Wahhabi literature shows up in the mosques and related Islamic schools, only Wahhabi-oriented speakers are allowed to talk and often women are separated from men for services."³¹⁴

Confirming this ideological control, a 2005 report by the Center For Religious Freedom (CRF) found numerous examples of Saudi ideological material in a Texas mosque identified as the Richardson Mosque in Dallas Texas otherwise known as the Dallas Central Mosque.^{jj 315}

^{jj} 840 Abrams Road Richardson, TX. 75081

According to the ISNA website, Yusuf Ziya Kavakci is an ISNA board member and the mosque website identifies him as the imam for the Islamic Association of North Texas which controls the mosque. The materials found at the mosque included: ^{kk 316}

1) The fatwa of former Saudi religious authority Bin Baz is explicit. Published by Saudi Arabia's General Presidency for Managing Research and Religious Fatwas, and collected from the Richardson mosque in Dallas, it states:

"It is not right for a Muslim to support the unbelievers, or to ask them to support him against his enemies, they are the enemy, do not trust them.... Muslims should not be recruited into their Army, whether they are Arabs or non-Arabs, because the unbeliever is the enemy of the believer."

2) King Fahd himself is quoted in Patriotism and Its Requirements in Light of Islamic Teaching, copies of which were found at the Richardson Mosque in Dallas, Texas, and published by the Saudi Press Ministry:

"[W]e consider ourselves to be in a continuous war against the Zionist enemy in every way until we achieve the hopes of the Arab nation driving the occupier out."

3) A publication by the Institute of Islamic and Arabic Sciences in America Research Center, explains that Wahhabi attention to issuing detailed fatwas for Muslims living in the West emanates from the fear that Muslims abroad have "strayed from the principles set forth by the Koran" and fallen "prey to foreign ideologies," becoming victims of "Western colonial power manipulation through the process of education"

4) In a polemic against Arab nationalism compiled by the General Presidency for Managing Research and Religious Edicts in Saudi Arabia and gathered from the Richardson Mosque in Dallas, Texas, Bin Baz labels this call to Arab nationalism a conspiracy "created by westerners and Christians to fight Islam and to destroy it in its own home"[Document No. 20]. He emphasizes that all calls to Arab nationalism or any other kind of nationalism are false and aim to divide Muslims instead of uniting them. He describes them as "an apparent aberration, a flagrant ignorance, and a malicious plan against Islam and its people"

5) A collection of articles [Document No. 19] gathered from the Richardson Mosque in Dallas, which were published by the Saudi-established Institute of Islamic and Arabic Sciences Research Center. The article explains how Western educational institutions established African, Asian, and Caribbean studies departments designed to promote new "scholars" and "experts" on these regions, and assisted by former colonial administrators who were described as "experts on the developing nations." At the same time, a campaign was launched to reinterpret Muslim aspirations "to conform to what came to be known as the Western tradition." Thus Western culture and values became the standard to follow and the norm to emulate, and most of the newly developing countries "blindly accepted this subordinate position and exposed themselves to some of the world's worst forms of manipulation." The Saudi tract adds that students were taught that their countries were underdeveloped because "their social and cultural institutions" were not "conducive to development," and it was "their own backward forms that resisted the 'progressive' influence of colonialism" (The United States is cited as leading in this conspiracy of ideas against Islam).

^{kk} The following numbered sections are all excerpted from the CRF report. Portions within quotation marks are the actual material found in the mosque.

3. Conference Speakers

ISNA also enforces ideological control through its selections of speakers for its annual conference, the largest such Islamic gathering in the United States. An examination of the program for its 2005 convention reveals no identifiable speakers outside what is known to be the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood network.³¹⁷ In the past, ISNA had invited notable personalities from this network including:

- Tariq Ramadan^{318 319} Grandson of the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood
- Murad Hoffman³²⁰ German Islamist connected to Muslim Brotherhood
- Sheikh Mahfoud Nahna³²¹ Algerian Islamist
- Youssef Qaradawi³²² Muslim Brotherhood leader
- Rachid Ghannoushi³²³ Tunisian Islamist^{ll}
- Qazi Hussain Ahmad³²⁴ Leader of Jamaat-e-Islami in Pakistan

4. Prison Chaplains

According to a U.S. Justice Department report, ISNA has provided endorsements for Federal prison Islamic chaplains from 1987 through 2001 and three of the ten current Islamic prison chaplains were endorsed by ISNA.³²⁵ In addition, approximately five Muslim volunteers and contractors have also been endorsed by ISNA. The report was issued following Congressional concern over the potential role of organizations such as ISNA in promoting extremism within the Federal prison system.³²⁶ The report does not specifically link ISNA to any extremist activity but it should be noted that ISNA has ties to an organization known as the Institute of Islamic Information & Education (IIIE), discussed later in this report in connection with anti-Semitism. There is evidence that IIIE has been active in corresponding and distributing literature to U.S. prison inmates and at least one report has indicated that an anti-Semitic booklet published by the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) was circulating in a New York correctional facility.³²⁷ Both IIIE and ISNA have ties to WAMY.

Consistent with ISNA's goal of ideological conformity, ISNA called for the application of Shari'ah law in Canada during 2005. Urging the importance of putting the power of the state behind Shari'ah law as a means of resolving Muslim family disputes, ISNA was ultimately denied the use of this law for such disputes by the Canadian government.³²⁸

ORGANIZATIONAL EXTREMISM—ANTI-SEMITISM

Despite frequent denials, ISNA and its key leadership have an association with anti-Semitic attitudes and individuals. This association has taken place in several different venues.

Anti-Semitism and ISNA Leaders

Fiqh Council of North America (FCNA) leader Dr. Taha Alwani has made statements that could be considered anti-Semitic. A 1994 article column written by a Bahraini journalist refers to a conflict between "world Jewry and world Islam" expressed by Dr. Alwani.³²⁹

^{ll} The ISNA publication Islamic Horizons has also defended Mr. Ghannoushi's organization, the Islamic fundamentalist group known as al-Nahda. See Islamic Horizons <http://web.archive.org/web/20030111104656/www.isna.net/horizons/article.asp?issueid=1&artic=1&catid=1&fromall=1>

In an Arabic language interview given 10 days after 9/11, Dr. Alwani blamed the attacks on a joint U.S/Israel intelligence operation:

"Britain has released many documents on World War II; some of them indicate how the British fox Churchill dragged America into WWII by, among other things, arranging an Axis attack on the American Navy in the middle of the ocean. This operation [i.e. Pearl Harbor] is considered the most dangerous intelligence operation of that generation. America swallowed the bait and the cowboy entered the area and tipped the scales... in favor of the Allies... The events of Black September 11 are nothing more than the beginning of the merger between two security theories [strategies], the Israeli and the American."³³⁰

Dr. Taha Alwani and FCNA member Nazih Hammad are both members of the Islamic Fiqh Academy (IFA), an organ of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), an inter-governmental organization grouping fifty-six States including Saudi Arabia.^{331 332 333} Dr. Alwani's online biographies state that he has been a member of IFA since 1987 and the IFA site currently lists him as a "designated member."^{mm 334 335} In November 1998, IFA passed a resolution containing the following language which illustrates the fundamentalist and anti-Semitic character of the organization:³³⁶

- "First: Secularism (which. is the separation between religion and daily life) started as a reaction to the arbitrary acts committed by the Christian Church in the medieval ages."
- "Second: Secularism spread in the Muslim countries with the force of colonization and its stooges, and under the effect of orientalism, and thus led to the fragmentation of the Muslim Ummah, to casting doubts on the true belief and to the distortion of the bright history of our nation. It also led to the spreading of misconception among the young generation that there is discrepancy between reason and Shari'a texts; and thus secularism strived to replace the perfect Shari'a by man-made laws and promote licentiousness, moral degradation and the destruction of noble values."
- "Third: From secularism spread destructive ideologies which invaded our countries under different names, such as racism, communism, Zionism, freemasonry, etc., which led to the dissipation of the Ummah's resources and the deterioration of economic conditions, The result was the occupation of some of our holy lands, such as Palestine and Al-Quds. This is an indication of its failure to do our Ummah any good."
- "Fourth: Secularism is a man-made system based on principles of atheism which run counter to Islam, in part and whole. It converges with international Zionism and calls for licentiousness. Therefore, it is an atheist sect that is rejected by Allah and His Messenger and by all the believers."
- "Fifth: Islam is a religion, a state and a comprehensive way of life. It is suitable for every time and every place. It does not approve of the separation between religion and life. It requires that all laws and regulations emanate from it, and that practical life follow its system whether in politics, economics, sociology, education, media, or any other sphere of life."

