The Muslim Brotherhood in North America (Canada/USA)

Sabotaging the Miserable House through the Process of Settlement and Civilization Jihad

“Here, we follow the teachings of the Muslim Brotherhood.”

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The report was written by Tom Quiggin, a member of the Terrorism and Security Experts of Canada Network (TSEC). Concurrent research at the TSEC network includes a methodology project for intelligence analysts involved in the analysis of extremism. A Horizon Scanning project on the convergence of extremist ideologies is being readied for distribution in late 2014.

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1 See the Muslim Brotherhood’s (North America) policy statements in An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America (5/22/1991). (Available at Annex A)

KEY JUDGEMENTS

*Canada has a significant presence of Muslim Brotherhood adherent individuals and organizations. Their values and actions are frequently the antithesis of the Canadian Constitution, values and law. Despite statements to the contrary, the Muslim Brotherhood considers itself above local laws and national constitutions.

*The Muslim Brotherhood’s use of settlement and the “process of civilization jihad” has proven effective. The long term aim is to globally impose a virulent form of political Islam to the exclusion of other faiths or systems.

*Internationally, the Muslim Brotherhood is realigning under pressure as old alliances crumble and opportunities arise. An aggressive posture is re-emerging which has used extensive political violence in the past.

*The policy and process of denial is deeply rooted in the Muslim Brotherhood.

*Muslim Brotherhood adherent groups should not be given governmental accreditation, access to public grants nor should they have charity status.

*Canada’s stance against Muslim Brotherhood adherent organizations in recent years has been more aggressive than the USA, especially in financial areas.
## Selected Examples of Muslim Brotherhood adherent organizations in North America

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<td>MYNA Muslim Youth of North America (defunct)</td>
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*Based in Saudi Arabia. Most funding to North America has now been cut off by the Saudi government.*
The Motto of the Muslim Brotherhood\(^3\) is:

Allah is our objective.
The Prophet is our leader.
Qur’an is our law.
Jihad is our way.
Dying in the way of Allah is our highest hope\(^4\)

The Logo\(^5\)

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\(^3\) The motto of HAMAS is similar. See section eight of the HAMAS charter at: [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp). It shows the motto as: *Allah is its target, the Prophet is its model, the Koran its constitution: Jihad is its path and death for the sake of Allah is the loftiest of its wishes.*

\(^4\) The motto remains current. Dr. Morsi, the Muslim Brotherhood candidate (Freedom and Justice Party) and eventual Egyptian presidential winner, gave a speech on 13 May 2012 during the election campaign. In it, he clearly reiterates the motto of the Muslim Brotherhood. The speech and translation can be seen at: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=reLigeHGkzE](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=reLigeHGkzE)

\(^5\) This logo is taken from the official website of the Muslim Brotherhood. See the logo at: [http://www.ikhwanonline.com/Article.aspx?ArtID=180622&SecID=213](http://www.ikhwanonline.com/Article.aspx?ArtID=180622&SecID=213)
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1. Overview: Settlement and the Civilization-Jihadist Process

The Muslim Brotherhood\(^6\) represents a greater existential and systemic threat to North American civilization and society than violent extremist movements such as Al Qaeda. The Muslim Brotherhood, self-described by its founder Hassan Banna as a Salafist\(^7\) group, has been entrenching itself in North America since the late 1950s and early 1960s using the process of ‘settlement\(^8\),’ multiple front organizations and persistent denials. They describe this as a process of civilization jihad. The aim of the group in North America is to weaken and destroy the free and open societies within Canada and the USA from within and replace them with the heavily politicized views of Hassan Banna, Sayyid Qutb and the Muslim Brotherhood. This is consistent with the global aims of the group. This should be of concern as a period of relative moderation has come to an end and the Muslim Brotherhood is becoming increasingly aggressive in its actions.

The Muslim Brotherhood began as a social movement and it still has an extensive program of education and outreach.

Dawah (da’wa, da’wah or dawa) and religious education lie at the heart of the Muslim Brotherhood program. Dawah can be defined as calling or the practice or policy of conveying the message of Islam to non-Muslims.\(^9\) Within the context of the Muslim Brotherhood, it takes on a more ominous tone as dawah is not just the practice of outreach, but it is one of the principal missions of the Muslim Brotherhood as a whole. And by dawah, they appear to include the message of Islam, but the message of the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hassan Banna as is evidenced by the constant references to his life and writings.

Dawah in the Muslim Brotherhood is not just outreach, rather it is an alternative form of conquering a society. Ikhwan Web, the official English language website of the Muslim Brotherhood makes this clear:

*The MB shall never forget religious education and Dawah, as they are the essence of its existence.*\(^10\)

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\(^6\) The Muslim Brotherhood is also referred to as The Ikhwan, The Society of Muslim Brothers or al-Ikhwani Muslim. Adherents to the cause are often called “The Ikhwan” or Ikhwanis.

\(^7\) In 1938, Hassan Banna explained that: It is a Salafite movement, an orthodox way, a Sufi reality, a political body, an athletic group, a scientific and cultural society, an economic company and a social idea. Jayjock, Stephen C., *Moslem fundamentalist movements and their impact on Middle Eastern politics*, Monterey, California. Naval Postgraduate School, Issue Date 1979. URL http://hdl.handle.net/10945/18803

\(^8\) According to the 1991 General Memorandum (see annex) the terms means: "That Islam and its Movement become a part of the homeland it lives in". It further adds: In order for Islam and its Movement to become “a part of the homeland” in which it lives, "stable" in its land, "rooted" in the spirits and minds of its people, "enabled" in the live of its society and has firmly-established "organizations" on which the Islamic structure is built and with which the testimony of civilization is achieved, the Movement must plan and struggle to obtain “the keys” and the tools of this process in carry out this grand mission as a "Civilization Jihadist" responsibility which lies on the shoulders of Muslims and - on top of them - the Muslim Brotherhood in this country.

\(^9\) http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Da%27wa

\(^10\) A talk with the Muslim Brotherhood’s Ibrahim Munir, available online at: http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=27804&ref=search.php
In the North American context, Zeid Noman made it clear that in the early stages of development of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America, dawah was an integral factor.

This was the first true tremor for the Ikhwan’s activism here in America as these brothers started to demand clearer Ikhwan formulas, clearer commitment and means or ones with a specific and not a general nature and that there are conditions to accept one into the ranks of this Daw’a and to make work secret.

...Some of them came for work and know that this life is a farm for the afterlife and he sacrifices what he has for the sake of. ... for the sake of this Daw’a.

...Therefore, we had to take two simultaneous moves and with two harmonious wings: The first one is the reality or now attempt to implement the needs of the reality which is what the students' movement needs and that we also work hard to settle the Daw’a. By "settlement of the Daw’a", the Muslim Brotherhood Daw’a is meant. It is not meant to spread Islam as spread of Islam is a general thing and it is indeed a goal for each Muslim in general terms. The second thing is the settlement of the Daw’a and finding permanent fundamentals in the cities where Ikhwans now live in order to ...er, in order for them to be the meeting points for the coming brothers. (Emphasis added)

In a 1995 speech in Ohio, Yussef Qaradawi, a lifelong adherent of the Muslim Brotherhood movement and one of its key intellectual inspirational figures stated that:

Conquest through dawah, that is what we hope for....We will conquer Europe, we will conquer America, not through the sword but through dawah.14

In 2007, some 12 years later, Qaradawi made it clear that his views had not changed:

The peaceful conquest has foundations in this religion, and therefore, I expect that Islam will conquer Europe without resorting to the sword or fighting. It will do so by means of da’wa and ideology. Europe is miserable with materialism, with the philosophy of promiscuity, and with the immoral considerations that rule the world “considerations of self-interest and self-indulgence.”15

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12 As of early May 2014, Qaradawi was still in Qatar. However, media reports from the region suggest that the government of Qatar would start removing Muslim Brotherhood figures from their country. Qaradawi was identified as such and was also reported to be considering a move to Mauritania, Tunisia, Morocco or Algeria. For more on this see: Qatar starts expelling Brotherhood figures Mon, 05/05/2014 - 18:55 Al-Masry Al-Youm http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/qatar-starts-expelling-brotherhood-figures
13 In an introduction to one of his books. Dr. Qaradawi states: However, in most examples I will be citing the Muslim Brotherhood, because that is the movement where I grew up; I experienced all its hardships and good times, and shared in many of the events it witnessed over almost a half-century. See: http://www.islambasics.com/view.php?bkiD=48&chapter=1
Despite the claims of conquest only through dawah, the Muslim Brotherhood has committed a series of assassinations and bombings in the name of the group. This includes the assassination of a judge in Egypt (Ahmed El-Khazindar Bey, Senior Judge, Egyptian Court of Appeal) in 1948 as well as the attempted assassination of President Nasser in 1954. The Syrian arm of the Muslim Brotherhood was engaged in a violent campaign from 1976 to 1982 which included a 1979 attack against students at the military academy in Aleppo. Most of the students killed were from the leadership Alawite group and the victims were largely the sons of various regime officials. The campaign ended with a brutal government massacre of Muslim Brotherhood supporters in the town of Hama. Currently, the Palestinian arm of the Muslim Brotherhood (HAMAS) remains committed to violence and has worked against peace efforts such as the Oslo Accords.

In addition to Dawah, another feature of the Muslim Brotherhood is the concept of the Islamization of Knowledge, conceptualized in part by former Montreal resident Dr. Ismail Faruqi. In his book *Islamization of Knowledge: General Principles and Work Plan*, Dr. Faruqi argues that there was a need to:

> ...recast the whole legacy of human knowledge from the standpoint of Islam. He presented 12 workplan aims to produce university level textbooks recasting some twenty disciplines in accordance to the Islamic vision because of the backward and lowly contemporary position of the ummah in all fields, political, economic, and religio-cultural.

While presenting itself as a voice of moderation, the Muslim Brotherhood is an adherent of an 85+ year old policy of establishing the Brotherhood’s brand of Islam as the global faith at the exclusion of all other religions and secular forms of organization. Other Muslim groups that do not adhere are subjected to scorn and abuse. The Muslim Brotherhood has wavered on the use of violence, sometimes presenting itself as a political movement that expels those who use violence. On other occasions it does military training at local camps and uses assassinations and bombings. Foreign funding and foreign organizational assistance have been the hallmarks of many of the adherent charities and organizations.

In 1991, the Muslim Brotherhood in North America issued *An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America* (5/22/1991). The document was presented by

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19 See section two of the HAMAS charter. The entire charter of HAMAS can be seen at: [http://www.palestine-studies.org/files/pdf/jps/1734.pdf](http://www.palestine-studies.org/files/pdf/jps/1734.pdf)
20 For a chronology of the events surrounding the Oslo Peace Accords, see: [http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/oslo/etc/cron.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/oslo/etc/cron.html)
21 Faruqi is believed to have lived in Montreal from 1958 to 1967. He was the subject of a write up in the Montreal Gazette after his death. (Clair Balfour, The Gazette [Montreal], 31 July 1986, p. B3)
23 The architect of the Sept. 11 strikes, Khalid Sheik Mohammed, told U.S. interrogators that he was drawn to violent jihad after joining the Brotherhood in Kuwait at age 16 and attending its desert youth camps, according to the report released in July by the national commission that investigated the attacks. [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12823-2004Sep10.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12823-2004Sep10.html)
24 See the section in this part on ISNA Canada funding from the Saudi government.
Mohamed Akram (A.K.A. Mohammad Akram Al-Adlouni) who is now the Secretary General of al-Quds International located in Lebanon. The chairman of the board of trustees is identified as Qatar based Youssef Qaradawi. According to Akram, it was the result of five years of policy review work which was proceeded by some 20 years of organizational activity. It was finally approved their Shura Council. In section 4 of the 1991 Explanatory Memorandum, which is subtitled Understanding the role of the Muslim Brother in North America, the document points out that:

*The process of settlement is a "Civilization-Jihadist Process" with all the word means. The Ikhwan must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and "sabotaging" its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated and God's religion is made victorious over all other religions.*

It is not an analytically acceptable practice to take one data point, such as the above, and then assess that the organization is always committed to this goal. To be clear, however, a remarkable degree of consistency of beliefs and goals exists across a range of Muslim Brotherhood organizations — both temporally and geographically. The most recent examples mimic those of a more violent past. The phase of moving away from violence appears to be ending/has ended and the organisation as a whole is becoming more aggressive and expresses an inflexible approach with violent overtones. In 2010 the Muslim Brotherhood’s General Guide Mohamed Badie claimed that the “Muslim and Arab Regimes are Disregarding Allah’s Commandment to Wage Jihad” and that change can occur by raising a jihadi generation that pursues death just as the enemies pursue life. He notes that resistance is the only solution. These comments appear similar to those of Salah Sultan of Ohio (ISNA, Fiqh Council, MAS) who says that America will suffer economic stagnation, ruin, destruction and crime which will surpass what is happening in Gaza. He also noted that the US will suffer more deaths than all of those killed in the third Gaza holocaust and that it will happen soon. Both of these statements by influential Muslim...

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26 For information on Akram and his position as Secretary General of al Quds International, see: [http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2010/01/18/7th-qaradawi-jerusalem-conference-held-in-beirut/](http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2010/01/18/7th-qaradawi-jerusalem-conference-held-in-beirut/)

27 Al Quds International is a Muslim Brotherhood adherent organization whose chief intellectual figure is Youssef Qaradawi. It maintains a strong position on Palestine, as can be seen in their conference reports. For an example, see: [http://www.aljazeerah.info/News/2010/January/16%20Conference%20of%20Al-Quds%20International%20Wows%20Of%20Zionist%20Schemes%20in%20Jerusalem.htm](http://www.aljazeerah.info/News/2010/January/16%20Conference%20of%20Al-Quds%20International%20Wows%20Of%20Zionist%20Schemes%20in%20Jerusalem.htm)

28 As of early May 2014, the state of Qatar had begun to pressure Muslim Brotherhood members to leave the country. One of those identified as being pressured to leave is Qaradawi. For more on this see: *Qatar starts expelling Brotherhood figures* Mon, 05/05/2014 - 18:55 Al-Masry Al-Youm [http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/qatar-starts-expelling-brotherhood-figures](http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/qatar-starts-expelling-brotherhood-figures)


31 As if April 2014, Badie was in jail in Egypt, having been arrested as part of a general crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood.


34 [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hcjpyfYmM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hcjpyfYmM)
Brotherhood leaders appear as informal declarations of war, similar to those of al Qaeda in 1996\textsuperscript{35} and 1998.\textsuperscript{36}

Egyptian President (2012-2013) and Muslim Brotherhood member Mohammed Morsi’s attempted project to ‘Brotherhoodize’\textsuperscript{37} Egypt (The Nahda or Renaissance Project) was a sign of recent intentions. By granting himself near dictatorial powers\textsuperscript{38} followed by his attacks on the press\textsuperscript{39}/TV\textsuperscript{40} and the judiciary\textsuperscript{41}, he demonstrated that he was more of a servant of the Muslim Brotherhood and Khairat al-Shater’s\textsuperscript{42} Nahda Project\textsuperscript{43} than he was the leader of Egypt.\textsuperscript{44} Al-Shater had envisaged the Nahda Project as instituting “the religion of God; the Islamization of life, empowering of God’s religion.”\textsuperscript{45}

Ironically, Dr. Morsi was recruited into the Muslim Brotherhood while studying in North America (PhD, USC, 1992).\textsuperscript{46} He graduated the year after the 1991 General Memorandum\textsuperscript{47} outlined the role of civilization-jihadist project in North America.
2. Prejudice and the Muslim Community

Spurious attacks on the Muslim community since the 911 attacks has become an issue of concern. However, many of those involved in the practice tend to be generally ignorant, or willfully blind, to most of the current reality.

Most prejudice and racism is founded in ignorance. This ignorance can be found in a variety of cases. On September 15th 2001, 49 year old gas station owner Balbir Singh Sodhi was killed by Frank Roque from Mesa, Arizona. Mr. Roque said that he wanted to lash out at Arabs after watching the World Trade Center attacks on television. Mr. Sodhi was a Sikh and neither a Muslim or an Arab. Twelve years later, in September of 2013, similar problems were at work when Prabhjot Singh, a Sikh and a professor of international and public affairs, was attacked and beaten by a group of some 15 individual who were reportedly yelling “Get Osama.”

In both cases, the assailants knew nothing about their victims. Clearly, ignorance lies at the heart of prejudice and racism.

Those looking to engage in further broad spectrum attacks on the Muslim community will be disappointed by this report. This report does look at a narrow, specific group of individuals who are attempting to politicize a virulent strain of Islam and use it to infiltrate, weaken and eventually destroy North American society (and others). It does not suggest that Islam as a whole is the problem.