According to an online biography, Dr. Alwani is a member of an Iranian organization called The World Forum for Proximity of Islamic Schools of Thought, whose current leader has expressed favorable views of Holocaust denier Roger Garaudy.^{nn 337 338 339} Dr. Alwani is also a member of

^{mm} There is also an organization known as the Islamic Fiqh Council which is affiliated with the Muslim World League and sometimes the OIC affiliated organization is called by the same name. These do not appear to be the same organizations. See http://www.iuonline.net/english/topic_01.shtml

ⁿⁿ PO. Box 15875/6995 Tehran Islamic Republic Of Iran Tel. (+98 21) 8153381 - 8153373 - 8848975

the European Council for Fatawa and Research which, according to the Wall Street Journal, made use of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion at its 2004 meeting in England.³⁴⁰

ISNA leader and board member Dr. Jamal Badawi has been even more vociferous in expressing anti-Semitic attitudes. In a March 1999 posting made to the forum associated with Dr. Badawi's Islamic Information Foundation, the author (most likely Dr. Badawi) characterizes the Jews in the time of Mohammed in the harshest of terms:

"At Makkah the Quran generally addressed the mushrik Quraish who were ignorant of Islam but at Al-Madinah it was also concerned with the Jews who were acquainted with the creed of the Unity of Allah, Prophethood, Revelation, the Hereafter, and angels. They also professed to believe in the law which was revealed by Allah to their Prophet Moses (Allah's peace be upon him) and in principle their way was the same (Islam) that was being taught by Prophet Muhammad (Allah's peace be upon him). But they had strayed away from it during the centuries of degeneration and had adopted many un-Islamic creeds rites and customs of which there was no mention and for which there was no sanction in the Torah. Not only this : they had tampered with the Torah by inserting their own explanations and interpretations into its text. They had distorted even that part of the Word of God which had remained intact in their Scriptures and taken out of it the real spirit of true religion and were now clinging to a lifeless frame of rituals. Consequently their beliefs their morals and their conduct had gone to the lowest depths of degeneration. The pity is that they were not only satisfied with their condition but loved to cling to it. Besides this they had no intention or inclination to accept any kind of reform. So they became bitter enemies of those who came to teach them the Right Way and did their worst to defeat every such effort. Though they were originally Muslims they had swerved from the real Islam and made innovations and alterations in it and had fallen victims to hair splitting and sectarianism. They had forgotten and forsaken Allah and begun to serve mammon. So much so that they had even given up their original name Muslim" and adopted the name "Jew" instead and made religion the sole monopoly of the children of Israel. This was their religious condition when the Holy Prophet went to Al-Madinah and invited the Jews to the true religion. That is why more than one third of this Sura has been addressed to the children of Israel. A critical review of their history their moral degeneration and their religious perversions has been made; side by side with this the high standard of morality and the fundamental principles of the pure religion have been put forward in order to bring out clearly the nature of the degeneration of the community of a prophet when it goes astray and to draw clear lines of demarcation between real piety and formalism and the essentials and non-essentials of the true religion."³⁴¹

An April 1999 posting follows up this statement and appears to direct the admonition to today's Jewish community:

"This Sura is an invitation to the Divine Guidance and all the stories incidents etc. revolve round this central theme. As this Sura has particularly been addressed to the Jews many historical events have been cited from their own traditions to admonish and advise them that their own good lies in accepting the Guidance revealed to the Holy Prophet. They should therefore be the first to accept it because it was basically the same that was revealed to Prophet Moses (Allah's peace be upon him)."³⁴²

In a 2003 sermon, Dr. Badawi addresses what he calls the "Zionist-oriented" Jews:

"The same applies to the so-called State of Israel...the Jews in their lives have suffered a great dealsome of them were burnt alive in Europe...only under Islam whether in Spain or the Ottoman empire did these people enjoy freedom progress and security. With that history of suffering one would expect that they would be more sensitive to suffering but unfortunately and I am not generalizing about all the Jews, I am talking about the Zionist oriented ones. There are

some Jews even speaking even against the establishment of the State of Israel like the Natura Kartei Jews in NY. We are not talking about religion we are taking about those who abuse the good name of religions for there own aims—racist Zionist type of philosophy.”³⁴³

In the same sermon, he describes the Bush administration as:

“An administration that surrounded itself by war mongers, and ardent Zionists like Wolfowitz...people are pushing for war for an agenda to serve not only America, it will probably hurt America more, but to serve the occupying entity in the Muslim land of Palestine.”

Dr. Badawi has also indicated that believes in theories involving the notion of “Zionist” control. In a March 2004 sermon entitled “Sheikh Ahmed Yassin: Lessons and Obligations” given at the “Canada Masjid” in Halifax, Dr. Badawi made the following remarks about the “Zionist controlled media.”³⁴⁴

- “There is a great deal of education that is needed in view of the Zionist controlled media that act only as cheerleaders for all cruelty that happens in the world sometimes just try to appear to be impartial they might give a faint exposure of the other side.”
- “The Zionist Israel propaganda have succeeded with their resources and expertise of their domination on the media to convert to make the truth falsehood and the falsehood truth to make real terrorism self-defense and self-defense terrorism. That should not really surprise us for a prophecy was made by our prophet Mohammed when the value system will be upside down.”

In a December 2005 sermon, Dr. Badawi again implied “Zionist control of the media”:

“The foreign policy of Canada which is very biased against Palestinians, very biased against Arabs, very biased against Muslimslets admit that and all parties are guilty of that there might be some exceptions.... [Politicians] are influenced by the propaganda that is very well financed, that’s very well dominant in the Western world in Canada and the US in particular ... to defend the rights for Muslims and non-Muslims is something which is commendable even if you cant exert for the time being as much influence as the Zionist lobby for example in the US has done with respect to the disregard of Palestinian rights.”³⁴⁵

In another sermon, he goes further:

“We know how much influence for example the pro-Zionist lobby has in this country the hold they have in the White House, the congress the media, everything.”³⁴⁶

Dr. Badawi has also associated with other individuals and institutions known to be anti-Semitic. In October 2002, he appeared at an event sponsored by the Windsor Islamic Association and the Arab Student Association at the University of Windsor that also featured William Baker, identified as “an author and founder of Christians and Muslims for Peace.”³⁴⁷ Local media has detailed the rightwing extremist and anti-Semitic background of Dr. Baker which included the following:³⁴⁸

- “In 1984, Baker was national chairman of Costa Mesa-based Holocaust denier Willis Carto’s Populist Party.”
- “Baker delivered a 1983 speech to the racist Christian Patriot Defense League in Licking, Missouri, in which he made several references to Carto’s neo-Nazi newspaper, *Spotlight*. A 23-page transcript of that rambling speech reveals a number of anti-Semitic remarks.”
- “During the same period, Baker wrote and published *Theft of a Nation*, a 1982 book whose salient feature is its unrelenting pro-Arab, anti-Israel and anti-Jewish politics.”

ISNA Past President and board member Muzzamil Siddiqi also has a relationship with Dr. Baker. In April 1998, Mr. Baker published a book entitled "More in Common Than You Think" described as "mapping the common ground between Islam and Christianity."³⁴⁹ Dr. Siddiqi wrote a publicity letter for the book in which he stated:

"We Muslims and Christians together make up more than half of the world population today. Better understanding, communication and the peaceful relations between our communities are not only good but they are essential for our well being and for the well being of the world at large. The present volume is a valuable effort in this direction. I admire Dr. William Baker's contribution in building the bridges of understanding between Christians and Muslims. I agree with him that we have much more in common than we think or accept."³⁵⁰

Also, in his capacity as President of ISNA, Dr. Siddiqi wrote a letter of recommendation praising a book by Harun Yaya.^{oo 351} Harun Yaya is the pen name of an individual identified as Adan Oknar, the well-known author of several anti-Semitic and Holocaust denial books.³⁵²

Institute of Islamic Information & Education

Both ISNA and its key leaders have had a long-standing relationship with Dr. M. Amir Ali, the founder and former President of the board of directors of the Institute of Islamic Information & Education in Chicago (IIIE).^{pp} An article written by Mr. Ali states that Ahmed Zaki Hammad, a past President of ISNA, helped him move to Saudi Arabia to manage a hospital supply business there."³⁵³ According to Mr. Ali, he founded IEEE in 1985 or 1986 after returning from Saudi Arabia and as a result of his thought about "about the problem of hate against Islam in the West".^{354 355} Early members of the board included:

- Maneh Hammad Al-Johani Secretary General of WAMY
- Muzzamil Siddiqi ISNA past President
- Jamal Badawi ISNA board
- Imam Siraj Wahhaj ISNA board

Mr. Ali has stated that Dr. Siddiqi was elected as the new IIIE Chairman in September 2002 and that ISNA President Mohammad Nur Abdullah and ISNA Vice-President Ingrid Mattson have been hosted as speakers by IIIE.^{356 357} Along with ISNA, the MWL Canada website lists IIIE as one of only a handful of U.S Islamic organizations designated as its "International Connections."³⁵⁸ IIIE is currently registered as a tax-exempt public charity in Chicago.^{qq} Mr. Ali's family has described the work of IEEE as follows:

"To date, the III&E has distributed over 7 million brochures about various aspects of Islam; has donated hundreds of books to libraries; witnessed the conversion of thousands of people to Islam; educated millions of people either in person or through its literature. A weekly television program about Islam was developed and aired for 3 months in 1993. Several national da'wah conferences were held to discuss the current state of da'wah in North America. In 1996, Amir and his wife went to Nigeria to attend a da'wah training course that was developed there. He brought the knowledge gained from this course back to Chicago, developed it further, and introduced the Da'wah Intensive Course, a 90 hour training course for Muslims to give them a thorough grounding in Islamic knowledge through Quran and Hadith, how to conduct da'wah, how to answer commonly

^{oo} The Evolution Deceit: The Scientific Collapse of Darwinism and its Ideological Background published by Okur Publications 1999.

^{pp} Mr. Ali died in November 2005. See <http://www.suntimes.com/output/obituaries/cst-nws-xali23.html>

^{qq} 4390 N. Elston Avenue, Chicago, IL 60641-2146

Tel: (773) 777-7443 Fax: (773) 777-7199 Web site: www.iiie.net Email: light@iiie.net

asked questions about Islam, information on the basic concepts in Christianity and Judaism; all to train others to continue da'wah work wherever they may be. In 1997, the III&E moved its automatic phone-based information service to the Internet with its website at iiie.net. Amir started the Muslim International email newsletter, whose subscribers number in the thousands, to circulate articles he wrote and the articles of others. He opened a personal website, ilaam.net, in 2002 to publish his own political commentary and the commentary of others that he endorsed.”³⁵⁹

There is also evidence that IIIE has been active in corresponding and distributing literature to U.S. prison inmates, describing its work as an opportunity for Dawah^{rr}. According to an article by Mr. Ali posted on the ISNA website, this activity began shortly after the inception of IIIE and grew to “an average of 2000 letters a year” over a five year period.”³⁶⁰ The webpage goes on to describe IIIE’s relationship with WAMY, ISNA, and other Islamic organizations associated with ISNA:

“From the beginning the Institute has adopted the policy of cooperation with other sister Islamic organizations and da'wah workers. Time to time some Islamic organizations have asked for the help of the III&E in handling correspondence with the prisoners. World Assembly of Muslim Youth, WAMY, headquartered in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, receives many letters from the U.S. WAMY used to refer all their letters from prisons to the III&E which were responded. All letters received by the III&E from Africa, Asia, Europe and South America are sent to WAMY because she has the resources to handle such letters. The Institute has handled letters referred to her by Muslim Community Center, Chicago (MCC), American Islamic College, Chicago, Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) but these organizations no longer refer their letters to the Institute. For the last one year Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) began sending some of the letters she receives to the Institute for responding. The Institute response to all referred letters begins with an introductory sentence to let the inquirer know that it was the response to their letter sent to so and so organization.”

The article also describes IIIE’s efforts to personally visit in prison and, in at least two cases, provide employment for prisoners after their release.

Until his recent death, Mr. Ali maintained a website that contains numerous articles that he has written.^{ss} These articles are filled with extremely virulent expressions of anti-Semitism that include the following statements.

- “The Jews raise their children with the idea ingrained in their heads that they are the “chosen” people, which meant that they are born to rule the world. They give their young the best of education and through their job training and job placement centers, using their internal network of influential Jews, find jobs where they can peddle influence.”³⁶¹
- “The Jewish-dominated American mass media and the Israeli-controlled politicians do not want the American people to fully realize the incredibly high price America pays for blindly supporting Israel.”³⁶²
- “When one reads the Bible he/she finds that this is the most anti-Semite (anti-Jew) book in the world. The following is in no way an exhaustive study of the Bible for finding God’s condemnation of the Jews but an introduction to the study of the topic. I hope that someone will undertake a thorough study of the Bible and history of the Jews to present truth to the world.”³⁶³
- “Now, Jews are in the government and running the government at local and national levels enjoying influence beyond their proportion in population (under two percent). Jewish involvement in the political process has changed their position, that is, from the

^{rr} Dawah means Islamic proselytizing.

^{ss} <http://www.ilaam.net> registered to ilaam.com dawood@iee.net 3902 W. Arthur Ave. Lincolnwood, IL 60712 847-675-1646

most hated people around the 1900s to the most powerful people in the year 2000. Actually, it took Jews in America less than sixty years (two generations) of hard work to accumulate the power they have. These anti-Islam forces are working as hard as possible to keep the growth of the Muslim population in America in check and certainly, Muslim political participation in check.”³⁶⁴

- “WHO really runs the U.S. today? Most of the country's 'key' positions of power are occupied by none other than the Jewish establishment! Here is a partial list. Only 1 out of 45 U.S. citizens is a Jew (2.2%), Yet they have managed to capture 10% of the 100 seats in the U.S. Senate and 6% of the 434 in the House. Let alone the way in which they have insidiously penetrated all of the key positions surrounding the President and in the State Department. Is it any wonder that the Arabs are getting a raw deal from the world's only remaining super power? And, to think that all this is paid for by OUR tax dollars. We need to circulate these alarming facts among as many non-Zionist American friends as we can - so as to raise a ground swell of protest. How about encouraging everyone to write a letter to our Congressman?”³⁶⁵
- (When Hitler reluctantly started to implement his "final solution", in dealing with German Jews, was he trying to rid his country of the stranglehold that a tiny monolithic minority of his citizens had over the country's destiny? Whatever else he was, he was no dummy! What did he know - about which we are as yet blissfully unaware?)³⁶⁶
- “It is the rising Muslim population in the U.S. that is very scary for the Zionists. Zionists know that sooner than later, Muslims will become politically active and economically rival the Zionists, and that will be the end of American economic, political and military support for Israel. The top of the Israeli agenda is to not only arrest the Muslim growth in America but to reduce Muslim influence. By equating Islam to terrorism and Muslims to evil Israel thinks that it can achieve this goal. Zionists want to create terror in the minds of American people when they hear Islam, Muslim and Arab. Zionists want to see that Muslims and Arabs are attacked and their properties burned down so that the environment of the Spanish inquisition days are recreated in the 21st century U.S. They want to see that Muslims either leave Islam for their own security or are murdered or exiled.”³⁶⁷
- “This author continues to believe that the WTC bombing of 1993 was the work of Israelis, and resulted in amendments to the immigration laws and the Secret Evidence Law of 1996, restricting immigration of Muslims and creating an environment of fear for some. However, this was not enough to reduce Muslim influence in America and required more work. Air crashes at the WTC and the Pentagon are their follow up to create terror in the American public so that they will turn against Muslims and the Arabs. It is obvious, therefore that the Israelis and the Zionists have strong motivation to carry out attacks and label it upon the Muslims and the Arabs. In fact, this is the only way left for their own security and keeping the U.S. as their protector. I, therefore, suggest that any sincere investigation must include state terrorism by the State of Israel and its supporters within the U.S. and worldwide”³⁶⁸

Mr. Ali's website also contains articles written by known extremists such as William Collins Piper.³⁶⁹

Conference Speakers

ISNA has participated in and/or sponsored a number of conferences in which anti-Semitic individuals also participated. A counter-terrorism journal reports that on May 24 1998, an all-day program was held at Brooklyn College in Brooklyn, New York sponsored by eleven Islamic organizations, including the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), the Islamic Society of

North America, the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development and the Islamic Circle of North America.³⁷⁰ At the event, Wagdi Ghuniem, a militant Islamic cleric from Egypt spoke in Arabic about the "infidelity," "stealth" and "deceit." of Jews.^{tt} He stated that "The conflict with the Jews, he said, was not over land but one of religion. "The problem of Palestine is not a problem of belief. . . suppose the Jews said 'Palestine--you Muslims can take it.' Would it then be ok? What would we tell them? No! The problem is belief, it is not a problem of land." "Ghuniem also reportedly led the audience, in song, the audience responsively repeating each refrain: "No to the Jews Descendants of the Apes We Vow to Return Despite the Obstacles. "

Wagedi Ghuneim was also scheduled to speak at a December 2003 Florida conference entitled "Islam for Humanity" sponsored by the Universal Heritage Foundation, whose Chairman is FCNA member Zulfiqar Ali Shah, and where ISNA leaders Dr. Muzzamil Siddiqi, Dr. Sayyid M. Syeed, and Dr. Abdullah Idris Ali were also scheduled to participate.³⁷¹³⁷² The keynote speaker for the conference was originally to be Sheikh Abdur-Rahman Al-Sudais , a Saudi cleric who was quoted in various newspapers in April 2002 as having "prayed for the Jews to be terminated" and calling Jews "the scum of humanity, the rats of the world, the killers of prophets and the grandsons of monkeys and pigs."³⁷³ According to another media report, , al-Sudais' name disappeared from conference materials following the media exposure and later ISNA board member Siraj Wahhaj's name was also dropped.^{uu 374} The same report noted that the ISNA Secretary-General Sayyid referred to the media controversy by stating: "This does not represent the Islam mainstream ...these misguided imams....We should clearly announce they are not representing us or the message of the prophet as mercy to mankind."