Most of those involved in Muslim bashing would not know a Salafist from a Sufi nor do they understand the difference between a Sunni and a Shia. As such, they take a bad problem and make it worse. In many cases, by mindlessly repeating slogans fed to them, they are plugging an amplifier into the propaganda of those who would undermine them.

PERSONAL NOTE: I have testified in the Federal Court of Canada and at the Immigration Refugee Board on behalf of those who I feel have been subject to persecution or abuse of process due to their being identified as Muslims. For these efforts, I have suffered personally and professionally and been subjected to abuse and ridicule for this. However, I believe that an open and transparent court system is required if a functioning democracy and believe that the rights of all must be defended, even if they happen to be unpopular at the time. And by the way, many of those subject to the system are in fact innocent.

TO BE CLEAR: The problem is the virulent ideological strains of those who politicize the faith. In this case, this means the Muslim Brotherhood and its adherent organizations.

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48 Timeline: A History of Violence against Sikhs in the Wake of 9/11. TIME.com
http://newsfeed.time.com/2012/08/06/timeline-a-history-of-violence-against-sikhs-in-the-wake-of-911/#ixzz2uuChU1mA
3. Explanatory Note on Canada and the United States of America as the Unit of Analysis

The primary focus of this paper is Canada. However, the Muslim Brotherhood in Canada cannot be understood in isolation. Most of the Canadian organizations are tied to those from the United States and many individuals with Canadian addresses serve or have served on US based boards or in their organizations. In short, like many other aspects of Canadian relations with the US, there are cross border ties that go back years. Additionally, the Muslim Brotherhood has its roots in the Middle East and has organizations in multiple countries. The context of this history is required for understanding.

The geographic unit of analysis used in this report refers to North America as being Canada and the United States of America. This is to reflect the view that the Muslim Brotherhood often sees Canada and the USA as an integral area of operations or lump the two together. This is reflected in their own documentation. For instance, the 1991 General Memorandum\textsuperscript{49} refers directly to “Absorbing Muslims and winning them with all of their factions and colors in America and Canada for the settlement project.” The Muslim Brotherhood adherent group the “Islamic Association for Palestine” (IAP) produced a document entitled “An Introduction to the Bylaw of Palestine Committee in North America and Canada”.

Additionally, the front organizations for the Muslim Brotherhood in Canada and the USA often use similar or parallel naming conventions. The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) is active in both Canada and the USA. The Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) has its Canadian branch named CAIR-CAN\textsuperscript{50}.

As such, when referring to North America, it can be assumed that it is Canada and the USA as a collective reference. When this document wishes to refer to specific issues and events in one county or the other, it will refer to Canada, the United States or the USA.

No slight or exclusion of Mexico is intended nor should it be perceived, rather most of the organizational documents reflect a focus on Canada and the USA.

The role of organizations such as the Islamic Circle of North America expanding into Mexico\textsuperscript{51} should be the subject of a separate analytical paper.

\textsuperscript{49} A copy of the memorandum can be seen at: \url{http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/20.pdf}
\textsuperscript{50} See Section 18 of this paper for more information on CAIR and CAIR CAN.
\textsuperscript{51} Among many other references, see: \url{http://www.icna.org/whyislam-noman-ali-khan-join-for-mexico-trip/}
4. The Founding of the Muslim Brotherhood: Back to the Past?

Introduction

The three great Abrahamic faiths of Judaism, Christianity and Islam all have minority fundamentalist movements which believe in creating a better future by returning to the political (and cultural) standards of the past. These factions tend to be exclusivist and are intolerant of other religions with a particularly well developed opposition to secularism.

Within Islam, a number of movements are attempting to politicize the faith and society in a virulent way and each of these has strong views on the past. Broadly speaking, these movements are being led by groups such as the Khomeneists, the Wahhabis and the Muslim Brotherhood. The Khomeneists are primarily Shia, while the others are mainly Sunni. While each movement has its peculiarities and various backers, they tend to believe society would be greatly improved if it was re-arranged to reflect a certain interpretation of archaic principles.

Islam at the Turn of the 20th Century

Islam as a faith and culture was in a state of upheaval at the turn of the century in 1900 and particularly so by 1924. Varying streams of belief had different ideas on what the future should look like. As with many others, Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī53 looked at the state of Islam and bemoaned how a once great civilization had fallen to a point where most Muslims lived under colonial rule. He wrote about a pan-Islamic movement that would build a new and modern Islam that would re-establish the strength. Others wrote about the idea of returning Islam back to its former glory by the belief in Salafism. A Salafist believes that the first three generation of Muslim after the death of the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) were the "Pious Predecessors" (as-Salaf as-Saleh) and that all Muslims should seek to emulate their lifestyles and beliefs.

In 1924, following a series of events in Turkey, the National Assembly pronounced the end of the roughly 400 year old Ottoman Caliphate on 03 March 1924.54 While the Caliphate in Turkey had been previously reduced to a figure head role only, its final abolition was a shock to many observers.

Seen through one particular lens of history, the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate meant the final destruction of the remnants of the Islamic Empire(s) and civilization that had been in existence for more than 1200 years. In this view, a once great empire had collapsed to a point where all of it was now under colonial control or had been in other ways, destroyed.

One of those observers was a young Egyptian teacher named Ahmad Abd al-Rahman al-Banna. He would become known to the world as Hassan Banna - the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood.

1928 and the Founding Years

52 The term fundamentalism in a religious context probably entered the English language in the late 19th and 20th Century due to concerns about liberal Protestantism and a contrary belief in the inerrancy of the world of the Bible. See, among others, http://www.thefreedictionary.com/fundamentalist .
54 For a brief description of the end of the caliphate which was written March 8th 1924, see: http://www.economist.com/node/11829711
The founding of the Muslim Brotherhood has been extensively covered in a number of books and other publications. Among those are *Hassan Al-Banna and His Political Thought of Islamic Brotherhood* which can be found on IkhwanWeb, the official English language website of the Muslim Brotherhood.\(^{55}\) Also on IkhwanWeb is a *Glimpse into the History of Muslim Brotherhood*\(^{56}\) and *Establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood.*\(^{57}\)

Another source is *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* by Richard Mitchell. A more recent (2006) overview is offered by the book by Brynjar Lia’s *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement 1928-1942.*

For a quick review of its founding and history, the BBC World News Website has an overview, extracts of which are below:\(^{58}\)

*Founded (1928) by Hassan al-Banna, the Muslim Brotherhood - or al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun in Arabic - has influenced Islamist movements around the world with its model of political activism combined with Islamic charity work. The movement initially aimed simply to spread Islamic morals and good works, but soon became involved in politics, particularly the fight to rid Egypt of British colonial control and cleanse it of all Western influence.*

While the Ikhwan say that they support democratic principles, one of the group's stated aims is to create a state ruled by Islamic law, or Sharia. Its most famous slogan, used worldwide, is: "Islam is the solution."

**Paramilitary wing**

After Banna launched the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928, branches were set up throughout the country - each running a mosque, a school and a sporting club - and its membership grew rapidly. By the late 1940s, the group is estimated to have had 500,000 members in Egypt, and its ideas had spread across the Arab world.

At the same time, Banna created a paramilitary wing, the Special Apparatus, whose operatives joined the fight against British rule and engaged in a campaign of bombings and assassinations.

The Egyptian government dissolved the group in late 1948 for attacking British and Jewish interests. Soon afterwards, the group was accused of assassinating Prime Minister Mahmoud al-Nuqrashi. Banna denounced the killing, but he was subsequently shot dead (1948) by an unknown gunman - believed to have been a member of the security forces.

In 1952, colonial rule came to an end following a military coup d'état led by a group of young officers calling themselves the Free Officers. The Ikhwan played a supporting role - Anwar al-Sadat, who became president in 1970, was once the Free Officers' liaison with them - and initially co-operated with the new government, but relations soon soured.


After a failed attempt to assassinate President Gamal Abdul Nasser in 1954, the Ikhwan were blamed, banned, and thousands of members imprisoned and tortured. The group continued, however, to grow underground. This clash with the authorities prompted an important shift in the ideology of the Ikhwan, evident in the writing of one prominent member, Sayyid Qutb.

Qutb’s work advocated the use of jihad (struggle) against jahili (ignorant) societies, both Western and so-called Islamic ones, which he argued were in need of radical transformation. His writings - particularly the 1964 work Milestones - inspired the founders of many radical Islamist groups, including Islamic Jihad and al-Qaeda. In 1965, the government again cracked down on the Ikhwan, executing Qutb in 1966 and transforming him into a martyr for many people across the region.

The development of the Muslim Brotherhood has not been linear. There have been a number of individuals who had or still have an impact on how the Muslim Brotherhood sees itself, its goals and the world around it. As the founder, Hassan Banna has left his indelible print on the organization. Others such as Sayyid Qutb, Hasan al-Hudaybi and Yusef Qaradawi have left greater or lesser imprints. The Council on Foreign Relations recently gave an overview of the effects of the works of Sayyid Qutb:

Qutb developed a doctrine of armed struggle against the regime in Egypt and beyond while writing from prison after his arrest for the assassination attempt. His work, particularly the 1964 manifesto Milestones, has provided the intellectual and theological underpinnings for many militant Sunni Islamist groups, including al-Qaeda and Hamas. Extremist leaders often cite Qutb, who was hanged in 1966, to argue that governments not based on sharia are apostate and therefore legitimate targets of jihad.

Though establishing an Islamic state based on sharia was at the core of the Brotherhood’s agenda, the group gained prominence by effectively providing social services where the security state failed.

The Brotherhood renounced violence at the insistence of Anwar al-Sadat, Nasser’s successor, who allowed the group to preach and advocate in exchange for its support against his political rivals, Nasser loyalists and leftists. Sadat paid lip service to sharia and freed imprisoned Islamists. He was assassinated in 1981 by members of al-Jihad who had split with the Brotherhood and resented Sadat’s notional commitment to sharia, as well as the 1979 peace treaty with Israel.

The Brotherhood considered the regime Mubarak inherited from Sadat “stultifying, corrupt, and oppressive,” scholar Nathan Brown writes. He says the group reconciled its ongoing commitment to Qutb’s principles with its renunciation of violence by focusing on the concept of a “vanguard," in which the group seeks to Islamize society “through a [political] elite" as much as it does “through mass work and engagement.”

Brotherhood-affiliated candidates first participated in local and parliamentary elections as independents in 1984. Within the Brotherhood, members vary in the orthodoxy of their interpretations of Islam, as well as their ideological versus pragmatic inclinations, but the conservative and insular old guard has dominated in recent years.

59 See the entire January 2014 article Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood by Zachary Laub, which is online at: http://www.cfr.org/egypt/egypts-muslim-brotherhood/p23991.
The Brotherhood emerged as a dominant political force in Egypt following Mubarak’s removal from office amid mass protests in February 2011 in part because its organizational capacity was unmatched, but the group’s electoral victories were tarnished by power struggles with the judiciary and the military. Battles over the drafting of a new constitution were a particular flash point.

Membership Types

According to the IkhwanWeb⁶⁰, the official English language site of the Muslim Brotherhood, a variety of membership types exist within the Muslim Brotherhood:

Al-Banna wrote in his diaries (Proceedings of Third Congress) a paragraph subtitled (The Practical Structure of Muslim Brotherhood) in which he mentioned the following...:

- **General membership**: given to everybody accepted by district administration provided that this person shows his readiness to be righteous, agrees to sign membership form and pays a volunteering subscription.

- **Brothers membership**: given to every Muslim accepted by the district administration - the member of this category is called "Associate Member".

- **Practical membership**: given to every Muslim accepted by the district administration and agrees to maintain his duties (Al-Banna detailed these duties); such a member is called "Active Member".

- **Jihad membership**: limited to Active Members that the general executive bureau (GEB) realizes his observance of duties and commitments.⁶¹

*Note the issue that only inner members get to know the secrets of the organization.*

The concept of layered membership levels of “active” or associate members and moving up through the levels is common in the adherent organizations as well. This extract from the website of the Muslim Association of Canada makes it clear that:

- **There are 4 categories of membership in MAC**: regular, active, associate, and youth. Regular and active members are voting members and can participate in the election of National Convention delegates as well as serve in various capacities within the Association. To become a regular member, one must have participated in a program of self-development acceptable to the Education Committee. On occasion, some of the activities of the Association are open only to regular and active members. The requirements for associate and youth membership are less stringent. Associate and youth members are non-voting members but may participate in many of the Association's activities and give input and advice.⁶²

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⁶⁰ The home page and index of the site can be seen at: [http://www.ikhwanweb.com/index.php](http://www.ikhwanweb.com/index.php)

⁶¹ For more on membership information see: [http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=817](http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=817)

⁶² See the frequently asked questions section of the Muslim Association of Canada at: [http://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/FAQ.aspx](http://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/FAQ.aspx).
The MAC says that it is directly inspired by the founder of the Muslin Brotherhood, Hassan Banna. They state this openly on their website by saying:

*MAC's roots are deeply enshrined in the message of Prophet Mohammad. It’s modern roots can be traced to the vigorous intellectual revivalist effort that took hold in Muslim societies starting in the early twentieth century. This revival aimed at reconciling faith with the challenges of modernity and providing a clear articulation of balance and moderation in understanding Islam. In the Arab world, this revival culminated in the writings of the late Imam Hassan al-Banna and the movement of the Society of Muslim Brothers (commonly known as the Muslim Brotherhood). Al-Banna’s core messages of constructive engagement in society, focus on personal and communal empowerment, and organizational development had a deep impact on much of the Muslim world.*

As can be seen, the Muslim Brotherhood has had a mixed history of using social movement organizational methods as well as political violence combined with secrecy. The two streams co-exist and no general resolution has been reached on the primacy of one approach or the other. Various levels of membership and secrecy are hallmarks of the organization, while these vary as well over time and geographic location.

However, the primary feature of the Muslim Brotherhood remains and that is the imposition of a “new” society through dawah and education, both used in combination with persuasion and force.

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63 [https://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/About%20MAC.aspx](https://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/About%20MAC.aspx)
5. The Centrality of the Palestinian Cause in the Muslim Brotherhood

The issue of Palestine is central to the Muslim Brotherhood and has been almost since its inception. The Muslim Brotherhood’s views on Palestine are completely uncompromising and they have ongoing violence and confrontation as a policy contrary to any form of peace or accommodation. While a variety of reasons exist for this, one of the most prevalent is that one of the three Holy Sites of Islam is in Jerusalem.64

The Muslim Brotherhood was formed in 1928. Its first attempt at formally involving itself in a foreign political situation was its involvement in the Palestinian situation in 1936. The Muslim Brotherhood, like many others in the Arab and Muslim world, were concerned about the expansion of Zionism and they feared a breakup of the existing territory which would result in a Zionist state. Following World War Two and in the run up to the creation of Israel in 1948, the Muslim Brotherhood had individuals and groups fighting in the area.

It is entirely plausible that the involvement of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Palestinian cause in the 1948 war led to the assassination of Hassan Banna himself.

The Brethren participation in the (1948 Palestine) war though initially welcome, became a two-edged sword for the government as the combat experience of the Brotherhood and rumors of their intent to overthrow the government became well known. Consequently, a military order, dated 8 December 1948 (No. 63) was promulgated disbanding the Brethren and its branches, closing all their centers, seizing all papers and assets of the organization. All funds and companies were taken and many arrests were again made. Al-Banna attempted to negotiate with the government but his efforts came to nought as al-Nuqrashi65 was assassinated on 28 December 1948. Following this execution blamed on the Brethren, al-Banna reversed his militant stand and publicly denounced the violent activities of this society. The effort again was to no avail and on 12 February 1949 al-Banna himself was assassinated by members attributed to the Sadist party. 66

The view that the Palestinian cause is a priority can be seen in the North America arm of the Muslim Brotherhood. For example, in 1988, the Muslim Brotherhood in North America produced a document with the title An introduction to the bylaw of Palestine Committee in North America and Canada. In this document there are references to the Palestinian cause which occupies a “large space.” The cover page of the document reads:

Due to the developments of the cause of the Palestinian Muslim people, the important developments produced by the blessed Intifada in the Occupied Territories and the impact it had on the Muslim Brotherhood Movement, and particularly the directions of his eminence the General Guide and the latest visit to America by the Palestine Section, formed by the executive office of the Brotherhood in the event countries, which discussed the cause and its developments

64 The three Holy Sites are in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem.
65 Mahmūd Fahmī al-Nuqrāshī was a former Prime Minister of Egypt (1946) had been appointed the Military Governor of Egypt in 1948. He was attempting to destroy the Muslim Brotherhood. He was assassinated by unknown persons later that same year who were widely presumed to be members of the Muslim Brotherhood.
66 Jayjock, Stephen C., Moslem fundamentalist movements and their impact on Middle Eastern politics, Monterey, California. Naval Postgraduate School, Issue Date 1979. URL h ttp://hdl.handle.net/10945/18803
with their Brothers in the leadership of the Group here in America, the Palestine Committee was formed to serve the Palestinian cause on the U.S. front.