However, the conference moderator announced that the address by Egyptian cleric Sheikh Wagdy Ghunaim would be rescheduled but would take place according to the report. Mr Ghoneim later left the country in connection with immigration violations and a government website indicates that he was suspect of being involved with fundraising for terrorism including for Hamas.³⁷⁵ When asked about Mr. Ghoneim in November 2004, local media reported that Dr. Siddiqi said that Mr. Ghuneim had taught at the ISOC mosque and described him as "an intelligent man who spoke mostly in Arabic."³⁷⁶

Also reportedly speaking at the Brooklyn conference was an individual identified in a news report as Abdul Malik Ali.^{vv} Mr. Ali has been accused by the Anti-Defamation League of making "many hateful and virulently anti-Semitic speeches" that center around Zionist control and conspiracies.³⁷⁷

ISNA's 35th Annual Convention, held in September, 1998 in St. Louis, featured Secretary General Sayyid Syeed, who "informed the audience that Qazi Hussain Ahmad, spiritual leader (Ameer) of the Islamic Group (Jamaat-e-Islami) in Pakistan, was unable to attend the convention due to the present circumstances in his region after the American bombing of Sudan and Afghanistan." ³⁷⁸ Other speakers included Congressman David Bonior, Nihad Awad and Omar Ahmad of the Hamas-affiliated Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR).³⁷⁹

A counter-terrorism journal reported that on May 29, 1999, the American Muslims for Jerusalem sponsored a conference and fund-raiser in Santa Clara, California. The event was co-sponsored by twenty-six organizations including ISNA and CAIR. At the event, Hatem Bazian, Director of the Al-Qalam Institute of Islamic Sciences at the University of California at Berkley and one of the conference's featured speakers reportedly stated:

^{tt} Another common spelling of his name is Wagdy Ghoneim.

^{uu} Mr. Wahhaj will be discussed later in connection with terrorism.

^{vv} aka Abdul Malik Ali, Abd Al-Malik and Amir Abdel Malik Ali

"in the Hadith, the Day of Judgment will never happen until you fight the Jews. They are on the West side of the river, which is the Jordan River, and you're on the East side...until the trees and the stones will say, oh Muslim, there is a Jew hiding behind me. Come and kill him! And that's in the Hadith about this, this is a future battle before the Day of Judgment." ³⁸⁰

The September, 2000 ISNA Convention held in Chicago featured, among others, Oussama Ahmad of the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP).

Addressing the 2002 ISNA Convention, Sheikh Hamza Yusef remarked, "we shouldn't be ashamed of anything we say. There is nothing Prophet Muhammad ever said that we should be ashamed of ... The only America that I am proud of is the America of dissent." ³⁸¹

In May 2005, ISNA sponsored a conference in Santa Clara, California at which Dr. Bazian was again scheduled to speak during a session moderated by ISNA Secretary-General - Dr. Sayyid M. Syeed. ³⁸²

Islamic Horizons

A complete analysis of the ISNA publication Islamic Horizons is not currently possible as the back issues have been removed from the ISNA website.³⁸³ The few articles which are available in the Internet archives indicate that ISNA has been helping to fan anti-Semitism through inflammatory language. For example, a 1993 article refers to a “vicious smear campaign” allegedly “unleashed” by Jewish organizations against a Muslim leader. The same article refers to Israel as the “Jewish entity.”³⁸⁴ Another 2003 article praises the appearance at a rally of:

“Orthodox Jewish rabbis who expressed their support for the Palestinian cause and asked people not to confuse Judaism with Zionism, which they regard as inherently racist and contrary to Jewish spiritual teachings.”³⁸⁵

This is undoubtedly a reference to the members of Neturei Karta, a group considered by mainstream Jewish leaders and organizations to be deeply involved with anti-Semitic activities.³⁸⁶ The same article refers to “the Israeli massacre of Palestinians in the Jenin refugee camp”, a claim which has been refuted by human rights agencies.³⁸⁷

ORGANIZATIONAL EXTREMISM—TERRORISM

Statements and Positions

ISNA, its key leaders, and its affiliated entities appear to have made few statements regarding terrorism before the events of September 11, 2001 and the statements which were made generally expressed concern that Muslims would be stereotyped and or in some other way victimized as a result. However, there is evidence that ISNA had been providing ideological support for terrorism in areas that the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood network consider appropriate. In July 1995, Muzzamil Siddiqi made the following comments following an early suicide bombing in Tel Aviv:

"in order to eliminate an injustice, [a Muslim] should not do a greater injustice.... Islam teaches the use of non-violent methods, such as speaking out and demonstrating. Islam says you have the right to defend yourself, and if you die, this is a blessed death....But not in aggression. This is not very different from other communities, where you are considered a hero if you die defending your country. In religious terminology, you have eternal life, a blessed life. Those who die on the part of justice are alive, and their place is with the Lord, and they receive the highest position because this is the highest honor. But it does not apply to those who die for unrighteousness." ^{ww 388}

In 1996, the ISNA magazine, Islamic Horizons, stated:

“It is also pertinent that Muslims enlighten their children about the valor of their co-religionists who are sacrificing their lives to establish the way of Allah. Muslim children need to know and honor not only those martyrs who are laying down their lives in Algeria, Bosnia, Chechenya, Kashmir, Palestine and Mindanao, but also those who are sacrificing their livelihoods to establish the rule of Allah in lands that are now held hostage to the whims of despots.”³⁸⁹

Shortly after the terror attacks of September 11th, 2001, Siddiqi commented, ““We want to awaken the conscience of America. Because if you remain on the side of injustice, the wrath of God will come. Please all Americans, do remember that, that Allah is watching

^{ww} Dr. Siddiqi has tried to defend himself in regard to this comment by asserting that he could not have been justifying suicide bombings since “. I do not recall that in 1995 there were any Palestinian or Muslim suicide bombers.” However, the first suicide bombings in Israel date back to 1994.

everyone. If you continue doing injustice and tolerating injustice, the wrath of God will come.”³⁹⁰

Following the events of 9/11, ISNA and its leaders issued a blizzard of statements condemning the attack which will not be detailed here. However, statements made by ISNA leader and board member Jamal Badawi indicate that ISNA may not view terrorism in the same way as the U.S. government. Dr. Badawi made it following 9/11 that he believes the most serious problem concerning terrorism to be what he calls “state terrorism.” In this answer to a question posted on Islam Online, Dr. Badawi defines terrorism in a very broad manner to include any use of violence against innocent individuals:

“In the absence of any comprehensive internationally accepted definition of terrorism, it may be defined as ‘any indiscriminate act of violence committed against the innocent by individuals, groups or states whether the victims and/or culprits are Muslims, Christians, Jews or any other faith community.’”³⁹¹

In a July 2005 Australian media report quotes Dr. Badawi as expanding the definition of terrorism:

“To me terrorism could be committed by individuals, groups or states, which is more dangerous because they (the states) have access to destructive weapons.”³⁹²

Referring to July 1998 air strikes in Iraq, he labels the British and American governments as “state terrorists” because “they victimized innocents to make a political point.”³⁹³ In a March 2003 sermon entitled “U.S. Styled Liberation”, Dr. Badawi identified the war in Iraq and Israeli actions as examples of “state terrorism”:

“What do you mean exactly by terrorism, does that also include state terrorism such as the one you are committing and such as the one your allies the occupying Zionist entity in Palestine has been doing to the Palestine people. Isn’t state terrorism more dangerous than a few outlaws or a few outlaw organizations even when states have access to the most devastating and destructive military means...is it not part of the understanding of the terrorism to terrorize the innocent men woman and children especially in the largest cities of Iraq.”³⁹⁴

Dr. Badawi has been particularly insistent that the term “jihad” has been misunderstood.^{395 396} A statement issued after 9/11 and endorsed by Dr. Badawi explains that Jihad “has an internal, societal and combative dimension.”³⁹⁷

In an article entitled “What Does Jihad Mean?” Dr. Badawi further explains “combative Jihad”:

“That later form; the combative Jihad, is allowed in the Qur’an for legitimate self-defense in the face of unprovoked aggression or in resisting severe oppression, on religious or other grounds ...Combative Jihad is not only restricted in terms of what may or may not justify it, it is also strictly regulated. Prophet Muhammad taught how to behave in the battlefield. As a “hated act”, war should not be resorted to if other peaceful and just means may stop aggression or oppression. Intentions must be pure and no selfish personal or nationalistic agenda should be the driving force. There must be a declaration of war by a legitimate authority after due consultation. No non-combatants should be hurt. All must refrain from looting and unnecessary destruction. Prisoners of war and the injured must be treated humanely.”

In other statements, Dr. Badawi defines the parameters of such “legitimate self-defense” Shortly after 9/11, local media reported that Dr. Badawi made the following remarks to a Muslim Community Conference in Dallas, Texas in which he appears to redefine suicide bombings as “Giving one’s life in a military situation.”

“Suicide out of despair is not acceptable...Giving one’s life in a military situation is different and

can be heroic if there is no other way of resisting...Killing civilians should be avoided if possible, but not everyone out of uniform is a civilian...These are the issues that scholars debate...But no scholars say you can go onto a school bus or a school full of children and kill them." ^{xx 398}

At the above cited conference, Dr. Badawi claimed that he was only "reporting the rulings of others." However, in a March 2004 sermon posted on Islam Online about the death of Sheik Ahmed Yassine, the spiritual leader of Hamas, he made the following remarks appearing to praise those who died in attacks against Israel:

"There are those who die in the state of defense, self-defense for themselves defense of their nations their dignity and their freedom but the bottom line and in the final analysis everybody is going to die. The difference here is not the issue of death which is general the issue is what is after death--punishment from Allah that could be eternal for those who committed cruelties and massacres against the innocent and the reward for those who died in the legitimate state of self-defense against oppression....if they don't succeed and they get killed in the processes it is also good because this life as compared to eternal life is nothing (referring to those fighting against oppression)." ³⁹⁹

There is no indication that the ISNA affiliate the Fiqh Council of North America (FCNA) took any positions or issued any statements or fatwas on the subject of terrorism prior to the event of September 11, 2001. Following 911, FCNA issued at least two statements strongly condemning the attacks calling them "catastrophic" and stating that they were in violation of Islamic law. ^{400 401} However, about a month after 911, a national media article cited FCNA Chairman Taha Alwani who claimed that FCNA had insufficient funds for the research necessary to take up the subject of terrorism. ^{yy 402}

On July 28 2005, FCNA issued a fatwa against terrorism that was drew national attention and wide scale media coverage. The fatwa was issued at the National Press Club by Muzzamil Siddiqi who was accompanied by ISNA president Nur Abdallah as well as other leaders of organizations tied to the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood network. ^{zz aaa} The FCNA fatwa was criticized by a number of Islamic and non-Islamic commentators. ^{403 404 405 406} The criticism included the following observations:

- The fatwa was not specific and mentioned neither specific groups or individuals
- The act of terrorism was designated only as haram (unlawful) rather than a stronger designation such as apostasy
- The term civilians was undefined, leaving open the possibility that Israeli citizens, for example, might be excluded as Youssef Qaradawi has rule in his fatwas
- No Arabic translation was provided
- The fatwas did not include the armed forces of the United States given that FCNA is an American organization
- The fatwas provided insufficient theological justification necessary to compete with the fatwas issued by so-called Salafist clerics.

^{xx} In other reports on the conference, Dr. Badawi also reportedly included "the elderly" as example of who else should not be attacked. See beliefnet: http://www.beliefnet.com/story/87/story_8778.html

^{yy} It should be noted that FCNA receives a steady income by acting as Shariah advisor to an Islamic mutual fund. See <http://www.saturna.com/pdfs/amanaSA.pdf>

^{zz} The list of leaders at the press conference was drawn from various media reports and may not be accurate. None of the media reports included a list of the participants in the press conference.

^{aaa} The full text of the FCNA fatwa can be found at <http://www.isna.net/index.php?id=316>

One observer contrasted the FCNA fatwa to:

“a fatwa issued in March by the Spanish Muslim Council, on the first anniversary of the Madrid train bombings, which declared Osama Bin Laden an apostate and urged other Muslims to denounce the Al Qaeda leader. The Spanish ruling marked the first time Muslim clerics had denounced terrorism in religious vocabulary, invoking genuine Islamic instruments, such as fatwa and apostasy, instead of the qualified, secular, and arguably ineffective condemnations that had been issued in the past.”⁴⁰⁷

There was some effort made by the ISNA leadership to clarify the fatwa, although the language used fell far short of that used by the Spanish Council. For example, Muzzamil Siddiqi stated on public radio in August 2005:

“Even Palestinians--they are not allowed to go and blow up the cafes and buses and--where the common people are moving around, and they're not involved in the war--men, women and children.”⁴⁰⁸

In 2005, ISNA established what is identified on an ISNA-related website as the “Anti-Terrorism Anti-Extremism Committee” (ATAEC). There is no evidence of any activity on the part of the ATAEC other than a brochure on the ATAEC Internet site which condemns terrorism in much the same manner as the FCNA fatwa.⁴⁰⁹

ISNA Links to Terrorism

Despite the denials and the FCNA fatwa, ISNA and its key leaders have a disturbing record of association with organizations and individuals that are accused and/or convicted of providing assistance to terrorist organizations as defined by the U.S State Department. The largest body of evidence concerning these associations relates to ISNA's support of the Palestinian terrorist groups Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

1. Palestinian Islamic Jihad

The earliest evidence of ISNA-related support for terrorism concerns activities by FCNA Chairman Taha J. Alwani, who became President of the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) in 1986.⁴¹⁰ Several years after arriving in the United States, Dr. Alwani and/or organizations under his control, began activities and associations related to support of the Palestinian terrorist organizations. According to U.S. government documents, a confidential asset of the FBI provided a copy of a fatwa signed by Dr. Alwani at between December 1988 and November 1989 stating: “the truth by the powers invested in us by Allah, that Jihad is the only way to liberate Palestine; that no person or authority may settle the Jews on the land of Palestine or cede to them any part thereof, or recognize any right therein for them.”

In May 2006, Kuwaiti-born Sami Al-Arian was sentenced to almost five years in prison in connection with his activity in support of Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) in the United States.^{bbb} During his sentencing, the Federal judge who heard the case told al-Arian, “The evidence was clear in this case that you were a leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.”⁴¹¹ According to media reports, Dr. Alwani is most likely an unindicted co-conspirator in the case.^{ccc 412}

According to U.S government documents, Dr. Alwani and IIIT provided the following ideological and financial support to Sami-Al-Arian and organizations he controlled:⁴¹³

^{bbb} PIJ is designated by the State Department as a terrorist organization. See <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/fs/37191.htm>

^{ccc} This is supported in <http://www.flmd.uscourts.gov/Al-Arian/8-03-cr-00077-JSM-TBM/DocketSheet.html>

- Dr. Alwani attended and spoke at conferences organized by the Islamic Committee for Palestine (ICP) during 1988-1992. Other speakers at these conferences included U.S. based PIJ leader Sami Al-Arian, PIJ leader Ramadan Abdullah Shallah, spiritual leader and a co-founder of PIJ Sheik Abdel Aziz Odeh, and Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman currently imprisoned for his role in the 1993 WTC bombing. According to the American Jewish Committee, from December 22-25 1989, Dr. Alwani attended an ICP conference in Chicago entitled "Palestine, Intifada, and Horizons of Islamic Renaissance." One of the speakers included Abd Al-'Aziz Al'Awda whom the U.S. government currently lists as a Specially Designated Terrorist and "Chief Ideological Figure of Palestinian Islamic Jihad."^{414 415 416}
- In a letter dated November 19, 1991, Dr. Alwani referred to the payment of monies from IIIT to PIJ, and wrote that he and his colleagues, and their organizations, considered themselves to be indistinguishable from Al-Arian, Shallah, and other founders and members of PIJ.
- In 1991 and 1992, while Dr Alwani was President, IIIT contributed at least \$50,000 to the PIJ front-group WISE. A 1991 letter from PIJ founder Ramadan Abdullah Shallah stating that IIIT was the largest contributor to WISE.⁴¹⁷

The documents also indicate that after search warrants were executed involving the U.S.-based PIJ, Safa Group members stopped openly supporting the PIJ and rerouted financial support through Safa businesses and charities. These same documents state that in early 2000, Dr. Alwani admitted to FBI agents that he was acquainted with Bashir Nafi and Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman and that he maintained "regular contact" with Sami Al-Arian. This report has already noted further support from IIIT to Al-Arian and WISE while Dr. Alwani was President of IIIT.