Since the Committee’s scope of work is limited to the Palestinian cause which occupies a large space on the Islamic, Brotherhood and international front, the brothers in the Committee thought that there should be bylaws which spell out the Committee’s authority and its relationship with the leadership of the Group in America. If these bylaws are an initiative by the Committee, the matter in the end depends on the direction and the approval of the leadership of the Group for any forms of work. (8/14/1988)

In October of 1992, the Muslim Brotherhood in North America distributed an internal memo with the title *Islamic Action for Palestine*. The memo is quite clear on the links between Palestine, Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan Banna and the Muslim Brotherhood itself. One of the key paragraphs makes this clear by stating:

*Palestine is the land which moved from one honor to another by the arrival of the representatives of the 20th century innovator, martyr Imam Hassan al-Banna, and they transferred it to the Muslim Brotherhood Movement and branches for the Ikhwan were formed in the cities of Palestine in the early 40’s. Palestine is the one for which Muslim Brotherhood prepared armies – made up from the children of Islam in the Arab and Islamic nations – to liberate its land from the abomination and the defilement of the children of the Jews and they watered down its pure soil with their honorable blood which sprouted into a Jihad that is continuing until the Day of Resurrection and provided a zeal without relenting making the slogan of its children “It is a Jihad for victory or martyrdom.”*

In a special non-periodical bulletin (Issue 1- Dated 01 October 1992) the Muslim Brotherhood sends the following information to its various Masuls (leaders) and gives advice and a plan on how to address Palestinian issues. From this, it is clear that the Muslim Brotherhood will resist any suggestion of self-rule for the Palestinians and instead opt for further conflict and continue on the path of violence (see point 5 as follows).

**Positions**

The Movement has decided to adopt the following position from the Self-Rule: “Rejecting the administrative self-rule, rejecting the elections related to it, refusing to take part in them, and calling upon the Palestinian people to boycott them”.

Based on that, the Movement has decided to take the following steps:

1 - Announcing this position of ours to the media and explaining the truth behind the Self-Rule and its dangers to the present and the future of the Cause.

2- Exposing the degree of retreat and concession practiced by the leadership of the Organization towards the Cause, and the deceit and cover up it practices against the Palestinian people,

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67 An introduction to the bylaw of Palestine Committee in North America and Canada, page one.
3- Calling for a general public referendum at home and abroad regarding the issue of the Self-Rule.

4- Avoiding the resort to violence against the Self-Rule and its authorities.

5- Escalating Jihad actions against the Zionist enemy.

6- Working to form a broad Palestinian front that is opposed to the Self-Rule,

7- Broad mobilization in the Islamic world, to line up Islamic powers and groups to bear their responsibilities towards the Cause.

Another document that shows the centrality of views on the Palestinian cause can been seen in the Meeting Agenda for the Palestine Committee 7/30/1994. The document is also of interest as it shows the relationships and commonality of interest of between a variety of adherent organizations. At the start of the agenda in (3) is the following line:

_Future suggestions to develop work of the following organizations: IAP HL HLF USR Coordination CAIR_

The document suggests that a normalization of relations between Muslims/Arabs on one side and the “Zionist entity” (Israel) on the other would be not be in their interest. In other words, this 1994 document, written after the announcement of the Oslo Accords, makes it clear that a normalization of relations in the Middle East between the Arab states and Israel must be resisted by the Muslim Brotherhood.

_The Islamic and Arabic world is being overrun by a vigorous campaign to normalize the relations between the Muslims and the Arabs from one side, and the Zionist entity from another side. HARDLY A DAY PASSES WITHOUT US HEARING THAT SOME ARAB OR MUSLIM COUNTRY HAS ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC OR COMMERCIAL RELATION WITH THE ZIONIST ENTITY. THIS CAMPAIGN IS NOT LIMITED TO COUNTRIES ONLY BUT ALSO EXTENDS TO ARAB AND MUSLIM ORGANIZATIONS. SO AFTER NORMALIZING THE RELATION BETWEEN THE AMERICAN ZIONIST ORGANIZATIONS AND THE ARAB ORGANIZATIONS AND PERSONALITIES IN AMERICA IN THE EARLY SEVENTIES, UNDER THE NAME AND THE UMBRELLA OF DEMOCRATIC DIALOGUE TO ATTEMPT TO UNDERSTAND THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT, DR. EDWARD SA’ID, ONE OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THESE DIALOGUES, SAYS THAT THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATIONS WERE PLANNING THIS TYPE OF DIALOGUES IN ORDER TO BREAK THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIER THAT THE ARABS AND PALESTINIANS HAVE SO THAT THEY ACCEPT THE JEWS AND THEIR COUNTRY, AND THAT THE SURRENDER THAT THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATION HAS COME TO WAS A NATURAL OUTCOME OF THIS KIND OF DIALOGUES THAT WERE DONE IN THE COURSE OF TWENTY YEARS BEFORE THE SURRENDER._

_There must be an awakening for us, we who own the cause of Palestine and Islam, so that this normalization process does not pass us by and we become the only ones who are “extremists”_

71 Islamic Association for Palestine
72 Holy Land Foundation
73 United Association for Studies and Research (founded in Chicago in 1989 by Mohamed Akram Adlouni and registered by the State of Illinois Secretary of State file number 5566-789-6.)
and radical and that it will be said that "the Palestinian Muslims" reject while others agree, and this is a formidable danger that does not serve the Islamic aspect of the Palestinian cause.

Confrontation work plan:

A. The activation of the role of (MAS) to educate the brothers in all work centers, mosques, and organizations on the necessity of stopping any contacts with the Zionist organizations and the rejection of any future contacts. And it may be appropriate that we do not reject contact in one time but link between the Bosnian cause and the Palestinian cause so that if the Jews wanted to hold a demonstration against the Serbs in Bosnia, then we ask to have a demonstration against Israel for what it is doing in Palestine at the same time.

B. Holding meetings with the imams and administrators of Islamic centers in major cities so as to activate their role in confronting the infiltration of their organizations.

C. An internal Brotherhood committee to fight the normalization of relations and monitor the brotherhood organizations and others, and giving advice to them in the best ways.

D. Direct communication with the Islamic organizations in general to discuss the matter with them and to attempt to stop the normalization that is happening under any umbrella.

E. Activating the role of the Association [IAP] and its publications to take up its media role in this area.

The 1994 position above has not changed. The current “General Guide” of the Muslim Brotherhood is Muhammad Badie who arose to that position in 2010.74 His acceptance speech was posted on Ikhwan Web, which is the Muslim Brotherhood’s official English language website. His remarks, some 83 years after the founding of the Muslim Brotherhood make it clear that the Palestinian cause remains a priority for the organization. He states that the standard of loyalty to Islam and to Arabism is that this must be the first cause. He notes that:

The MB prioritizes the Palestinian case and considers it as the most important case for the nation, which measures the standard of loyalty to Islam, and Arabism and they do not spare any efforts to make this cause the first interest of ruling systems and nations until Palestine is free, God willing.75

Muhammad Badie also gave another speech in 2010 in which he stated:

Every Muslim must act to save Jerusalem from the usurpers and to [liberate] Palestine from the claws of occupation. This is a personal duty for all Muslims. They must participate in jihad by [donating] money or [sacrificing] their life, in order to save [Palestine] and the men and women imprisoned [in Israeli jails], as well as [Jerusalem], the destination of the Prophet’s Night Journey and the first Qibla [direction of prayer] in [Islam], and in order to enable all those who were

74 Mohamed Badie (as of March 25th 2014) was in jail in Egypt along with more than 600 others. He was swept up in a mass arrest and mass trial orchestrated by the Egyptian government against the Muslim Brotherhood.

expelled to return to their homeland, their homes and their property... ...Do not be ashamed to declare jihad for the sake of Allah, because your life and glory [depend on it], as well as the departure of the occupier from your country, the restoration of your holy sites, and the safety of your home...

The centrality of the cause of Palestine among Muslim Brotherhood related organizations can be seen in the case of the International Relief Fund for the Afflicted and Needy, Canada (IRFAN-Canada). This charity lost is charitable status for this very reason. According to the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA), IRFAN-Canada had transferred over 14 million dollars to a series of Palestinian HAMAS organizations. Key figures in the early years of setting up IRFAN Canada were individuals such as Dr. Wael Haddara, later to be a senior political aide to President Morsi of Egypt.

Another charity in Canada that lost is charitable status was WAMY (World Association of Muslim Youth). In the official letter from CRA to the charity’s president, Ayman Al-Taber, dated 05 January 2012, the CRA raises auxiliary concerns about WAMY’s parent organization being involved on a global basis in fund raising for the Palestinian cause.

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76 http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/6535.htm
77 The Canada Revenue Agency is the federal tax department of Canada. It has responsibility for the Income Tax Act which regulates charities and charitable status.
6. The Muslim Brotherhood in North America

On 26 October 1954, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood attempted to assassinate Egyptian President Nasser. This would become known as the Manshiyya Incident. In retaliation, the Egyptian government launched a major crackdown (again) on the organization and jailed thousands of Muslim Brotherhood members.

A number of Muslim Brotherhood members would flee Egypt as well. Among the most noteworthy were individuals such as Said Ramadan who was a close confident and the son-in-law of the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hassan Banna. From this exile in Geneva and later Munich, Ramadan would lay the foundations for the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe. This would lead to the founding of a number of Muslim Brotherhood related organizations such as the Islamic Center Cologne (Islamisches Zentrum Köln) and the German Muslim Students Association (Muslim Studenten Vereinigung in Deutschland).

At the same time, a number of Muslim Brotherhood members came to North America as students or as immigrants. Over time, they would start to build adherent organizations to support the Muslim Brotherhood cause such as The Cultural Society (1962), The Muslim Students Organization (1963), The Islamic Society of North America (1982/83) and the Muslim American Society (1993) among many others.

In 1981, Zeid al-Noman would give a speech in which he discussed the arrival and evolution of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America.

This was the reason for which the name "The Muslim Brotherhood" was adopted as a basis for this work. I mean, to the point that, at some point, there was an attempt to change the name of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement to The Islamic Movement and making it affiliated with a

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80 See, among many others: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/07/16/echoes_of_nasser_egypt_muslim_brotherhood_history
81 Said Ramadan is the father of the well-known Tariq Ramadan.
82 See Germany and the Muslim Brotherhood, by Guido Steinberg. Al Mesbar Studies & Research Centre and the Foreign Policy Research Institute. The article is available online at: http://www.fpri.org/docs/chapters/201303.west_and_the_muslim_brotherhood_after_the_arab_spring.chapter5.pdf (page 87 of the PDF version)
83 See Germany and the Muslim Brotherhood, by Guido Steinberg. Al Mesbar Studies & Research Centre and the Foreign Policy Research Institute. The article is available online at: http://www.fpri.org/docs/chapters/201303.west_and_the_muslim_brotherhood_after_the_arab_spring.chapter5.pdf (page 88 of the PDF version)
84 From the history of the MYNA the quote: 1950s-60s-70s-80s - Youth Camps are a standard part Islamic Movement programs in the Muslim world, particularly done by the Ikhwan-al-Muslimoon which starts in Egypt and is strong in many Arab Muslim countries. Muslims start to immigrate to America as students and form local associations. They become the MSA of US and Canada in 1963. This is available at: http://mynamiami.blogspot.ca/2005/09/history-of-myna-part-1-premordial.html
dissenting group in Iraq called the Islamic Movement. All of that, Ikhwans, was at the beginning of work when the Ikhwans who came to America, may God reward them all good, were seeking methods for activism. This was probably in mid-60's ...er, or even ....,I mean, mid 60's, long time ago.

...I mean, the Movement stared here in the 60's and we are now in the 80's. That means that the Movement's age is between 15 and 20 years only. Despite of that, the result of the experience ...., the experience Movement went through, is large and it made it possible to short-cut many years as a result of the fusion of different experiences which came from different backgrounds. After that, we examine what ..., what is the nature of this Movement after it gained it and what are the real reasons which made it go through the circumstances it went through. We say that, first of all, the organizational base in North America is an organizational base with a dynamic characteristic.

As noted elsewhere this paper, the Muslim Brotherhood in North America discussed the various advantages and disadvantages of secrecy and also the use of camps for military training. In 1991, Zeid al-Noman told an assembled group of Muslim Brothers:

Unidentified Male: You mentioned that there is a weapons training at the Ikhwans' camps but I did not see that at all in the mid-southern region camps. So, would you explain to us the reasons?

Zeid al-Noman: By God, the first thing is that you thank God and praise him because you found a camp to meet in. You know that, for instance, Oklahoma has become a blocked area for you. You cannot meet in it in the first place, right? Then, the nature... ... What? [Unintelligible talk from the audience] Yes, I'm sorry. I thought ..., Ok. My brothers, according to what we learned ...,to what I learned, in Oklahoma they started to be strict about letting Muslims use the camps. They would ask them, for instance, to submit their name and they would ask you to bring an ID or something to prove your name. I learned that they were going on a picnic recently, a trip, and the police came asking each person to give ..., to present a...,er, to show his ID or even his visa. These harassments exist then in the state of Oklahoma, for instance. And these are among the reasons which made our brothers in the reason to have their camp here in Missouri. Right, my brother? Then, the circumstances which a region goes through are the ones which determine. In some of the regions when they go to a camp, they take two things, they would request a camp which has a range, a shooting range and one which has a range to shoot, one which has a range which they use for shooting. You would find that in some of the camps. They would get an advance permit for that. I mean, I don't know the possibility of having these camps here and also whether the pressure which exists in Oklahoma ...., and whether they will have a weapons training in the other regions ...., these harassments might continue, I mean, become contagious to the other regions. (Emphasis added)

After the movement had been in existence for some twenty five years, the Muslim Brotherhood had developed an organization and strategy on how to further build the movement. There were five year
plans (1975 to 1980: focus on general work and dedication to the general work organizations, 1981-1985: focus on self-structure and settlement of the Dawa’a).  

Zeid al-Noman adds to this and explains:

*The main goals which were approved by the executive office were five ...., which were put together by the executive office and which were then approved by the Shura Council were,*

*First of all: Strengthening the internal structure;*
*Second, administrative discipline;*
*Third, recruitment and settlement of the Dawa’a;*
*Four, energizing the organizations’ work;*
*Five, energizing political work fronts.*

*Also, it adopted eight of the secondary goals on top of which were:*
*finance and investment;*
*Second, foreign relations;*
*Third, reviving women’s activity;*
*Fourth, political awareness to members of the Group;*
*Fifth, securing the Group;* (al-Noman says this is security against outside dangers like the CIA)
*Six, special activity;* (al-Noman explains this as “Military work is listed under Special work")
*Seven, media;*
*Eight, taking advantage of human potentials.*

In 1987, the movement produced a plan that came about from their conference that year. It would be described as:

*The general strategic goal of the Group in America which was approved by the Shura Council and the Organizational Conference for the year [1987] is "Enablement of Islam in North America, meaning: establishing an effective and a stable Islamic Movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood which adopts Muslims’ causes domestically and globally, and which works to expand the observant Muslim base, aims at unifying and directing Muslims’ efforts, presents Islam as a civilization alternative, and supports the global Islamic State wherever it is".*

In 1991, this plan would receive further development and explanation in *An Explanatory Memorandum On the General Strategic Goal for the Group In North America 5/22/1991.* This eighteen page document was the result of the five years’ work since the 1987 conference and communication among many of the Muslim Brotherhood key leadership figures as well as their rank and file. The *Explanatory Memorandum* explains this by saying:

*My request to my brothers is to read the memorandum and to write what they wanted of comments and corrections, keeping in mind that what is between your hands is not strange or a new submission without a root, but rather an attempt to interpret and explain some of what*

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came in the long-term plan which we approved and adopted in our council and our conference in the year (1987).

What can be seen then, is that the 1991 memorandum was the cumulative result of at least two five year plans, several conference and the last five years of discussion (1987-1991). The presenter of the memorandum was Mohammed Akram\(^90\) (aka Mohamed Akram al-Adlouni). While there are a number of startling statements in the memorandum, perhaps the most interesting is:

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

The process of the building of the Muslim Brotherhood has not been linear and there is no intent here to suggest that there exist a central office that dictates all of the policy and events. The efforts have had period of advances and other periods when the group has had factional infighting and ideological disputes about the future role and goals. In his own words, Zeid al-Noman notes:

So, the Movement then-current situation exploded during the camp of ’77 and a new leadership came on board in ’78 whose work was bitter as it was trying to purge the Group’s body from regional restrictions or from the organizational pockets and tied its parts together but, during this time period, it was a non-harmonious leadership and going back and forth was evident in its positions. Despite that, it managed to place the Ikhwans in front of the true picture of their reality and to shake them deeply from the inside. Therefore, the conferences of ’77, ’78 and ’79 used to end with tears and pain but, to say the truth, were very important for what happened after that. This time period was characterized by change; a change in Ikhwans who wanted to change the status quo and others who want to maintain the status quo.\(^91\)

The issues of whether the Muslim Brotherhood was an international organization or a local one has also arisen on frequent occasions. To who should an individual declare his/her loyalty (bayat\(^92\))? This discussion, and how to resolve it, was the subject of discussion in the 1991 General Memorandum.\(^93\) The following shows that there is/was discord around the issue of whether the goal was to support the Muslim Brotherhood in America and Canada, or if the goal was to support the international movement:

\(^{90}\) Mr. Akram is now the Secretary General of al-Quds International. He was on the initial board of directors of the United Association of Studies and Research (UASR), a HAMAS front that was based in Northern Virginia from approximately 1991 through 2004. UASR, an unindicted co-conspirator in the HLF case, was headed by Ahmed Yousef who now serves as political advisor to head of HAMAS in Gaza, Ismail Haniya.


\(^{92}\) To swear bayat is to swear an oath of loyalty.

\(^{93}\) A copy of the memorandum can be seen at: [http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/20.pdf](http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/20.pdf)
The conviction that the success of the settlement of Islam and its Movement in this country is a success to the global Islamic Movement and a true support for the sought-after state, God willing:

There is a conviction - with which this memorandum disagrees - that our focus in attempting to settle Islam in this country will lead to negligence in our duty towards the global Islamic Movement in supporting its project to establish the state. We believe that the reply is in two segments: One - The success of the Movement in America in establishing an observant Islamic base with power and effectiveness will be the best support and aid to the global Movement project. And the second - is the global Movement has not succeeded yet in "distributing roles" to its branches, stating what is the needed from them as one of the participants or contributors to the project to establish the global Islamic state. The day this happens, the children of the American Ikhwani branch will have far-reaching impact and positions that make the ancestors proud.

The Cultural Society (Missouri Benevolent Corporation)

The first formalized organization of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America was most likely the Cultural Society.

A U.S. chapter of the Brotherhood ... was formed in the early 1960s after hundreds of young Muslims came to the U.S. to study, particularly at large Mid-western universities such as Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan. Some belonged to the Brotherhood in their homelands and wanted to spread its ideology here. But to protect themselves and their relatives back home from possible persecution, they publicly called themselves “The Cultural Society” and not “The Brotherhood.”

The Muslim Students Association (MSA)

According to the website of the Muslim Students Association of the U.S. & Canada (MSA National) was founded in 1963. Their ‘about us’ page states:

Established in January 1963, the Muslim Students Association of the U.S. & Canada (MSA National) continues to serve Muslim students during their college and university careers by facilitating their efforts to establish, maintain and develop local MSA chapters.

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94 The name Cultural Society may have been inspired by Hassan Banna’s 1938 statement that: *It is a Salafite movement, an orthodox way, Sufi reality, a political body, an athletic group, a scientific and cultural society, an economic company and a social idea.*


96 [http://msanational.org/](http://msanational.org/)

97 [http://msanational.org/about-us/](http://msanational.org/about-us/)
First established on the campus of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign by a conference of Muslim students from around the U.S. and Canada, MSA National has been a uniting forum for Muslim students from diverse backgrounds over four decades.

Others suggest that the MSA was formed in 1962. It is not clear if there were two “founding” conferences or if this is a definitional issue. For instance, there may have been the first conference in 1962, but no incorporation papers until 1963.

According to one of the founders of the MSA, Ahmad Sakr:98

The MSA of the U.S. and Canada was officially formed at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign on January 1, 1962. We first met in Urbana on December 25th, 1961, when some MSA students were visiting us from Indiana, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Then we met again on the first day of January 1962 to plan a strategy for the bylaws and how to organize all the students in America. There were about eight people from four different states. In April of the same year, we had our first annual convention in Urbana where fifteen people attended. The second convention was in Urbana as well, and fifty people attended. And the third was in Carbondale, Illinois where we had two hundred people attend.... At that time, we were [all] known as “Muslims”… there was no difference between Arabs and non-Arabs, Shia and Sunni. People at the time did not know much about Islam. We were invited by non-Muslims to give lectures about Islam. Even the university’s foreign student advisor used to help and guide us, and gave us a plaque of achievement. MSA was the best student group on campus; we used to pray daily on campus and had a series of lectures to non-Muslims on Friday evenings.99

The MSA would serve as both an organizational base for the Muslim Brotherhood and as a recruiting field. As Steve Merley puts it:

It is likely that the MSA served as an important recruiting tool for the U.S. MB. The Chicago Tribune investigation details how the Cultural Society’s recruitment process involved careful surveillance of Islamic facilities and organizations:

Not anyone could join the Brotherhood. The group had a carefully detailed strategy on how to find and evaluate potential members, according to a Brotherhood instructional booklet for recruiters. Leaders would scout mosques, Islamic classes, and Muslim organizations for those with orthodox religious beliefs consistent with Brotherhood views.... The leaders then would invite them to join a small prayer group, or usra (family or prayer group). The prayer groups were a defining feature of the Brotherhood.... But leaders initially would not reveal the purpose of the prayer groups, and recruits were asked not to tell anyone about the meetings. If recruits asked about a particular meeting to which they were not invited, they should respond, “Make it a habit not to meddle in that which does not concern you.” Leaders were told that during prayer meetings they should focus on fundamentals, including “the primary goal of the Brotherhood: setting up the rule of God upon the Earth.” After assessing the recruits’ “commitment, loyalty, and obedience” to Brotherhood ideals, the leaders would invite suitable candidates to join. New members, according to the booklet, would be told that they now were part of

98 Ahmed Sakr, “I am a servant to you all,” Southern California InFocus, September 2007, http://www.infocusnews.net/content/view/16448/381/
the worldwide Brotherhood and that membership “is not a personal honor but a charge to sacrifice all that one has for the sake of raising the banner of Islam.”

The MSA grew steadily after its founding and there were eventually calls for another organization that would reach beyond just the MSA, university campuses and youth recruiting. This push would eventually result in the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA). One insider, writing a history of events surrounding the MSA, the ISNA and its youth offshoot MYNA wrote:

*MSA Graduates to ISNA, takes Youth Committee along for the ride*

1979-1980 - M. Naziruddin Ali is MSA president. MSA Headquarters is built in Plainfield, Indiana (it may have been completed in 1982 or 1983.) [It will go on to host many youth camps, conferences, training programs, executive council and advisor meetings, the Youth Committee chair’s desk, a MYNA office, the MYNA cubicle, the MYNA cabinet, and eventually the current ISNA/MYNA youth director.]

1981-82 - Sayyid M. Syeed is MSA president. The proposed change from MSA to the “Islamic Society of North America” takes effect. The existing MSA umbrella organization becomes the ISNA umbrella organization, with various constituent organizations under it, including existing MSA constituent organizations, such as the Islamic Medical Association (IMA), as well as newly formed groups, such as the Muslim Communities Association (MCA).100

1983 - Ilyas Ba Yunus is President is the first ISNA president. (2) Da’ud Mulla is “Youth (Boys) Chairman,” (2b) Tanveer Mirza is “Youth (Girls) Chairman” of the ISNA Youth Committee, which has clearly been subdivided into Boys and Girls groups by this point.

1984 - BaYunus still president. (3) Junaid Noor Hasnain, from Columbia, Maryland, is the chairman of the Youth Committee. [His number then listed is 301-730-5044]. (3b) Fatima Abugideiri [the daughter of former 1973-74 MSA President, the now late, Tijani Abu Gideiri], from Indianapolis, IN, is the chairman of the “Young Muslimah Subcommittee.” [Her number then listed is 317-882-9798. As of 2003, she now lives in the Washington DC area]. The ISNA Youth Committee is now said to be mostly all comprised of American-born-and-raised Muslim youth.

The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)

The MSA eventually outgrew itself and the move towards what would become the ISNA began.

*According to an account by al-Talib, a meeting was held in 1977 in Plainfield which established a task force that recommended establishing a “broader umbrella organization”—ISNA:101

As the MSA reached its mid-teens it began preparing for an expanded role in the service of Islam. It called an historic meeting of a cross-section of Islamic workers, in Plainfield,

100 See History of MYNA - Part 2 MSA to ISNA which is available online at: http://mynamiami.blogspot.ca/2005/09/history-of-myna-part-2-msa-to-isna.html

101 For more on this see Steven Merley’s The Muslim Brotherhood in the United States. This report is available online at: http://www.hudson.org/research/9880-the-muslim-brotherhood-in-the-united-states
Indiana, in early 1397/1977. This meeting set up a task force to recommend a new organizational structure to respond to the increasing challenges and responsibilities emerging in the growing North American Muslim communities. The task force concluded that the new environment would be best served by establishing a broader umbrella organization called “ISNA.” This was accomplished during Rabi’ al-Awwal 1403/January 1983. The MSA; the new Muslim Community Association of the U.S. and Canada (MCA); and the three professional associations, namely the Islamic Medical Association (IMA), the Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers (AMSE), and the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS) became its founding constituents. Three of its service institutions are NAIT, the Center on Islam, Democracy, and the Future of the Muslim World Islamic Teacher Center, and the Canadian Islamic Trust Foundation (CITF).

Following the 1977 meeting, a number of developments took place over the next two years concerning the new headquarters facility. First, in May 1977, 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” of NAIT. Barziji’s role as NAIT’s general manager is confirmed by a business database.

Second, 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.

Third, 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. Finally, in October 1979, Cultural Society officer Partowmah was identified in a newspaper article as MSA Information Director, and Cultural Society officer Ahmed Rabi was identified as the MSA secretary-general. Rabi said at the time that MSA was operating an Afghanistan relief fund and was sending doctors to the country though Pakistan.

There are varying reports on when construction on the facility 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. The Washington Post has reported that the complex was funded by $21 million raised from Brotherhood figures al-Qaradawi and Nada, as well as the emir of Qatar.

As discussed above, Barzinji and al-Talib were also working for Nada’s company in Saudi Arabia during the entire time the headquarters facility was being planned, funded, and completed. According to local histories, the compound reportedly began serving or planned to serve as headquarters for MSA, ISNA, and NAIT, as well as for other affiliated organizations including: IMA, MAYA, MCA Foundation for International Development, and the Malaysian Islamic Studies Group (MISG).

One of the local histories refers to ISNA in 1985 as being “led by the Muslim Brotherhood.”

Confirming this relationship is an internal U.S. Brotherhood document which states:

In 1980, the Muslim Students Union was developed into ISNA to include all the Muslim congregation from immigrants and citizens, and to be a nucleus for the Islamic Movement in North America ... The statement goes on to say that the Ikhwan initially exercised leadership and
direction of ISNA. 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.”

The address for ISNA at that time appears to be the Plainfield property where the new facility was built. The three incorporators were listed as: Iqbal J. Unus, Talat Sultan, and Mahmoud Rashdan.

The initial board of directors was listed as: Sultan, Sayyed M. Syeed, M. Naziruddin Ali, Syed Imtiaz Ahmad, and Haroon Qazi. Almost all of these individuals were known to have been part of MSA.

It is notable that, despite the role of the U.S. MB in creating ISNA, none of the three Iraqi Brotherhood individuals, nor any Arab individuals other than Rashdan and Qazi, are listed in the initial ISNA leadership. Instead, almost the entire leadership appears to consist of individuals associated with Pakistan and/or the Jaamat-e-Islami. It does, however, appear that Saudi money was funding ISNA from the very beginning of the organization. Kaukab Siddique, editor of the Islamist periodical New Trend, has linked this funding directly to the U.S. MB: 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, w[as] bringing in funds from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. The movement for reform was quashed by the mafia (revered “elders” of ISNA) who went from city to city.

Dr. Mohammad Omar Farooq, an associate professor of economics and finance at Upper Iowa University, has reported that the Saudi funds were a means by which the U.S. Brotherhood attempted to control their organizations:

It was in 1981 when I first attended an ISNA convention. I attended its convention again in 1985. The Saudi money was having serious influence on ISNA during these periods [and] 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 experienced this first-hand, even in academic-type affiliates, such as AMSS, where I have presented papers several times.

The ISNA has grown extensively since its inception and has major facilities in Canada and the USA. As noted elsewhere in this paper, the ISNA in Canada recently lost the charitable status for one of its resident organizations when they were found to be funding terrorism. The ISNA is also an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation terrorism funding trial.

The North American Islamic Trust (NAIT)

The NAIT was formed as a waqf, an institution comparable to a trust fund or an endowment.102 It enables the Muslim Brotherhood to purchase and then control a number of mosques and schools in North America.

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102 http://www.nait.net/index.htm
The NAIT website states that:

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).\textsuperscript{103}

It is interesting to note that the NAIT itself claims it was formed by the MSA of the US and Canada which was the predecessor to the ISNA. While many individuals claim there is a lack of linkage between these organizations, here we have a clear cut case of the organizations themselves stating they are linked though one having created the other.

As researcher Steve Merely noted:

NAIT was established as an Indiana corporation on May 23, 1973. The address was listed at the MSA-associated Masjid al-Amin Mosque in Gary, Indiana with Al-Talib as the resident agent for the corporation. The original NAIT board of directors included Barzinji, Sakr, Moinuddin Siddiqui, and Ahmed Osman and another individual, Mohammed M. Shamma, was listed as an incorporator along with al-Talib.

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.”

An advisor to one of the MSA chapters explains the role that NAIT funding from overseas played in this expansion of the U.S. MB to off-campus locations:

With its ability to raise funds, especially from overseas, MSA began establishing business and professional organizations useful in establishing off-campus institutions. NAIT became instrumental in establishing masajid (student houses), Islamic centers, full-time schools, and publications (under American Trust Publications, International Graphics Press, and Islamic Book Service).\textsuperscript{104}

It is not clear how many properties the NAIT now controls in Canada and the USA. Estimates vary, but approximately 25% of all mosques in the USA may be controlled by the NAIT. Other estimates suggest that this number might be closer to 75%, but the evidence for this is weak. The NAIT itself claims that Muslim communities have entrusted the titles of over 325 properties in forty two states to NAIT since its founding. What the actual figures and how much control is exerted, it is clear that the NAIT has extensive influence.

The NAIT was also listed as an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation case. A number of finance documents were entered into court to show the role of the NAIT in this case (along with others).\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{103} http://www.nait.net/index.htm
\textsuperscript{104} The Muslim Brotherhood in the United States, STEVEN MERLEY, Research Monographs on the Muslim World, Series No 2, Paper No 3, April, 2009. Page 19 of 71 in the PDF version.
The International Institute for Islamic Thought (IIIT)

The IIIT was founded in 1981\textsuperscript{106} by Anwar Ibrahim\textsuperscript{107} and Ismail al-Faruqi. Anwar Ibrahim has been involved in Malaysian politics and has served as Finance Minister and deputy PM.\textsuperscript{108} Dr. al-Faruqi is deceased, having been murdered in his own home by a member of the Muslim community in Philadelphia in 1987.\textsuperscript{109} According to a variety of reports, the IIIT was initially set up with money from Saudi sources as well as Muslim Brotherhood money.\textsuperscript{110} A number of key Muslim Brotherhood figures have played or are playing roles in advisory or on the board of directors. Among them are Muslim Brotherhood stalwarts such as Dr. Ingrid Mattson (see biography elsewhere in this paper) as well as Jamal Barzinji and Hisham Altalib, both formerly from the ISNA.

As noted elsewhere in this paper, co-founder Ismail Faruqi remains a major figure in Muslim Brotherhood circles since his death. He was a governor/mayor in Palestine (British Mandate – district of Galilee), left the area after the founding of Israel and eventually moved to Montreal, Canada in 1958. He would later become well known for his books and his co-founding of the IIIT in 1980/81. His major intellectual contribution was the concept of the Islamization of Knowledge. The IIIT bears the motto: \textit{Towards Islamization of Knowledge and Reform of Islamic Thought}.\textsuperscript{111}

\textsuperscript{106} http://www.iiit.org/aboutus/aboutiiit/tabid/66/default.aspx
\textsuperscript{107} http://www.fpa.org/events/index.cfm?act=show_event&event_id=270
\textsuperscript{108} See the BBC profile of Anwar Ibrahim at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-16440290
\textsuperscript{109} http://articles.mcall.com/1987-07-08/news/2595065_1_confession-young-knife
\textsuperscript{111} http://iiit.org/
7. Current Events in the Middle East

The Middle East (however defined geographically) has been a volatile area torn apart by wars and violence for an extended period of time. From the period of the “Great Looting” of the post-World War One period to the period of decolonization following World War Two, the region has seen high politics played out among the Great Powers of the day and the local political entities.