This report has also noted that Sami Al-Arian may have played a role in the founding of ISNA and that Sayyid Syeed, the current ISNA Secretary-General, was employed at IIT from 1984 to 1994 during which time IIIT was providing support to Dr. Al-Arian.⁴¹⁸ A television news station reported that when Al-Arian was arrested, ISNA issued a statement critical of the government. When asked about this statement, Dr. Syeed stated:

"Sometime we might have said that so-and-so should not be targeted just because he's a Muslim," he said. "But once you know there's a definite case in court, ultimately it will be the court that will decide. No one else will decide."

When the station asked about the connections between IIIT and Al-Arian, Dr. Syeed said that "It was a surprise for me, a shock for me" and that he "no longer has any ties" to IIIT. However, as the TV station report noted, Dr. Syeed is still on the advisory board of its journal and this report has already documented strong associations between ISNA and IIIT.

2. Hamas

ISNA, its key leadership, and affiliated organizations have ties to a constellation of organizations that according to the U.S. government, constituted the Hamas support and fund-raising apparatus in the United States.^{ddd} The first of the organizations is known as the Holy Land Foundation (HLF). A series of U.S. government reports indicate that the HLF was the key component of the Hamas operation in the U.S. In November 2001, the FBI Assistant Counter-Terrorism Coordinator issued a memo in which he stated:

- "In 1993 and 1994, the FBI monitored meetings of identified HAMAS leaders and senior representatives from the HLF. During these meetings, discussions were held

^{ddd} Hamas is designated by the State Department as a terrorist organization. See <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/fs/37191.htm>

regarding the need for HAMS fund-raising in the United States, as well as the primary role of the HLFRD to serve this function.”

- “FBI investigation has determined that in the early 1990s, HAMAS, through Mousa Abu Marzook, provided substantial funds to the HLFRD. “
- “FBI investigation has determined that a majority of the funds collected by the HLFRD are used to support HAMAS activities -in the Middle East.”
- “Key decision-makers within the HLFRD have been identified as active members of HAMAS.”

In December 2001, the U.S. Treasury Dept designated the HLF as a Specially Designated Terrorist stating:

“The Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF) was designated under Executive Orders 13224 and 12947 as a charity that provided millions of dollars of material and logistical support to HAMAS. HLF, originally known as the Occupied Land Fund, was established in California in 1989 as a tax-exempt charity. In 1992, HLF relocated to Richardson, Texas. It had offices in California, New Jersey, and Illinois, and individual representatives scattered throughout the United States, the West Bank, and Gaza. In the year 2000 alone, HLF raised over \$13 million. HLF supported HAMAS activities through direct fund transfers to its offices in the West Bank and Gaza that are affiliated with HAMAS and transfers of funds to Islamic charity committees ("zakat committees") and other charitable organizations that are part of HAMAS or controlled by HAMAS members. Mousa Mohamed Abu Marzook, a political leader of HAMAS, provided substantial funds to the Holy Land Foundation in the early 1990s. In 1994, Marzook (who was named a Specially Designated Terrorist by the Treasury Department in 1995) designated HLF as the primary fund-raising entity for HAMAS in the United States. HLF funds were used by HAMAS to support schools that served HAMAS ends by encouraging children to become suicide bombers and to recruit suicide bombers by offering support to their families. HLF and several of its directors were indicted on criminal charges in July 2004.”⁴¹⁹

In July 2004, the U.S. government indicted HLF and its key leadership on charges of providing material support to a foreign terrorist organization.⁴²⁰ The indictment states that the HLF:

- “provided significant financial resources to known Hamas leaders and strategists”
- “Subsidized Hamas’s recruitment and reward efforts in Gaza and the West Bank”
- Sponsored “orphans and families whose relative had died or were jailed as a result of furthering Hamas’s violent campaign, including suicide bombings.”

In November 2004, a Federal judge found the HLF “knowingly gave material support to Hamas and were legally responsible for David Boim’s death”, an American teenager who was killed by Hamas terrorists in 1996 in the West Bank.⁴²¹

The connections between the HLF and ISNA include:

- The 2001 FBI memo identifies current ISNA-affiliated Fiqh Council of North America member Mohammad Al-Hanooti as a participant in a 1993 Philadelphia meeting of “senior leaders of HAMAS, the HLFRD and the Islamic Association of Palestine. The memo also cites FBI informants who said that Al-Hanooti “was a big supporter of HAMAS and that “it was well known in the Palestinian community in the northern New Jersey area that Al-Hanooti was an active HAMAS supporter, purportedly holding fund-raising activities, as well as supporting visitors to the United States from Israel and Jordan, to speak on behalf

of HAMAS." Another FBI informant stated that "In 1993, that Al-Hanooti collected over six million U.S. dollars for support of HAMAS in Israel."⁴²²

- In December 2001, ISNA joined other U.S. Islamic organizations associated with the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood network in claiming that HLF has been "targeted by pro-Israel organizations and individuals" and asking President Bush to "reconsider what we believe is an unjust and counterproductive move that can only damage America's credibility with Muslims in this country and around the world and could create the impression that there has been a shift from a war on terrorism to an attack on Islam."⁴²³
- In 2004, ISNA Secretary-General Sayyid Syeed acknowledged donating money to HLF calling it "innocent support for what the organization believed was a good cause."⁴²⁴
- Dr. Sayyid also acknowledged supporting the legal defense fund of Hamas leader Mousa Marzook who was deported from the U.S. in 1997 and is on the State Department's designated terrorist list stating "It doesn't hurt if you give a few words of support or if you give a few words of sympathy." Marzook was reported to have thanked ISNA in an open letter of appreciation for support of his legal defense fund.⁴²⁵ The original board chairman of HLF was Mohammed El-Mezain, a cousin of Mr. Marzook.⁴²⁶

It should also be noted that there is evidence that persons and organizations associated with FCNA chairman Dr. Alwani provided financial support for Hamas. According to U.S. government documents, the Safa Group "maintained \$162,000 as 'a library trust' for HAMAS -front HLF [Holy Land Foundation]. In 1997, HLF received three Safa Trust checks in the amounts of \$75,000, \$87,500, and \$162,500..."⁴²⁷

ISNA also has ties to the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), described by a Treasury Department intelligence official as "intimately tied to the most senior Hamas leadership."⁴²⁸ According to this same official, IAP was the "mouthpiece" for Hamas in the United States and has:

- published Hamas communiqués calling its followers to Jihad
 - Held conventions and conferences at which pro-Hamas speakers and singers rallied support for Hamas including the 1989 conference in Oklahoma City held in honor of Abduallah Azzam and which featured a hooded Hamas activist who called for financial assistance for terror attacks and which also featured Muslim Brotherhood leader Youssef Qaradawi.
 - Organized support rallies for jailed Hamas leaders including Mousa Abu Marzook
 - Distributed flyers and communiqués in support of Hamas and raising funds for Hamas
 - Assisted the HLF in fund raising efforts
- **Former FBI counter-terrorism chief Oliver "Buck" Revell stated in *The Washington Post* that, "IAP is a Hamas front...It's controlled by Hamas, it brings Hamas leaders to the US, it does propoganda for Hamas."**⁴²⁹

In November 2004, a Federal judge found the IAP "knowingly gave material support to Hamas and were legally responsible for David Boim's death", the American teenager who was killed by Hamas terrorists in 1996 in the West Bank.⁴³⁰

The connections between ISNA and the IAP include:

- According to an Islamic source, current ISNA affiliated Fiqh Council of North America (FCNA) board member Mohammad Al-Hanooti was present in Chicago at an early event organized by the IAP.⁴³¹ Mr. Hanooti was a President of IAP sometime before 1990 and attended the 1999 and 2000 IAP conventions.^{432 433 434}
- Federal court documents indicate that current FCNA board member Solah Sultan “spoke in support of martyrdom operations” at the 2000 IAP convention.⁴³⁵
- ISNA board members Jamal Badawi and Abdalla Idris Ali were featured guests at the 1999 IAP convention.⁴³⁶
- ISNA has provided booth space for the IAP at its annual conventions.⁴³⁷
- Many individuals associated with ISNA served on the last known CAIR Advisory Board including ISNA Past President Muzammil Siddiqi, current ISNA Secretary-General Sayyid M. Syeed, and ISNA leader Jamal Badawi.⁴³⁸ As documented in the companion to this report, CAIR leadership emerged out of the IAP in 1994 and has maintained a relationship with the organization since that time.

ISNA additionally has ties to the Quranic Literacy Institute (QLI), a Chicago area institution which found responsible by a Federal court in the death of David Boim.⁴³⁹ According to court documents, the Boim family had claimed that QLI, while claiming to be in the business of translating and publishing Islamic texts, was actually:⁴⁴⁰

- “Raising and laundering money for Hamas.”
- Providing legitimacy for Hamas leader and military commander Mohammad Salah by providing a “cover identity” for him as a computer analyst
- Serving as a means by which Salah “channeled hundreds of thousands of dollars to Hamas operatives.”

Connections between QLI and ISNA include:

- Past ISNA President Ahmad Zaki Hammad was one of the QLI founders and the organization’s president.^{441 442} In September 1998, a Chicago newspaper reported that Dr. Hammad was also on the board of the ISNA affiliated North American Islamic Trust.⁴⁴³ Court records indicate that Dr. Hammad made checks out to Mohammad Salah from his personal account.⁴⁴⁴
- Bassam Osman, the head of the ISNA affiliate the North American Islamic Trust, was previously the director of the Quranic Literacy Institute.⁴⁴⁵
- The QLI secretary Amer Haleem was at one time an acting ISNA Secretary General.^{446 447}
- ISNA leader and board member Jamal Badawi was reported to be an advisor to the Quran Project, associated with QLI.⁴⁴⁸
- Ibrahim Abusharif is a former editor of Islamic Horizons magazine, published by the ISNA. From 1990 to 1998, he was an editor and board member of the Quranic Literacy Institute.⁴⁴⁹

- ISNA acknowledged making a donation to QLI.⁴⁵⁰

When asked to comment in 1998 on past ISNA Dr. Hammad President, Dr. Siddiqi said, "He's not a political figure...He's an academic person...What I know of him, I don't think he's involved in that kind of thing."⁴⁵¹ In 2004, ISNA Secretary-General Sayyid Sayyid said that Hammad was "expelled from ISNA on bad terms stating "He might not have been sharing the same vision that this organization has."⁴⁵² It should be noted that on April 13, 2006, ISNA issued a press release expressing "deep concern over the course of legal proceedings against Muhammad Salah."⁴⁵³

ISNA's connections to organizations supporting terrorism has continued up until the time of this writing. On February 19 2006, the U.S Treasury Department announced that it was freezing the accounts of a Toledo, Ohio charity known as KindHearts stating:

"The U.S. Department of the Treasury today blocked pending investigation accounts of KindHearts, an NGO operating out of Toledo, Ohio, to ensure the preservation of its assets pending further investigation. 'KindHearts is the progeny of Holy Land Foundation and Global Relief Foundation, which attempted to mask their support for terrorism behind the façade of charitable giving.'" ⁴⁵⁴

The Treasury Department cited KindHearts financial assistance to Hamas in Lebanon and in the West Bank as reasons for its action. There are substantial reasons why potential donors should have been suspicious of KindHearts.

- KindHearts and the HLF foundation were strongly connected. The founder and CEO of KindHearts is an individual identified as Khaled Smaili who established KindHearts from his residence in January 2002.^{455 456} According to the Treasury Department, Mr. Smaili was a former official of the Global Relief Foundation, designated by the U.S. government a terrorist organization for its support of both Hamas and Al Qaida Other KindHearts leaders and fundraisers also once held leadership or other positions with HLF and GRF according to the government.⁴⁵⁷
- The KindHearts fundraising coordinator was identified as Mohammed El-Mezain, indicted by a federal grand jury in Dallas, Texas on charges of providing material support to Hamas. According to the Treasury Department, Mr. El-Mezain spoke and encouraged donations at a September 2003 KindHearts fundraising event at which a "KindHearts fundraiser spoke and encouraged the crowd to appreciate the efforts of the terrorist group Hizballah in supporting Hamas. The fundraiser then encouraged the crowd to give money and manpower as support against Israel."⁴⁵⁸
- KindHearts had a strong relationship to the Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP). KindHearts listed the IAP as its "Fundraiser Organizer" in its tax filings.⁴⁵⁹ Also, the IAP displayed an ad for KindHearts on its website and according to one organization, IAP distributed an email from KindHearts CEO Khaled Smaili.^{460 461}
- According to its spring 2004 newsletter, KindHearts presented the Bridgeview Mosque Foundation with its "Mosque of the Year" award in recognition of their members' tremendous support" and KindHearts President Khaled Smaili presented the award to Mosque Foundation President Osama Jammal. The newsletter stated that "this community as a whole donated \$195,000 for KH to fund its relief efforts for the innocent victims of home demolitions in Rafah Refugee Camp, Gaza."⁴⁶² The Chicago Tribune has documented extensive connections of the Bridgeview mosque to support of terrorism.⁴⁶³

Despite the visible warning signs, ISNA developed a relationship with KindHearts that lasted up until the Treasury action. This relationship included:

- KindHearts advertising in the ISNA magazine Islamic Horizons that according to ISNA only ended “four days before the federal government froze the assets of the KindHearts organization.”⁴⁶⁴
- KindHearts participation in the Fall 2005 “Muslim Hurricane Relief Task Force” that included ISNA as well as other Islamic organizations, some affiliated with ISNA.⁴⁶⁵
- KindHearts participation in a 2002 ISNA convention.⁴⁶⁶
- KindHearts was provided booth space by ISNA at its 2003 annual convention
- KindHearts executive Khalifah Ramadan also worked as a training and evaluation consultant for ISNA.⁴⁶⁷
- Fiqh Council of North America member Zulfiqar Ali Shah was the Director of South Asia division of Kind Hearts.⁴⁶⁸

3. Other Terror Connections

ISNA also has connections to other individuals and organizations associated with terrorism. These include:

- Current ISNA board member and former Vice-President Siraj Wahaj was a character witness for Omar Abdel Rahman, the so-called “blind-sheikh” convicted in connection with the 1st World Trade Center bombing. The Federal prosecutors have listed Mr. Wahaj as one of the “unindicted persons who may be alleged as co-conspirators” in the sheikh’s case.^{469 470}
- U.S. government documents allege that members of the “Safa Group” including the ISNA affiliated Fiqh Council of North America chairman Taha Alwani engaged in “offshore transfers, layered transactions, and payments to suspect charities” all in probable support of terrorism.⁴⁷¹
- ISNA leader and board member Jamal Badawi is the Halifax, Canada Director of Human Concern International, a global Islamic charity whose regional director in Pakistan was arrested for helping to “facilitate” an attack on the Egyptian embassy in Islamabad Pakistan in November 1995 and who according to a Canadian research institute is “is believed to be among Osama Bin Laden’s closer associates.” In 1999, a WAMY website listed HCI Canada as the only Islamic charity in a list of important telephone numbers.⁴⁷²

CONCLUSIONS

This report has set out to established whether or not the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) should be considerate a moderate Islamic organization. Based on substantial public evidence, the following can be concluded:

1) ISNA and its key leadership are associated with extremism.

The introduction to this report stated that an organization could be considered moderate if it is reasonably free of fundamentalism, anti-Semitism, and support for terrorism. This report has examined more than sufficient evidence to suggest that ISNA and its key leadership are associated with all three. It should be noted that this review considered only the public evidence. It

is reasonable to surmise that further, non-public material may exist that would further support this conclusion.

2) ISNA practices “plausible deniability” with regard to extremism.

ISNA and its key leadership have consistently denied any association with extremism. However, evidence submitted by this report suggests that such denials serve merely as “plausible deniability.” Perhaps the most egregious example was the case of the Holy Land Foundation, shut down by the U.S. government in connection with the financing of Hamas. ISNA Secretary-General Sayyid Syeed asserted that the terrorist-related activities of Holy Land were not known to him or to ISNA, but ISNA immediately shifted its support to the KindHearts charity despite the numerous indications that its was acting as a replacement for Holy Land.

3) The current Secretary-General has failed to take action against extremism in ISNA.