Most recent, since 2003, another series of upheavals and changes have been playing themselves out – often in a violent manner. The once stable and orderly government (however brutal) of Iraq’s President Saddam Hussein is gone. In its place is a government that struggles daily to control car bombings, regionalized violence and terrorism. Almost thirty years of continuity in Egypt was suddenly undone by the Arab Spring and two overthrows of government. Tunisia and Libya are in transition with the outcomes far from clear. Syria has imploded – violently – and the outcome as of 2014 appears to be Balkanization and further violence.

The Americans are no longer the primary buyers of Saudi oil, with that role now being filled by China. Iran sees its Khomeinist revolution in ascendance. Algeria struggles with internal dissent and terrorism while Morocco tries to modernize. The festering Sunni-Shia conflict is re-emerging in some areas (Iran v Saudi Arabia) yet in other areas there are signs of improved relations between the two.

Israel appears to fear Iran’s nuclear program more than the weapons of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Hezbollah or HAMAS.

Long standing alliances are under pressure. Former friends are becoming enemies and former enemies are now discovering they may have common interests that outweigh past enmities.

In the middle of all of this is the Muslim Brotherhood, a remarkably resilient organization that has been the subject of mass jailing, the assassination of its leaders, torture, bans and declarations that it is a terrorist group. Thousands of the Ikhwani have been tortured or killed, yet the organization survives and grows both in its home country of Egypt around the world.

The Muslim Brotherhood had been tolerated in Egypt under President Mubarak and had even been allowed to hold seats in government, albeit not using a party name but frequently wearing black sashes to identify themselves. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia also had tolerated the Ikhwani in the

112 For an in-depth view of the “Great Looting” see the book Lawrence in Arabia: War, Deceit, Imperial Folly and the Making of the Modern Middle East (Doubleday Publishers, August 6, 2013).
113 President Mubarak came to power in 1981 and was overthrown in 2011. President Morsi came to power in 2012 and was overthrown a year later in 2013.
114 China appears to have become the single largest customer of Saudi oil sales in 2009. Among others, see the December 9th 2010 Economist report Saudi Arabia and China Looking east which is available online at: http://www.economist.com/node/17680668.
115 Multiple academic and press articles have addressed the issue of Iran in ascendance, especially since the collapse of Iraq following the US invasion in 2003. Among many others, see With Iran Ascendant, U.S. Is Seen at Fault, by Anthony Shadid, Washington Post Foreign Service, Tuesday, January 30, 2007. This article is available online at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/01/29/AR2007012902090.html.
116 For example, see a photo of Nay Sayed Askar in the Egyptian Parliament wearing a sash. The photo can be seen in a New York Times article at: http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/29/magazine/29Brotherhood_t.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0
117 Muslim Brotherhood members would run as “independents” with no party affiliation, but most of them would wear a sash.
Kingdom itself and willingly funded Muslim Brotherhood front organizations overseas, although this is now changing. The government of Libya barely tolerated and often persecuted the Ikhwani in Libya, but willingly funded Muslim Brotherhood organizations in places such as Canada and the USA.

The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt during the Election Campaign: More Ambiguity

In 2011, the Freedom and Justice Party (The Muslim Brotherhood’s party in Egypt) stated that they would abandon their former slogan “Islam is the Solution” in favor of the new slogan “Freedom is the solution and justice is the application.”

Yet Dr. Morsi, the FJP candidate and eventual presidential winner, gave a speech on 13 May 2012 during the election campaign. In it, he clearly reiterates the motto of the Muslim Brotherhood, the last two lines of which are seen as advocating violence when placed in context of the group. The motto is:

Allah is our objective.

The Prophet is our leader.

Qur’an is our law.

Jihad is our way.

Dying in the way of Allah is our highest hope.”

Now, the Muslim Brotherhood has been declared a terrorist group in Egypt (again), in Saudi Arabia and in the United Arab Emirates. The role of the Ikhwani is at the centre of disputes among the Gulf States such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain on one side and Qatar on the other.

On 05 March 2014, it was announced that three countries would be withdrawing their ambassadors from Qatar due to ongoing disputes. At the centre of the dispute lies the Muslim Brotherhood. Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain withdrew their ambassadors after a protracted period of difficulty over this issue. The move to withdraw the ambassadors is seen as an attempt to isolate Qatar which has been supporting the Muslim Brotherhood.

This was quickly followed by a declaration from the government of Saudi Arabia that the Muslim Brotherhood was declared as a terrorist group. The United Arab Emirates had also declared the

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119 [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=reLigeHGKzE](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=reLigeHGKzE)
123 See the New York Times article 3 Gulf Countries Pull Ambassadors From Qatar Over Its Support of Islamists. It is available online at: [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/06/world/middleeast/3-persian-gulf-states-pull-ambassadors-from-qatar.html?_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/06/world/middleeast/3-persian-gulf-states-pull-ambassadors-from-qatar.html?_r=0)
124 See the BBC News article Saudi Arabia declares Muslim Brotherhood 'terrorist group' which is available online at: [http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26487092](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26487092)
Muslim Brotherhood to be a terrorist group. The Saudi Ministry of the Interior also announced that two jihadist groups fighting with the Syrian rebels - the Nusra Front and the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant – were also to be added as terrorist groups.

This turn of events was not a surprise to those who have been following the role of the Muslim Brotherhood since their rise to and fall from power in Egypt in 2012 and 2013. In an August 2013 editorial in the al-Ahram newspaper, the following article made severely derogatory comments about the Muslim Brotherhood.

A number of Saudi scholars have emphasized that the group of the Muslim Brotherhood "do not love Ahl al-Sunnah", calling for non-acceptance of this group because it "wishes to split us and their goals is (attaining) power." And the Scholars also emphasized in explicit remarks made to the Saudi newspaper "al-Madeenah" published on its internet website on Thursday that "the group of al-Ikhwani does not have any foundational basis from the Salaf of this nation and they expend efforts and aid each other so as to reach, through one path or another, to (political) leadership." And the Scholars indicated that "from the manifestations of this group and its principles is that they block (prevent) the intellects of their followers from listening to speech that opposes their methodology." And the newspaper quoted from the Shaykh, Doctor Saalih bin Fawzan al-Fawzan, member of the Committee of the Major Scholars when he was asked, "Do these groups enter into the seventy-two destroyed sects?" His response, "Yes, everyone, from those who ascribe to Islam, who opposes Ahl al-Sunnah wa-Jama'ah in da'wah or aqidah or in anything from the foundations of eemaan, then he enters into the seventy-two sects." And from his side, the Shaykh, Doctor, Salih bin Muhammad al-Luhaydaan, member of the Committee of the Major Scholars, said, "The Ikhwaan and Jamaa'at at-Tableegh are not from the people of sound methodologies, and all of these groups and labels (they assume) do not have any basis from the Salaf of this Ummah." And from what was said by the Shaykh, Doctor, Saalih bin Abd al-Azeez Aal al-Shaykh, Minister of Islamic Affairs and Da'wah and Guidance Endowments, "As for the group of the Muslim Brotherhood, then the from the greatest manifestations of da'wah with them is concealment, secrecy, changing colours (i.e. changing, views, opinions, allegiances and so on), seeking closeness to whomever they believe will benefit them, and not revealing the true reality of their affair."

Although a new level of disparagement was found in this article, this is not the first time this has happened. The Saudis have had differing views on the Muslim Brotherhood for a number of years. Note the word of the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia from 1993 until 1999. Sheik al-Islam Abd al-Aziz Ibn Baz was asked whether or not the Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwaan al-Muslimeen) were from among the 72 sects. His response comes in the following:  

The Jamaa'ah at-Tableegh and the Ikhwaan al-Muslimeen are amongst the 72 sects.

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127 See [http://www.fatwa-online.com/fataawa/creed/deviants/0010326_2.htm](http://www.fatwa-online.com/fataawa/creed/deviants/0010326_2.htm). This was published in approximately 1997.
Question: May Allaah grant you the best (of His favours). In the hadeeth of the Prophet (sal-Allaahu `alayhe wa sallam), relating to the splitting of the Ummah, he says: ...and my Ummah shall split into 73 sects.... So, is the Jamaa'ah at-Tableegh, with what they have in terms of shirk and innovations; and also the Jamaa'ah al-Ikhwaan al-Muslimeen, with what they have in terms of partisanship and revolting/rebelling against the leaders and lack of obedience; from the 72 sects?

Response: They are from the 72 (sects). Whoever opposes the 'aqeedah of Ahlus-Sunnah enters the fold of the 72 (sects). The meaning of the Prophet's (sal-Allaahu `alayhe wa sallam) statement ((My Ummah)) is: the Ummah of Ijaabah, i.e. the Ummah of response; those who responded to the Prophet's call and revealed their allegiance to him. And the meaning of 73 sects: the victorious sect which adhered to him and was upright in their religion and 72 of those sects - amongst them the kuffaar, the sinners and various innovators.

So, the questioners asked: Are these two groups (Jamaa'ah at-Tableegh and Jamaa'ah al-Ikhwaan al-Muslimeen) from amongst the 72 sects?

And the Shaykh responded: Yes, they are from amongst the 72 sects.

The Muslim Brotherhood has been invigorated, emboldened and inspired by its brush with power (2012-2013), but subjected to further abuse because of it. As such, the Muslim Brotherhood and its front/adherent organizations are also struggling to find their place in the new environment locally and globally. Violence and overt aggression, moved to the back by the Muslim Brotherhood now appear to be moving to the front, again.
8. The Muslim Brotherhood in Power

The Muslim Brotherhood has formed governments in a number of countries. The results have not been encouraging, as Ikhwani governments have proven to be anti-democratic and frequently violent. Attacks on freedom of the press, the banning of other political parties and attempts to install a particularly virulent form of politicized Islam have been common themes.

A Sudanese coup in 1989 brought General Omar Hassan al-Bashir to power. He was supported by Hassan 'Abd Allah al-Turabi who was the leader of the National Islamic Front. Al-Turabi became Minister of Justice as a result. Al-Turabi was a long-time member of the Islamic Charter Front and had become its leader in 1964. The Islamic Charter Front is the Sudanese branch of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Another example of a Muslim Brotherhood government has been HAMAS which came to power in the Palestinian Territories (Gaza) in 2007 and remains there now. In Tunisia, Ennahdha formed a government in 2011 following the riots and “Arab Spring.” In early 2014, Ennahdha was forced to relinquish most of their power in a compromise deal with the opposition.

In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood party (Freedom and Justice Party) came to power in 2012 but was removed again following a series of opposition riots and a military supported coup in July of 2013. The FJP proved quite anti-democratic while in power placing the government above the law and instituting a series of attacks against print and TV journalists. The president, Dr. Morsi, was accused of being more interested in pursuing the “renaissance” agenda of the Muslim Brotherhood (al-nahda) than it was in governing Egypt.
9. The Law and the Muslim Brotherhood

The Muslim Brotherhood, as an organization, does not believe in the Westphalian state system and wishes to replace it with a single universal caliphate founded on the principles of Hassan Banna. The ideology and indeed even the motto of the Muslim Brotherhood make it clear that the basis of law and beliefs for them is their interpretation of the Qur’an, not a constitution or a charter of rights. This is expressed by the statements such as “The Qur’an is our constitution” or “The Qur’an is our law.”

Not only does the Muslim Brotherhood reject constitutional principles and place their own belief systems above national law, they specifically challenge basic principles of criminal law in Canada as a matter of policy. With respect to the issue of physical violence against the individual, Canadian criminal law makes it clear that violent assaults against individuals are forbidden and such activity can result in arrest and imprisonment. However, Canadian Muslim Brotherhood adherents such as Dr. Jamal Badawi of Halifax have addressed the issue of wife beating determined that it is permissible. Dr. Badawi has written that:

Based on the Qur’an and hadith this measure may be used in the cases of lewdness on the part of the wife or extreme refraction and rejection of the husband’s reasonable requests on a consistent basis (nushuz). Even then, other measures, such as exhortation, should be tried first.128

The idea that it is OK to beat your wife as long as it is not in the face does not seem to be an acceptable position for either the Criminal Code of Canada or the Charter of Rights, but this is the public position of one of the most senior Muslim Brotherhood figures in Canada.

With respect to following the laws of Canada, it is clear that the Muslim Brotherhood’s adherent organizations have sought to systematically and repeatedly circumvent and break Canadian regulations and laws. For example, the CRA has stated that they decided not to give charitable status to the Jerusalem Foundation for Human Development as they believed it was an attempt to provide funding for HAMAS, a listed group. Instead, as CRA notes, the workaround was to create IRFAN and then use it to accomplish the same goal. When the IRFAN was addressed by CRA in 2004 and warned concerning the issue of funding terrorism, IRFAN assured the government of Canada that it was not doing so and taking precautions to assure that no such activities were occurring. However, a CRA investigation would reveal that IRFAN was in fact funding a listed terrorist group (HAMAS) and had provided them with at least 14 million dollars. As a result, IRFAN lost their charitable status.

The entire JFHS and IRFAN case shows that the Muslim Brotherhood clearly understood Canadian laws, deliberated circumvented them and then created an organization to achieve this goal. Even when warned, IRFAN continued its efforts. Not surprisingly, one of the founding directors of IRFAN was Dr. Wael Haddara.

Much the same can be said for ISNA and their “Development Fund” which also lost its charitable status. Despite clear rules and regulations, the ISNA-IDF went ahead and repeatedly provided funding to a listed terrorist entity and indeed even tried to invite the head of the J-e-T to Canada as a speaker. Once again,

a CRA investigation clearly showed the deliberate, repeated and willful breaking of the laws concerning the funding of terrorism and charities.

Legal Cases

It is clear that Muslim Brotherhood adherent organizations such IRFAN and the ISNA Development Foundation have willfully broken Canadian laws, despite having been directly warned about their activities. In fact, the CRA believes that IRFAN was set up to deliberately frustrate CRA’s efforts to stop funding to HAMAS through the JFHS and go around the law.

Funding terrorism, whether it be in the Palestinian Territories or in the disputed Indian/Kashmir/Pakistan region is a clear violation of Canadian law. A variety of charities have already lost their status for funding terrorism (IFRAN, ISNA-IDF, WICS) but there has been no apparent follow up action to investigate those responsible or hold them accountable for their actions.

Defrauding Donors and Taxpayers

After having been caught funding terrorism, IRFAN continues to operate, although it is no longer able to issue tax receipts for donations. This, in spite of the fact they were caught funding terrorism as well as defrauding donors by claiming they were collecting funds for disasters and then using the money to fund terrorism (i.e. the Asian Tsunami 2004, South Asian Earthquake 2006, Indonesian Earthquake 2006, Bangladesh Cyclone 2008, Burma Cyclone 2008, Pakistan Earthquake 2008, and Indonesia Earthquake 2008). By collecting money for one cause and using the money to fund terrorism, IRFAN has been defrauding both donors who gave the money as well as the taxpayer that indirectly subsidizes terrorism through the charitable status given to organizations such as IRFAN.

129 See page 22/27 of the 14 December 2010 letter of CRA to Carter’s Professional Corporation concerning the audit of IRFAN.
10. Education and the Leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood

The leaders and adherents of the Muslim Brotherhood tend to be well educated and accomplished in their fields of endeavour. Any examination of those in leadership roles provides insight into a group of individuals who have undertaken significant courses of study, often in the fields of science, engineering, medicine and business. There are also a limited number with law degrees. Those with degrees or studies in the social sciences form a distinct minority among this select group of individuals.

The leadership is often sophisticated, well-spoken and fit comfortably into a variety of social settings. This is not an accident. The set of bylaws established by the Muslim Brotherhood actually stipulates that those aspiring to high office or leadership roles in the “Ikhwan” must be well mannered.

When looking at the qualification for those who would serve on the Shura Council, Article (38) of the bylaws states that: *(D) He must have good manners and administrative ability that would qualify him to assume his duties.*

Similarly, the General Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood must also meet such standards. Article 13 (C) of the bylaws states: He must have decent manners, an administrative ability and religious knowledge (particularly Islamic jurisprudence) that would qualify him to assume the duties and lead the movement.