While Sayyid Syeed, the current ISNA Secretary-General, appears personally relatively free from the taint of extremism, his pattern of disingenuous denials suggests that he is serving as a “front man” to protect the organization from criticism. During his over ten year tenure, ISNA took no actions that a moderate organization could be expected to take which might include such actions as purging leaders associated with extremism, condemnation of the worldwide matrix of organizations that support extremism, full disclosure of the organization's funding, and the issuance of a fatwa against terrorism that meets the criteria for an effective ruling as discussed in the report.

4) ISNA functions as an important component of the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood global network.

This report has documented how ISNA was created in the matrix of early organizations design to propagate Saud/Muslim Brotherhood fundamentalism throughout the world. Its key leadership emerged from the various Islamic fundamentalist movements and many received theological training in the most conservative, Saudi educational institutions. ISNA is currently affiliated with numerous global and U.S organizations that support the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood global network. These factors suggest that ISNA continues to function as an important component within the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood global network as described in this report.

5) The true role of ISNA appears to be the enforcement of ideological conformity.

While ISNA purports to be an “umbrella organization” representing the U.S. Muslim community, this reported has prevented substantial evidence that organization maintains tight ideological control through several mechanisms including exclusionary policies, control of mosques, and selection of conference speakers for its annual conference.

6) The U.S. State Department should review its policy of promoting ISNA as a moderate organization.

It is unclear why the State Department has characterized ISNA as a moderate Islamic organization. In light of the findings of this report, it is clear that this characterization needs to be reevaluated.

APPENDIX 1: ISNA LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE ⁴⁷³

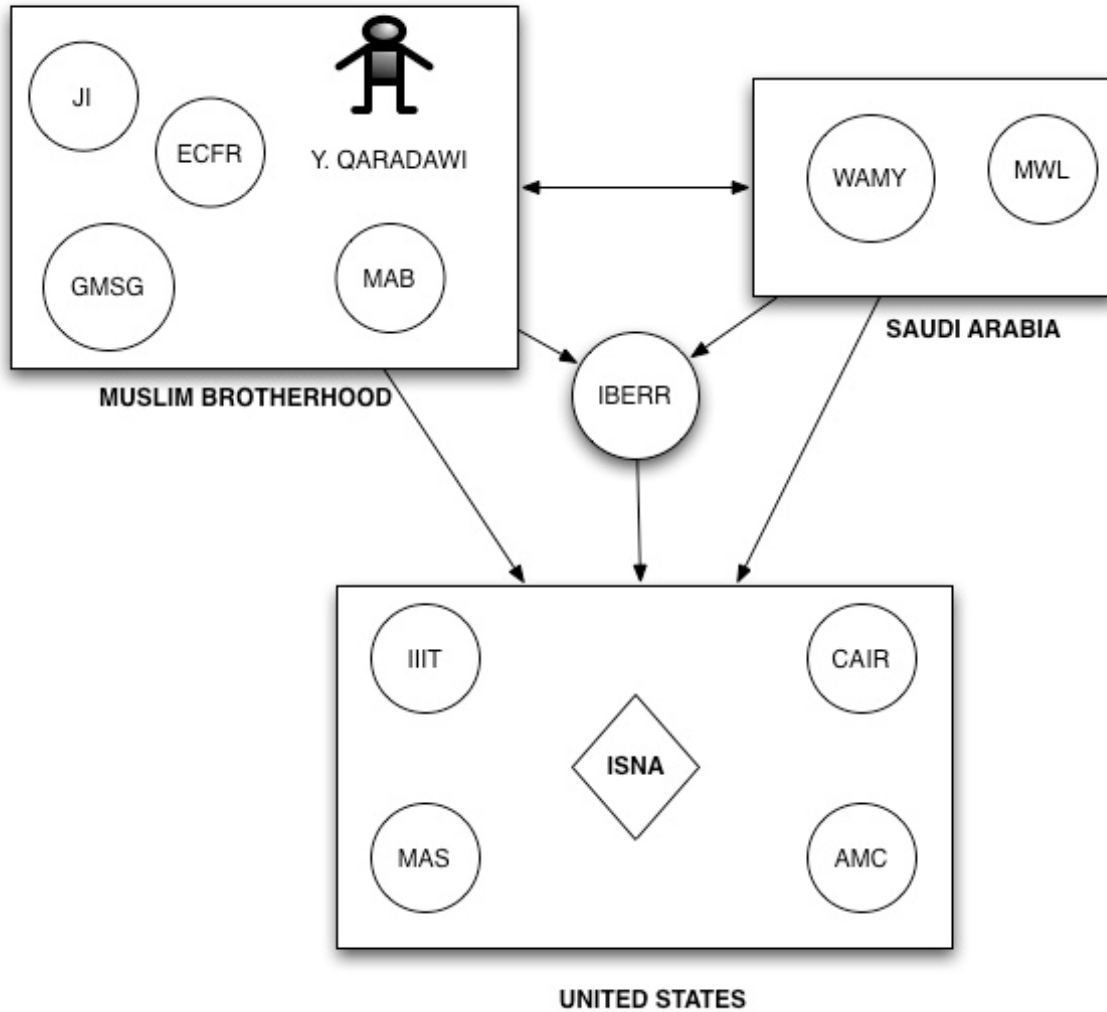
ISNA EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Muhammad Nur Abdullah, President
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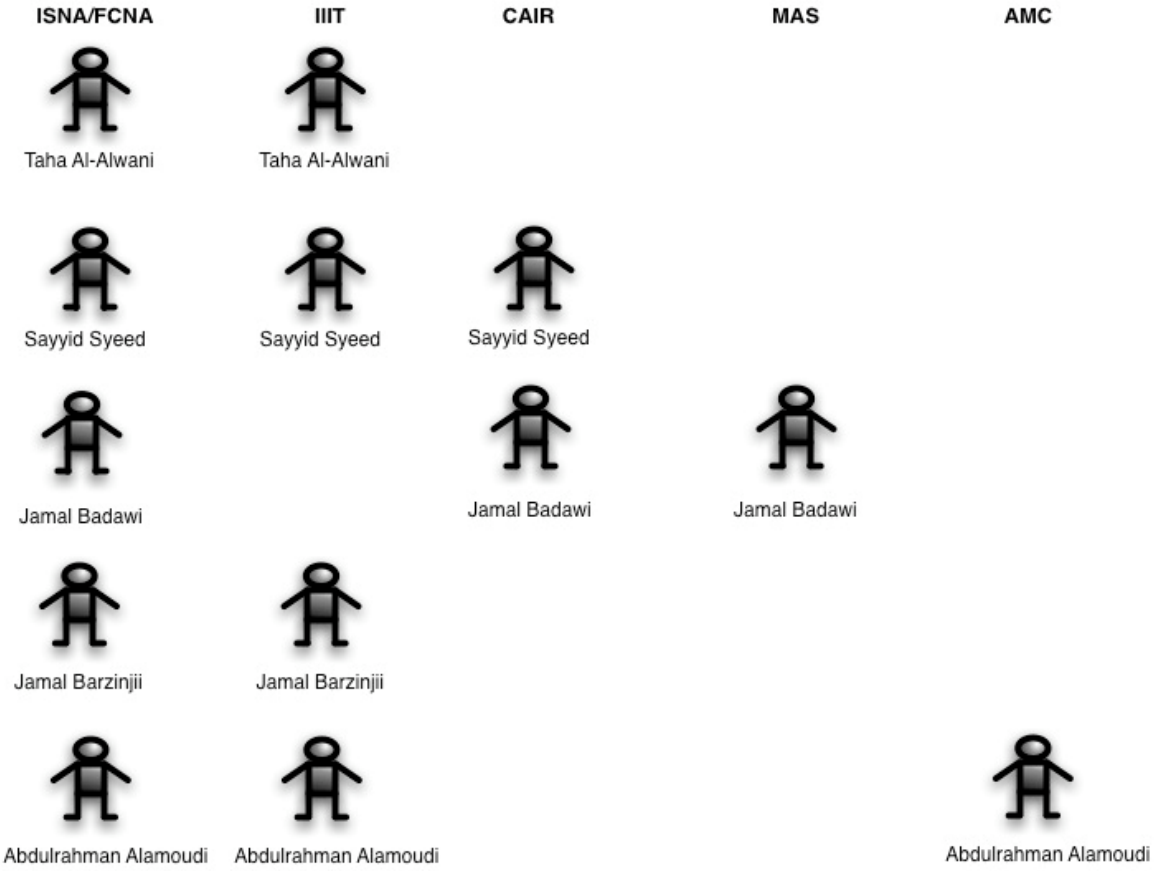
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APPENDIX 2: ISNA AND THE SAUDI/MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD GLOBAL NETWORK



APPENDIX 3: AMERICAN SAUDI/MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD NETWORK



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