A quick review of those currently or recently in senior leadership positions of the Muslim Brotherhood reveals a variety of advanced degrees, such as:

- **a. Muhammad Morsi, Position: President of Egypt 2012-2013; formerly member of the Muslim Brotherhood’s Guidance Office, parliamentarian (2000–2005), and chairman of the Freedom and Justice Party. Education: Doctorate in engineering from University of Southern California (1982), master’s degree in engineering from Cairo University (1978), bachelor’s degree in engineering from Cairo University (1975). Occupation: Engineer.**

- **b. Muhammad Badie, Position: Supreme guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, Education: Doctorate in veterinary medicine from Zagazig University.**

- **c. Khairat al-Shater, Position: First deputy to the Muslim Brotherhood’s supreme guide, Education: Master’s degree in construction management, bachelor’s degree in civil engineering and anthropology. Occupation: Engineer, businessman.**


- **d. Wael Haddara: Advisor to (A .above) Dr. Morsi, (President of Egypt 2012-2013), Medical director of the surgical intensive care unit at University Hospital, London, Ontario, Canada. Degrees in Medicine and Pharmacy.**

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130 See the Muslim Brotherhood’s Guidelines as published on Ikhwanweb which is the official English language website of the Muslim Brotherhood. See also a cached copy at: [http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/673.pdf](http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/673.pdf)

131 For the listings A to D, see Who’s Who in Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood, Eric Trager, Katie Kiraly, Cooper Klose, and Eliot Calhoun. [https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/whos-who-in-the-muslim-brotherhood](https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/whos-who-in-the-muslim-brotherhood)
11. The Muslim Brotherhood and Violence – an ongoing issue since inception

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded by Hassan Banna in 1928 as a social movement. As the organization developed over the first few years, it was determined that they would not enter the political arena as a party and that they would not use violence. This did not last.

Notwithstanding the initial intentions, the Muslim Brotherhood has, over the decades, become violent on numerous occasions and has formed political parties (HAMAS, the Freedom and Justice Party, Ennahdha etc).

At the same time, the Muslim Brotherhood under Hassan Banna did develop a number of violent concepts and organizations despite current claims that he did not. As noted above, Muslim Brotherhood forces were active in the fighting at various time in Palestine from 1936 to at least 1948. Their activities were (as noted elsewhere in this paper) were at least partially responsible for the decision of the Egyptian government to kill Hassan Banna in 1949.

As can be seen below, Hassan Banna, in his own words and deeds allowed for the Muslim Brotherhood to move towards both violent thought and violent organization, despite the vacillations that would occur both within himself and the organization.

In 1938, Hassan Banna gave ambiguous statements which led many to believe he would use or condone the use of violence. On the one hand he stated:

> It is a Salafite movement, an orthodox way, a Sufi reality, a political body, an athletic group, a scientific and cultural society, an economic company and a social idea.

This statement does not seem to advocate or condone violence, at least not in the context of its day. Yet also in 1938 he would say:

> My brothers: you are not a benevolent society, nor a political party, nor a local organization having limited purposes. Rather you are a new soul in the heart of this nation to give it life by means of the Qur’an; you are a new light which shines to destroy the darkness of materialism through knowing God: and you are the strong voice which rises to recall the message of the Prophet.

In September of 1949, he was inaugurated at the general assembly of the Muslim Brotherhood and he stated:

> In the time when you will have - Oh ye Moslem Brethren - three hundred phalanxes, each one of them equipped spiritually with faith and principle, mentally with science and culture, and physically with training and exercise; at that time ask me to plunge with you into the depths of the seas, to send the skies with you and to attack with you every stubborn tyrant; then God willing, I will do it.

Post World War II
In the post-World War II timeframe, the Muslim Brotherhood, under Hassan Banna, moved more towards the use of violence and secrecy. One informed observer in 1979 notes:

> Several other important developments resulted from the war years which had led to this militant stance. Foremost among these was the establishment of a secret wing of the brotherhood. Driven underground by the various leaders of the government, the Brotherhood’s organization naturally developed into a more secretive society and created a secret militant wing organized into families (usar) and a revitalized rover system (jarwala). This secret apparatus was rationalized as an instrument for the defense of Islam and the society and, accordingly, began military training and storing weapons, much to the surprise and delight of Anwar al-Sadat and the nascent Free Officers Movement.

This development led to another, possibly a more important one, that is, the Moslem Brotherhood association with the military, specifically, the revolutionary minded officers. As one of the most powerful political forces in the country as well as the acknowledged leader in religious/social reform, the Brethren support was actively sought by them. Thus many meetings and efforts to coordinate the two independent groups were made through al-Banna, and Anwar al-Sadat. These early contacts were to prove fruitful at a later date when the Free Officers’ Movement seized power in 1952. Commensurate with these efforts were the relatively successful efforts of the Brethren to recruit members from the armed forces other than the revolutionary officers. This recruitment was so successful that at a later date, the new revolutionary government could not ignore the movement. Indeed, it had to placate them seemingly at every turn due to the fact that so many members of the armed forces and of the revolutionary government itself were members of the Brethren or had strong ties to it.

Current Views

The belief in the use of violence and martyrdom remains a consistent theme in the Muslim Brotherhood and its adherent organizations, including those here in Canada. Consider, among other examples, the views expressed on the Young Muslims in Canada website:

> Though jihad may be a part of the answer to the problems of the ummah, it is an extremely important part. Jihad is to offer ourselves to Allah for His Cause. Indeed, every person should according to Islam prepare himself/herself for jihad and every person should eagerly and patiently wait for the day when Allah will call them to show their willingness to sacrifice their lives. We should all ask ourselves if there is a quicker way to heaven? It is with this in mind that this booklet is being published. (Emphasis added)

Violence, including the concept of martyrdom, remains very much a part of the Muslim Brotherhood philosophy at both the global and local level.

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133 The Muslim community.

134 [http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/jihad/](http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/jihad/)
12. Is the Muslim Brotherhood a Moderate or Secular Organization?

These may not be right questions to ask, even though many discussions occur around these points.

The term “moderate” is sufficiently vague to convey a variety of meanings to a different set of audiences. The terms “moderate Muslim” and “moderate Islam” are also vague and sometimes contentious. Also, if there is a notional “moderate Muslim” is there also a “moderate Christian” (or Jew or Sikh or Buddhist etc)? Is this a good thing, as seen by RAND Corporation’s publication *Building Moderate Muslim Networks* or is the use of the term misleading or pointless?

The real question that needs to be asked is that on extremism in political views, be it violent or non-violent. This issue was recently raised in a paper by Alex Schmid at the International Centre for Counter Terrorism in The Hague. The paper was entitled *Violent and Non-Violent Extremism: Two Sides of the Same Coin*? The paper addresses the issue and points out that:

> The main focus of this Research Paper is on obtaining a clearer understanding of what “Islamist extremism” entails in the context of the ongoing debate on allegedly “acceptable” non-violent extremists and “unacceptable” violent extremists.

> In terms of counter-terrorism policies, preventing violent extremism is not enough; rather all extremism – Islamist and other – ought to be prevented, given the bloody track record of extremism in power in the twentieth century and beyond. Rather than distinguishing between non-violent and violent extremists, we should distinguish between extremists and non-extremists and support the latter against Islamists at home and abroad. Governments should challenge and resist all extremism, whether it is violent or not, whether it is Islamist or not.

In short, extremism of any sort should be examined closely and held up for public scrutiny and debate. As the author notes in the paper, using “non-violent extremists” as a sort of firewall against the violent extremists is likely to be poor policy. Governments must seek to openly counter extremism wherever it occurs, be it political, national, ethnic or otherwise.

To the surprise of many, the American Director of National Intelligence James Clapper recently stated that he believed that the Muslim Brotherhood was a “largely secular” organization. “The term Muslim Brotherhood,” Clapper is reported to have said, “is an umbrella term for a variety of movements, in the case of Egypt, a very heterogeneous group, largely secular, which has eschewed violence and has decried Al Qaeda as a perversion of Islam...”

The American Administration quickly distanced itself from the comments. To clarify Director Clapper's point, in Egypt the Muslim Brotherhood makes efforts to work through a political system that has been, under Mubarak’s rule, one that is largely secular in its orientation. He is well aware that the Muslim Brotherhood is not a secular organization,” DNI spokesperson Jamie Smith said.

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135 See an outline of the publication at http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG574.html
138 “To clarify Director Clapper’s point, in Egypt the Muslim Brotherhood makes efforts to work through a political system that has been, under Mubarak’s rule, one that is largely secular in its orientation. He is well aware that the Muslim Brotherhood is not a secular organization,” DNI spokesperson Jamie Smith said.
secular when the entire point of the organization is to advance its own form of politicized Islam. Whether he was that poorly informed or – more kindly – was that affected by the political correctness of Washington at the time is hard to determine. Quite possibly, however, this may be part of a larger American belief that you can use the “non-violent” closet extremists against the more openly violent extremists.

Yaouf Al-Qaradawi, one of the chief theoreticians and an inspirational figure of the Muslim Brotherhood refers to his religious views as “moderate Islam.” Presumably, he refers to himself in the context of other more violent organizations such as al Qaeda. Ayman al-Zawahiri, al Qaeda’s presumed current leader, has written extensively and negatively on the Muslim Brotherhood in books such as “Under the Prophets Banner.” Compared to Zawahiri, Qaradawi may look “moderate.”

The proper question to ask about the Muslim Brotherhood and its adherent organizations is what is the goal of the organization (intent) and how do they intend to accomplish this? Qaradawi wrote in a 2003 fatwa that was posted on the website www.islamonline.net that:

Islam will return to Europe as a victorious conqueror after having been expelled twice. This time it will not be conquest by the sword, but by preaching and spreading [Islamic] ideology... The future belongs to Islam... The spread of Islam until it conquers the entire world and includes the both East and West marks the beginning of the return of the Islamic Caliphate...

This statement needs to be compared with that of one found in the 1991 An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America. In this extensive document which was the result of five years of discussions within the group, the statement is made that:

4- Understanding the role of the Muslim Brother in North America:

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

This is quickly followed by:

7- The conviction that the success of the settlement of Islam and its Movement in this country is a success to the global Islamic Movement and a true support for the sought-after state, God willing: There is a conviction - with which this memorandum disagrees - that our focus in attempting to settle Islam in this country will lead to negligence in our duty towards the global Islamic Movement in supporting its project to establish the state. We believe that the reply is in


two segments: One - The success of the Movement in America in establishing an observant Islamic base with power and effectiveness will be the best support and aid to the global Movement project. And the second - is the global Movement has not succeeded yet in "distributing roles" to its branches, stating what is the needed from them as one of the participants or contributors to the project to establish the global Islamic state. The day this happens, the children of the American Ikhwani branch will have far-reaching impact and positions that make the ancestors proud.

From these statements alone, it can be seen that the followers of the Muslim Brotherhood believe in the vision of Hassan Banna – the founder. Their own virulent form of politicized Islam is to be installed globally and locally.
13. Lesser Shirk: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Stance on Islamic Theology

Within Islamic theology, there exists concepts called “Shirk” and “Lesser Shirk.” In general, this refers to idolatry or polytheism. Reduced to its most basic, this means that there should be no worship or idolization of anyone other than Allah. There are no “saints” in Sunni Islam and it is clear that there is only one God. Within Islam, Mohammed (PBUH) is venerated as a prophet, but it is clear that he was a corporeal man and not the son of God or a supernatural being. Other individuals are also venerated, such as Abraham (Ibrahim) Jesus (Issa) and Mary, but it is clear that they are venerated only as individuals and they are not elevated to saintly rank nor are they deified.

As such, anyone who elevates an individual or concepts and proposes it or them as being equal to Allah or Mohammed (PBUH) may be guilty of “Shirk” or “Lesser Shirk.”

This paper is not about theology, but it is clear that many within the Muslim Brotherhood are increasingly elevating Hassan Banna to something more than just an Islamic scholar or group organizer.

The ISNA, for instance, ran an article on Hassan Banna with the title of: Hasan Al-Banna a Martyr of Our Time: Remembering a True Guide.¹⁴⁰

The Muslim Association of Canada also praises Banna, but appears to go beyond that by suggesting that Banna and the Muslim Brotherhood are the truest reflection of Islam in the modern era. This would appear, from the outside, that they are close to being “shirk.”

*It is now 75 years since Al-Banna initiated that blessed effort. The efforts of the Muslim Association of Canada are separate from the writings and organization of Al-Banna by time and space. The assertion that much of our philosophy and vision derive from the efforts of Al-Banna should not be taken to mean that we adopt in wholesale fashion all of the ideas developed and put forward by Al-Banna or the Muslim Brotherhood. However, we believe that the efforts of Al-Banna and subsequent generations of the Muslim Brotherhood remain the truest reflection of Islamic practice in the modern era.*¹⁴¹ (Emphasis added)

Whether the modern day followers of Hassan Banna are moving close to a position of “shirk” is one that needs to be debated by qualified Islamic scholars and it is not for this paper to decide. However, there does seem to be a move towards developing a cult of the personality, something that Hassan Banna himself would probably not appreciate.

¹⁴⁰ See the ISNA magazine Islamic Horizons, March/April 1999 issue, pages 34 to-39. Hassan Al-Banna a Martyr of Our Time Original subtitle: Remembering a True Guide.

¹⁴¹ [https://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/FAQ.aspx](https://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/FAQ.aspx)
14. Front Organizations: Policy and Practice

In order to work towards its goal, the Muslim Brotherhood in North America has identified that it will require multiple organizations carrying out different tasks. These tasks are many and varied including creating a series of organizations to carry out this work. In the 1991 *An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America*, the following views on organizations are offered:

*We must say that we are in a country which understands no language other than the language of the organizations, and one which does not respect or give weight to any group without effective, functional and strong organizations.*

*I say to my brothers, let us raise the banner of truth to establish right "We want to establish the Group of organizations", as without it we will not able to put our feet on the true path.”*

*And this was done by the pioneer of the contemporary Islamic Dawa’, Imam martyr Hasan al-Banna, may God have mercy on him, when he and his brothers felt the need to re-establish” Islam and its movement anew, leading him to establish organizations with all their kinds: economic, social, media, scouting, professional and even the military ones.*

These views on the creation of organizations seem remarkably similar to the views expressed earlier in a 1981 document from the Muslim Brotherhood titled simply “The Project.” In this 1981 document describing an overall international strategy for the movement, the following observations and requirements are noted:

*To create a certain number of economic, social, health care and educational institutions, using available means, to serve the people within an Islamic framework.*

*Create centers of study and research and produce studies on the political dimension of the Islamic movement.*

*To create an effective and serious media centre.*

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

*Point of Departure 5: To be used to establish an Islamic State; parallel, progressive efforts targeted at controlling the local centers of power through institutional action.*

In addition to these views, senior officials in the Muslim Brotherhood have identified that they will require a number of front organizations. A variety of senior officials from the Muslim Brotherhood have openly talked of the need for fronts and about the need, at times, for secrecy. The issue of military training in Muslim Brotherhood camps also comes up on numerous occasions in this same context.

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142 For details on this, see paragraph 20 of *An Explanatory Memorandum On the General Strategic Goal for the Group In North America* 5/22/1991.  

143 For an English version of “The Project” see:  
Zeid al Noman, (also reported as Zaid Naman) is a senior figure in the Muslim Brotherhood in North America. In a 1981 speech he was introduced as a Masul of the Executive Office of the Muslim Brotherhood in America. In a 1992 document, he was identified as being on the Shura Council (board of directors) of the same organization as well as holding a position as a Masul of the domestic work department. In his 1981 speech in Kansas City, he was asked questions about front organizations and he offered the following views on the use of fronts, their existence and the issue of secrecy in organizations:

Zeid al-Noman: I just want to know if he means the Group which issues Al-Muslim magazine. Yes? Yes. So, my brother, it is a front ..., it is a political front which was set up by the Libyan brothers in order to be able to move through it and issue Al-Muslim magazine. Yes, this front is overseen by brothers from the Ikhwans, They are, I mean, they're from Libya and their native country was Libya. They are associated with the Group and they're affiliated with the Group. And the Group directs the path of this group and this ..., or this front through the presence of the adherent Libyan brothers in the Movement and who work in this front.

Unidentified Male Questioner: What is your opinion regarding the formation of one or multiple fronts for the Group without having the base which represents the Ikhwans, meaning distributing the efforts of the brothers who are the Group without a base in order to stay ahead of the events.

Zeid al-Noman: By God, fronts are one method ..., one method for grouping and are one method to communicate the Ikhwan's thought. They are one method to communicate the Ikhwan's point of view. A front is not formed until after a study and after an exhaustive study. I mean, the last front formed by the Group is the Islamic Association for Palestine.

Zeid al-Noman: As for distributing the brothers' efforts, yes, in some of the regions where few Ikhwans exist, there will really be a heavy pressure on them because, in addition to that, they have to be members of the MSA, The [Muslim Arab Youth] Association and, if they're Palestinians for instance, they will have to be members in the Islamic Association for Palestine. Yes, it is correct, this would place additional burdens or weight on the brother.

Unidentified Male Questioner: There is a question which we will ask ..., I mean, we will ask them individually as none of them relate to the other. The resources and freedoms which are available in North America are bigger than what is available in the Islamic world. Despite that, organizational work methods have not changed.

Zeid al-Noman: By God, I believe that the methods are different. If the asking brother is from Iraq, he would know that it is impossible to have such a gathering in Iraq and this is one of the methods. If the asking brother is from Jordan, for instance, he would know that it is not possible to have military training in Jordan, for instance, while here in America, there is weapons training in many of the Ikhwans' camps. Er ..., if the brother is from Libya, he would know that the Islamic Movement has not been able to form due to the pressure which is on the ..., on the people, but it succeeded in growing in America. Our methods, Ikhwans, then are different then

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145 For a copy of this see, among others, http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1083.pdf
even though we might use the same concepts. I mean, we resort to secrecy but the secrecy at our end might take a position that is different from what is in the Orient, for instance. Secrecy over there might be absolute. It might be absolute even among the ranks of the Group. For instance, until now, most of the movements do not know who is the General Masul of the movement when he is among their ranks and neither do they know who are members of the executive office or who is the Masul of the Organization Office, who is the Masul of the Financial Office and so forth. Over here, the brothers know who are the Group's General Masul. Most of the Ikhwans know who is the Masul of the Organization Office. Most of the Naquibs know who are the members of the Executive Office and so on. This means that there is a change in the means. And so on, we can now ..., speak about the fronts, for instance. For instance, the brothers in Egypt don't have fronts in the same broad way we have in America and the fronts are one of the means and so on. Then, Ikhwans, our means are really different. They might carry the same name but the content is different. (Emphasis added)

With respect to carrying out military and security training at Muslim Brotherhood camps, Zeid al-Noman in the same presentation makes the following observations:

Unidentified Male: By "Securing the Group", do you mean military securing? And, if it is that, would you explain to us a little bit the means to achieve it.

Zeid al-Noman: No. Military work is listed under "Special work". "Special work" means military work. "Securing the Group" is the Groups' security, the Group's security against outside dangers. For instance, to monitor the suspicious movements on the...., which exist on the American front such as Zionism, Masonry ....etc. Monitoring the suspicious movements or the sides, the government bodies such as the CIA, FBI...etc, so that we find out if they are monitoring us, are we not being monitored, how can we get rid of them. That's what is meant by "Securing the Group".

Unidentified Male: You mentioned that there is a weapons training at the Ikhwans' camps but I did not see that at all in the mid-southern region camps. So, would you explain to us the reasons.

Zeid al-Noman: By God, the first thing is that you thank God and praise him because you found a camp to meet in. You know that, for instance, Oklahoma has become a blocked area for you. You cannot meet in it in the first place, right? Then, the nature... What? [Unintelligible talk from the audience] Yes, I'm sorry. I thought ..., Ok. My brothers, according to what we learned ...,to what I learned, in Oklahoma they started to be strict about letting Muslims use the camps. They would ask them, for instance, to submit their name and they would ask you to bring an ID or something to prove your name. I learned that they were going on a picnic recently, a trip, and the police came asking each person to give ..., to present a...,er, to show his ID or even his visa. These harassments exist then in the state of Oklahoma, for instance. And these are among the reasons which made our brothers in the reason to have their camp here in Missouri. Right, my brother? Then, the circumstances which a region goes through are the ones which determine. In some of the regions when they go to a camp, they take two things, they would request a camp which has a range, a shooting range and one which has a range to shoot, one which has a range which they use for shooting. You would find that in some of the camps. They would get an advance permit for that. I mean, I don't know the possibility of having these camps here and also whether
the pressure which exists in Oklahoma ..., and whether they will have a weapons training in the other regions ..., these harassments might continue, I mean, become contagious to the other regions. (Emphasis added)

Mohamed Akram, in the *Explanatory Memorandum On the General Strategic Goal for the Group In North America* also make the observation that Islamic Centres set up by the Muslim Brotherhood must be the axis of their work as well as the base. Mr. Akram, also known as Mohamed Akram al-Adlouni was on the initial board of directors of the United Association of Studies and Research (UASR), a HAMAS front that was based in Northern Virginia from approximately 1991 through 2004. UASR, an unindicted co-conspirator in the HLF case, was headed by Ahmed Yousef who now serves as political advisor to head of HAMAS in Gaza, Ismail Haniya.146

In the memorandum, the following observations on Islamic Centres run by the Muslim Brotherhood are made:

17- Understanding the role and the nature of work of “The Islamic Center” in every city with what achieves the goal of the process of settlement:
The center we seek is the one which constitutes the "axis" of our Movement, the "perimeter" of the circle of our work, our "balance center", the "base" for our rise and our "Dar al-Arqam" to educate us, prepare us and supply our battalions in addition to being the "niche" of our prayers.

This is in order for the Islamic center to turn - in action not in words - into a seed "for a small Islamic society" which is a reflection and a mirror to our central organizations. The center ought to turn into a "beehive" which produces sweet honey. Thus, the Islamic center would turn into a place for study, family, battalion, course, seminar, visit, sport, school, social club, women gathering, kindergarten for male and female youngsters, the office of the domestic political resolution, and the center for distributing our newspapers, magazines, books and our audio and visual tapes. In brief we say: we would like for the Islamic center to become "The House of Dawa'" and "the general center" in deeds first before name. As much as we own and direct these centers at the continent level, we can say we are marching successfully towards the settlement of Dawa' in this country. Meaning that the "center's" role should be the same as the "mosque's" role during the time of God's prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, when he arched to "settle" the Dawa' in its first generation in Madina. From the mosque, he drew the Islamic life and provided to the world the most magnificent and fabulous civilization humanity knew. This mandates that, eventually, the region, the branch and the Uusra turn into "operations rooms" for planning, direction, monitoring and leadership for the Islamic center in order to be a role model to be followed.

In a 1998 memo written by the FBI, similar observations were made about the adherent organizations of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America. According to this memo, which was written as part of larger investigation, the Muslim Brotherhood had developed “to the point where it has set up political action front groups with no traceable ties to the IIIT or its various Muslim groups.” They also have claimed success in infiltrating the United States Government with sympathetic of (sic) compromised individuals.”147

15. The Policy of Denying Affiliation or Denial of Facts

A. The Muslim American Society

B. Dr. Mohamed Nekili

C. ISNA Canada and Saudi Funding

D. The Killing of Ismail Faruqi

A. The Muslim American Society – A Case Study in Denial

The Muslim American Society (MAS) and its relationship to the Muslim Brotherhood is typical of the policy of denial used within this and other adherent organizations. The case of the MAS, founded in 1993, is interesting for the wide range of views which range from absolute denial to absolute agreement by its own members. Most telling, perhaps is the high degree of ambiguity offered by leadership figures when directly asked about the relationship.

Among the more interesting statements offered on the relationship of the MAS to the Muslim Brotherhood are the following:

a. Everyone knows that MAS is the Muslim Brotherhood

Testifying under oath in criminal court in 2012, Abdurrahman Alamoudi stated that everyone knew the MAS was formed as a Muslim Brotherhood organization and retained that role today. He was testifying as part of a 2004 guilty plea that related to illegal transactions with Libya and attempting to assist a plot to kill then-Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah. Alamoudi was formerly the head of the American Muslim Council and had bi-partisan influence and had contact with White House officials before his arrest.148

b. The MAS is actually the Muslim Brotherhood

Dr. Mamdouh Mohamed, the Education Advisor the American Open University149 stated in 2008 that the MAS is actually the Muslim Brotherhood. There is a YouTube video of this statement.150

c. MAS has no affiliation with the Ikhwan al Muslimoon (Muslim Brotherhood or the Ikhwan) or with any other international organization.

According to the website of the MAS, they are not a part of the Muslim Brotherhood nor are they affiliated to them in any way. This statement is in the Frequently Asked Questions part of their site under the question “What is MAS' relationship with the intellectual legacies of other Islamic movements, especially the Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan)?”151

148 http://www.investigativeproject.org/3486/under-oath-alamoudi-ties-mas-to-brotherhood
149 See the website of the American Open University at: http://aou.edu/
150 Muslim American Society (MAS), Federal prosecutors said in 2008 that "MAS was founded as the overt arm of the Muslim Brotherhood in America" by Ryan Mauro, Thu, January 17, 2013. See also http://youtu.be/jO48UyjiLeU
151 http://muslimamericansociety.org/main/content/frequently-asked-questions-about-mas
d. “The organization was founded by Brotherhood members but has evolved to include Muslims from various backgrounds and ideologies.”

Shaker Elsayed, the secretary-general of the MAS from 2000 to 2005, stated in a 2004 interview that the organization had been founded by the Muslim Brotherhood but that others had since joined the organization. He also added that the MAS went way beyond that point of conception and that the group has no connection with the Brotherhood and disagrees with the international organization on many issues.152

e. The MAS, like the Brotherhood, believes in the teachings of Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna, which are “the closest reflection of how Islam should be in this life.”

In the same interview as noted in (d) above, Secretary General Elsayed of the MAS would have us believe that the MAS is no longer a part of the Muslim Brotherhood but yet they follow the teachings of Hassan al-Banna who provides the "the closest reflection of how Islam should be in this life." This appears to be semantics. Hassan a-Banna was the founder and long-time head of the organization and his words and deeds are revered by the organization. To say that you closely follow the teachings of Hassan al-Banna but are not “Brotherhood” is like saying you closely following the teachings of Karl Marx but are not a socialist.

f. "I understand that some of our members may say, 'Yes, we are Ikhwan,'" Elsayed says. But, he says, MAS is not administered from Egypt. He adds, "We are not your typical Ikhwan."

This statement by Elsayed appears to be a further game of semantics. He agrees that some MAS members may state they are Ikhwan (Muslim Brotherhood) but that because they are not administered from Egypt (home of the Muslin Brotherhood) they are not “typical” Muslin Brotherhood. He appears to be trying to create distance between the MAS and the Muslim Brotherhood. However, as noted elsewhere in this document, the creation of local organizations which are not administered by the central HQ appears to be consistent the general workings of the Muslim Brotherhoods and its adherent organizations. This is noted in the bylaws as they were written on the official English language of the Muslim Brotherhood “IkhwanWeb.” When looking at local organizations it is clear that they have a significant amount of administrative leeway as noted in the bylaws which lay out the view that (Article 51):

Every branch has the right to develop its own bylaw regulating its activities and consistent with domestic circumstances.”153

g. Mohamed Habib, a high-ranking Brotherhood official in Cairo. "I don't want to say MAS is an Ikhwan entity," he says. "This causes some security inconveniences for them in a post-Sept. 11 world."

Dr. Mohamed Habib is a senior Muslim Brotherhood figure in Egypt. The IkhwanWeb, which is the Muslim Brotherhood’s official English language website has described him as the Muslim Brotherhood’s Deputy Leader. As such, his words carry weight. His non-denial of whether the MAS is a Muslim Brotherhood organization appears to be a part of the “non-denial denial” game of semantics which is


153 "The Muslim Brotherhood's Guidelines" as published on IkhwanWeb, the official English language website of the Muslim Brotherhood.
common when dealing this subject. He clearly does not say that the MAS is NOT a Muslim Brotherhood organization.\footnote{A rare look at secretive Brotherhood in America Muslims divided on Brotherhood http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/watchdog/chi-0409190261sep19,0,4605917,full.story}

h. Three MAS founders sat on its Board of Directors of the US Muslim Brotherhood

When the MAS was formed in 1993, three of its founding Board of Directors members were also senior officials of the Muslim Brotherhood at that time. These were Jamal Badawi, Ahmad Elkadi and Omar Soubani. Each of them was identified in a 1992 directory that listed all of the senior members of the Muslim Brotherhood in the USA and Canada at that time.\footnote{For a copy of this see, among others, http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1083.pdf} Of particular note is Dr. Jamal Badawi, a senior Canadian figure in the Muslim Brotherhood who has been one of its most significant leaders from the outset of North American operations (see his biography elsewhere in this document).

i. A former U.S. Muslim Brotherhood member Mustafa Saied, stated that the decision to establish MAS was made after a meeting where he and 40 other members debated how openly the Brotherhood should operate in the U.S.

According to former Muslim Brotherhood figure Mustafa Saied, the MAS was formed in 1993 as the result of a meeting with about 40 Muslim Brotherhood members. There as considerable discussion at this meeting about the relative merits of secrecy and whether or not they should go public with a Muslim Brotherhood organization. Many members, he said, preferred secrecy, particularly in case U.S. authorities cracked down on Hamas supporters, including many Brotherhood members.\footnote{A rare look at secretive Brotherhood in America Muslims divided on Brotherhood http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/watchdog/chi-0409190261sep19,0,4605917,full.story}

j. The “MAS was founded as the overt arm of the Muslim Brotherhood in America” and that the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) and MAS “omit reference to a shared background that limits their membership to those of a particular political bent, and undercuts their credibility.”

In the court case of UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Plaintiff-Appellee, v. SABRI BENKAHLA Defendant-Appellant, the following was submitted to the court. It notes that the MAS was founded as the overt arm of the Muslim Brotherhood along with CAIR USA:

\textit{13. In describing themselves, Amici Brief at I, CAIR and MAS omit reference to a shared background that limits their membership to those of a particular political bent, and undercuts their credibility. The Muslim Brotherhood is a generally covert international organization whose credo is "Allah is our goal: the Qur'an is our constitution: the Prophet is our leader: Struggle is our way: and death in the path of Allah is our highest aspiration. See. e.g.. Efraim Karsh. Islamic Imperialism, 208-09 (Yale University Press 2006).}

Moreover, from its founding by Muslim Brotherhood leaders, CAIR conspired with other affiliates of the Muslim Brotherhood to support terrorists. See Government's Memorandum in Opposition to CAIR's Motion for Leave to File a Brief, etc., in United States v Holy Land Foundation ... et al, Cr. No 3-04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tx. September 4, 2007): available at 
http://investigativeproject.org/document/case_docs/479.pdf. Proof that the conspirators agreed to use deception to conceal from the American public their connections to terrorists was introduced at both the Texas trial in 2007 and also at a Chicago trial the previous year. United States v. Ashqar, et al., No. 03-978 (N.D. 111.2006).\textsuperscript{157}

k. The MAS is “It is a self-explanatory name that does not need further explanation.”

The MAS and other Muslim Brotherhood organizations use denial and obfuscation as a tactic. This is a matter of policy in the MAS. In 2004, the following was published by the Chicago Tribune:

\textit{An undated internal memo instructed MAS leaders on how to deal with inquiries about the new organization. If asked, "Are you the Muslim Brothers?" leaders should respond that they are an independent group called the Muslim American Society. "It is a self-explanatory name that does not need further explanation."}\textsuperscript{158}

B. Dr. Mohamed Nekili

In 2013, Dr. Nekili wrote an article with the title AN OPEN LETTER TO MUSLIM AND ARAB INTELLECTUALS AND LEADERS SUPPORTING THE MILITARY COUP IN EGYPT\textsuperscript{159} for the blog “For a Free Egypt.”\textsuperscript{160} The article\textsuperscript{161} is a vigorous defence of the Muslim Brotherhood and it role as the government of Egypt from 2012-2013. Interestingly enough, in the middle of the article he breaks the flow of his arguments and inserts this line:

\textit{I have personally never been organically linked to the international Muslim Brotherhood (MB) nor had I any ties with the Algerian FIS...} (Underlining added)

Dr. Nekili would have us believe that he has never been “organically linked to the International Muslim Brotherhood.” However, this would seem to be incorrect. In January of 1993, Wael Haddara (later to be an official advisor to the Muslim Brotherhood President of Egypt), reported him as being the contact person for the Muslim Students Association at the University of Montreal’s “AEMUMEA, Association des Etudiant(e) Musulman(e)s de l'Universite de Montreal & Ecoles Affilies. Wael Haddara was, at that time in 1992/1993, compiling a list of individuals who were the contract points for the MSA (Muslin

\textsuperscript{157} IN THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FOURTH CIRCUIT UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Plaintiff-Appellee, v. SABRI BENKAHLA Defendant-Appellant, Page 58/69 Footnote 13
\textsuperscript{158} http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/watchdog/chi-0409190261sep19_0,4605917,full.story
\textsuperscript{159} See the letter at: http://forafreeegypt.blogspot.ca/2013/09/an-open-letter-to-muslim-and-arab.html. Downloaded on 03 March 2014.
\textsuperscript{160} The home page for the website is located at: http://forafreeegypt.blogspot.ca/ 
\textsuperscript{161} The article would appear on the website “The Canadian Charger” with the same text but a different title “On Egypt’13 and Algeria’91.” This version of the article can be found at: http://www.thecanadiancharger.com/page.php?id=5&a=1601
Students Association of the USA and Canada). Dr Nekili, at that time a student, was listed as “Mohamed Nekili, Phone number 738-5091 > 8 p.m. E-mail: nekili@vlsi.polymtl.ca, Current Until : March 1993.”

As noted elsewhere, the MSA was created as a front organization and recruiting ground for the Muslim Brotherhood in North America.

Later in 2004, he would be publicly identified as a media contact for the Canadian Islamic Congress along with Dr. Mohamed Elmasry and Mrs. Wahida Valiante. He was listed as: For French media: Dr. Mohamed Nekili, (519) 885-8140, e-mail: mohamed.nekili@sympatico.ca. In 2005, he would be listed again as a media contact for the Canadian Islamic Congress as “FOR FRENCH MEDIA: Dr. Mohamed Nekili (514) 745-1255 e-mail: mohamed.nekili@videotron.ca.”

In November 2007, the website Jewish Info News (www.jewishinfone.ws) wrote an article critical of Dr. Jamal Badawi, one of the most significant figures in the Muslim Brotherhood in North America. The article drew comments making a denial that Dr. Badawi could make the comments which were reported on the website. One of these was made by a “Mohamed Nekili (Canada)” on January 12, 2008 @ 22:33 and he makes the following observation that:

“Only an authenticated transcript of Dr. Badawi’s speech would be worth commenting! Over the years, we have known Dr. Badawi’s moral integrity and great sense of objectivity and restraint from emotional speech.”

Whatever the reality of the comments made by Dr Badawi, it is interesting to note that the response is simply one of denial, again consistent with the overall approach of the Muslim Brotherhood.

C. The ISNA and Saudi Funding

The ISNA in North America was created by the Muslim Brotherhood and it has maintained a significant role in the capacity since its creation. In 2004, Secretary-General Sayyid M. Sayeed of the ISNA 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. Sayeed 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.”

The Canadian Chapter of the ISNA has a series of charities operated out of its main building at 2200 South Sheridan Way, Mississauga Ontario, L5J 2M3. These charities are:

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163 http://www.montrealmuslimnews.net/cicpi.htm
166 The New York Times, Senate Committee Requests Tax and Fund-Raising Records for 27 Muslim Charities, By PHILIP SHENON; Laurie Goodstein contributed reporting for this article. Published: January 15, 2004
1. The Islamic Society of North America; Charity number 118971886RR0001 registered in 1983 and website listed as

2. ISLAMIC SCHOOLS ASSOCIATION OF CANADA (ISAC): Charity number 892613662RR0001 registered in 1996, website listed as ISNACANADA.COM


4. ISNA Development Foundation: Charity number 863919262RR0001 – status as a charity revoked in 2013 for cause (terrorism funding).

One of these charities (ISNA- Development Foundation) had its charity status revoked in 2013 for using charitable funds to support terrorism according to the official statement from the Government of Canada.167

The Islamic Centre of Canada is part of the ISNA168 and is also co-located with them at their main building on 2200 South Sheridan Way, Mississauga Ontario, L5J 2M3. When interviewed for a 2004 article on the Saudi finding of institutions in Canada, the centre denied receiving any Saudi funding.169

However, it was later revealed that in 2002 the Saudi Ministry of Culture and Information had noted that the Kind of Saudi Arabia (Fahd) had given the centre a $5-million (U.S.) one time grant and then an annual grant of $1.5-million.

Katherine Bullock, an Australian convert, author/editor170 and a spokesperson for the ISNA stated that the centre had received funding from the Islamic Development Bank and then later denied this in an email to the same journalist. Ironically, the ISNA’s own website stated that the funding had in fact occurred.171

In 2005, ISNA also received as $275,000 grant for their co-located high school as well as money for a scholarship program.172

As such, it would appear that statements by the ISNA (USA) and its Canadian chapter are both false and the ISNA has received significant funding from the Saudi government.

168 The Islamic Centre of Canada lists its address as 2200 South Sheridan Way, which is the same listed address for all of the other ISNA organizations. It also gives its website address as being www.isnacanada.com
170 She is the editor of the book Muslim Women Activists in North America: Speaking for Ourselves. (2005)
171 Values at heart of Islamic tensions, MARINA JIMÉNEZ and OMAR EL AKKAD, Globe and Mail, Published Tuesday, Nov. 08 2005, 12:00 AM EST. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/values-at-heart-of-islamic-tensions/article989709/?page=all
172 Values at heart of Islamic tensions, MARINA JIMÉNEZ and OMAR EL AKKAD, Globe and Mail, Published Tuesday, Nov. 08 2005, 12:00 AM EST. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/values-at-heart-of-islamic-tensions/article989709/?page=all
D. The Killing of Ismail Faruqi (co-founder of the Islamic Institute of International Thought-IIIT)

Ismail Faruqi remains a major figure in Muslim Brotherhood circles. He was a governor/mayor in Palestine (British Mandate – district of Galilee), left the area after the founding of Israel and eventually moved to Montreal, Canada in 1958. He would later move to the USA and would be well known for his books and his co-founding of the IIIT in 1980/81. His major intellectual contribution was the concept of the Islamization of Knowledge. The IIIT, which he co-founded, bears the motto: Towards Islamization of Knowledge and Reform of Islamic Thought.173

In 1986, Dr. Faruqi was murdered in his own home by a member of the Muslim community of Philadelphia. However, in 2014, the website of the Islamic Institute of International Thought still has a denial in place concerning the murder of 18 years ago. The IIIT statement says he was murdered under circumstances that have not been resolved. The website’s biographical statement on him reads:

Professor Ismail Raji al Faruqi was a co-founder of International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) and Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS). He was also the founder of the Islamic Studies program in the Department of Religion at Temple University. A distinguished scholar of Islam and comparative religions, trained at Indiana University and McGill University, Professor Faruqi authored, with his wife Dr. Lamya al Faruqi – a distinguished scholar of Islamic art – the seminal work titled The Cultural Atlas of Islam. His book on Christian Ethics was only one of many outstanding books and publications that spoke of his command of the subject. Ismail and Lamya were both murdered in their home in Philadelphia on May 26, 1987 in circumstances that have never been resolved.174 (Emphasis added)

The reality is that the circumstances were rather clear. Dr. Faruqi and his wife were brutally murdered in their own home as a result of a knife attack carried out by Joseph L. Young (aka Yusuf Abdul Ali). Their pregnant daughter was also attacked and required some 200 stitches to close her wounds.

At the time of the attacks, a number of newspapers and magazines around the world175 ran stories on the murder suggesting that the couple were political victims and the murder was a Zionist plot, a CIA killing and a variety of other conspiracies. Mr. Young/Ali attempted an insanity defence, but this was denied by the court. He confessed to the killing which was confirmed by physical evidence.176

The entire affair turned out to be an embarrassment for the Muslim Brotherhood/IIIT community. During the investigation, trial and eventual confession, Mr. Young/Mr. Ali claimed that though he was a convert to Islam, he was poorly treated. He also made a series of accusations against the couple (likely false) by which he attempted to justify his killing.177

As such, the circumstances are quite clear, but the stories that circulated that the couple were the victims of a political plot were completely false.

173 http://iiit.org/
175 See the New Straights Time of Malaysia which is available online at: http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1309&dat=19860820&id=MNRHAAAAIBAJ&sjid=vo4DAAAAIBAJ&pg=5815,1095948
16. Canadians Listed in the 1992 Directory of the Muslim Brotherhood/Philadelphia Meeting

As a result of the Holy Land Foundation investigation in the USA, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) executed a search warrant on the home of Ismail Elbarrasse. This individual was an unindicted co-conspirator in the investigation and he was also a former assistant to HAMAS leader Musa Abu Marzook. At the trial, FBI agent Lara Burns testified that a phone directory was found at his house. This directory listed the names and phone numbers as well as positions of the entire senior leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America. There were five Canadian phone numbers in the directory which are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Phone Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Safwan Mousady</td>
<td>Masul of the Administrative office for Canada</td>
<td>H: (514) 683-3418 0: (514) 381-9205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Assafiri</td>
<td>East Canada</td>
<td>H: (819) 372-3321 as of 1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y. Al-Sherida</td>
<td>West Canada</td>
<td>H: (403) 490-0146 0: (403) 463-5063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Beshir</td>
<td>Masul of a Section or Committee: Educational Committee Also on the page that lists the members of the Board of Directors</td>
<td>H: (613) 728-3999 0: (613) 765-2406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamal Badawi</td>
<td>Name appears on page listed as Board of Directors</td>
<td>H: 902-445-2494 FAX: 902-445-2494</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additional Canadian Number Listed

As a result of the Holy Land Foundation, the FBI also entered into court a document that had the names and numbers of important phone and fax numbers for the Palestine Section/America. Mr. Sharawi was listed as number 29 with the phone number 416-391-0324. He also attended the now infamous “Philadelphia Meeting” where a series of Muslim Brotherhood members from the Islamic Association for

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178 For a copy of this see, among others, [http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1083.pdf](http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1083.pdf)

Palestine (and others) met to discuss their response to the Oslo Accords which they vehemently opposed. Mr. Sharawi attended the meeting and is identified as being “AY” in the transcripts.\textsuperscript{180}

17. Canadians with Leadership Roles in the Muslim Brotherhood – Selected Examples

A number of Canadian names repeatedly occur in a variety of leadership roles in Muslim Brotherhood adherent organizations in Canada (and the USA). The most prominent of these are the siblings Haddara (Wael and Yasser) and Dr. Jamal Badawi along with Dr. Ingrid Mattson and Dr. Sheema Khan. This list should be considered as a short list of key players, not an exhaustive list of the leadership or adherents in the Muslim Brotherhood in Canada.

A brief biography of the following persons is provided here for general information:

Dr. Wael Haddara
Dr. Jamal Badawi
Dr. Yasser Haddara
Dr. Ingrid Mattson
Dr. Sheema Khan
Dr. Mohamed Bekkari
Dr. Rida Beshir
Abdalla Idris (also Abdalla Idris Ali)
Khadija Haffajee
Assem Fadel
Abdallah Assafiri
Ayman Sharawi
Chiheb Battikh
Daood Zwink
Khalid Tarabain

Dr. Wael Haddara (also known as Al-Muraqqash Al-Akbar)

Dr. Haddara may be the most high profile Muslim Brotherhood adherent in Canada with the possible exception of Dr. Jamal Badawi (below). Dr. Haddara, despite his relatively young age (Born Egypt 1971) has been associated to Muslim Brotherhood adherent organizations for at least 23 years (as of 2014).

Dr. Haddara first entered university at the age of 14 – a testament to his intelligence and promise at a young age.

Dr. Haddara has had an affiliation with a number of Muslim Brotherhood related individual and organizations such as the President of Egypt, CAIR-CAN, the MSA and the Muslim Association of Canada where he was on the Board of Directors from 1997 forward.

He is also listed by CRA as being on the board of directors of the London (Ontario) Mosque as of 2013.

The Qatar based Al-Jazeera news organization shows his profile as:

*Dr. Wael Haddara served as an adviser to former President Mohamed Morsi during his election campaign in 2012 and continued to serve as an adviser over the course of the president’s year in office.*

President Morsi was the Muslim Brotherhood president of Egypt in 2012 and 2013.

According to United Nation’s documents, Dr. Haddara was listed not only as an advisor to the President of Egypt, but was one of the select few listed as an “Alternative Representative” for the government of Egypt. To give a sense of the seniority of this position, it is worth looking at the ranks and position of his co-equals who occupied the same position as “Alternative Representatives.” They were:

*H.E. Ms. Somaya Mohamed Saad, Ambassador, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs for Multilateral Economic Relations and International Cooperation*

*H.E. Mr. Hesham Badr, Ambassador, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs for International Organizations and Institutions*

*Mr. Ayman Aly Sayed Ahmed, Adviser to the President*

*Mr. Wael Mahmoud Haddara, Adviser to the President*

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181 [https://opencorporates.com/companies/ca/3399915](https://opencorporates.com/companies/ca/3399915) or
182 See the profile at: [http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/profile/wael-haddara-.html](http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/profile/wael-haddara-.html)
Mr. Osama Abdelkhalek, Minister Plenipotentiary, Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Dr. Wael Haddara’s brother, an Associate Professor at McMaster University\textsuperscript{185}, has also been identified as being close to the Muslim Brotherhood’s President Morsi as well. Dr. Yasser Haddara (Ph.D. Electrical Engineering, Stanford University, 1997) was identified as being a communications aide to President Morsi in 2012. Yasser Haddara has been on the Board of directors of Islamic Relief USA and Islamic Relief Canada\textsuperscript{186} as well as having been on the board of the SISO immigration services organization in Hamilton, Ontario.

While visiting the city of London (England) in July of 2013, Dr. Haddara was reported in the press to be there to address the House of Lords.\textsuperscript{187} He was quoted in the press as saying:

\begin{quote}
My message to the House of Lords and to Britons in general is that they need to decide what they stand for,” said Dr Haddara. “Is it expediency, to deal with whoever is in power, or do they actually believe in democracy?”\textsuperscript{188}
\end{quote}

Dr. Wael Haddara has also served on the Board of Directors of CAIR-CAN. He first began serving of this board in 2002 and remained there until April 2012 when he resigned “due to his desire to pursue other community work and professional commitments.”\textsuperscript{189} At all times he was on the board of directors of CAIR CAN, another board member was Dr. Jamal Badawi. Dr. Badawi was identified by the Muslim Brotherhood of North America has being on its board of directors (Shura Council). He was also identified in the 1991 General Memorandum as being a key figure in the future of the movement in North America.\textsuperscript{190}

Dr. Wael Haddara has also been on the board of directors of the Muslim Association of Canada from 2002.\textsuperscript{191} He suddenly left the board in 2012 when he resigned for “personal reasons.”\textsuperscript{192} This would have been about the same time he left for Egypt to become an advisor to President Morsi during his campaign.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{185} Yasser Haddara is shown as an associate professor at McMaster University making $144,782.45 as of 2012 according to the Ontario Ministry of Finance. See: http://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/publications/salarydisclosure/pssd/orgs.php?pageNum_pssd=2&organization=universities
\textsuperscript{186} Listed as a charity by the CRA with the registration number 821896875RR0001
\textsuperscript{187} See the photo of Dr. Haddara addressing a committee of the House of Lords at: https://twitter.com/HanyBeshr/status/36073929034440585/photo/1
\textsuperscript{188} http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/egypt/10200495/Egypts-military-chief-accused-of-declaring-civil-war-against-Muslim-Brotherhood.html
\textsuperscript{189} http://www.caircan.ca/ann_more.php?id=3153_0_9_0_C — announcement of Dr. Haddara’s resignation on the CAIR-CAN website.
\textsuperscript{190} A copy of the memorandum can be seen at: http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/20.pdf
\textsuperscript{191} He may not have been on the board in 2006.
\textsuperscript{192} www.macnet.ca/English/PressRelease/Muslim%20Association%20of%20Canada%20Announces%20New%20President%20of%20the%20Organization.pdf
\end{flushleft}
The Muslim Association of Canada is noteworthy for its open declaration that it supports and follows Hassan Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928. Its own website, www.macnet.ca describes the MAC in the following manner:

_We believe that the efforts of Al-Banna and subsequent generations of the Muslim Brotherhood remain the truest reflection of Islamic practice in the modern era._

Dr. Haddara has been active with Muslim Brotherhood organizations since at least 1991 when he was listed as the contact person for the Memorial University Muslim Students Association. The address given for him at the time was 13 Jasper Street, St. John’s NF, Canada, A1A 4B4. An individual by the name of Marsudi Kisworo had sent out a request for MSA contacts in Canada and the USA looking for contact names and addresses. Wael Haddara had responded giving himself as the contact point.

In 1992 and 1993, Wael Haddara states in an email that he has been collecting a list of MSAs in Canada and the USA. As a result of his efforts from the summer of 1992 to January 1993, he had compiled a list of contact persons, snail mail addresses, phone numbers and emails for a variety of MSAs. At that time, Wael Haddara was using a McMaster University email system and requests that students respond to him at haddara@mcmaster.ca. The list compiled shows that the contact person for McMaster University is Bassem Masri, but the contact email address is haddara@mcmaster.ca or 9018765@mcmaster.ca. The email itself states:

_Assalamu alaikum,_

*Please find below a list of MSAs that I have been collecting since last summer. The list is not too bad in terms of numbers. However, quite a LARGE number of MSAs remain to send their information. So if you do not find your MSA's information below, please mail me at haddara@mcmaster.ca with the following information :*

_Institution : Name of University/College_  
_Address : Snail Mail address_  
_Contact Person : Person in Charge of Mail/communication_  
_Phone #: of MSA or person above_  
_E-mail : E-mail address of MSA or person(s) above_  
_Current until : When is this info useless ??_

*Please retain the above format since it simplifies things for me a lot. If anybody wants to get copies of the list as it is updated, please send me your address and I will put you on a list .... Wa jazakumullahu khairan,_

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193 [https://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/FAQ.aspx](https://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/FAQ.aspx)  
194 [https://groups.google.com/forum/#!topic/soc.religion.islam/pG3RelNubR4](https://groups.google.com/forum/#!topic/soc.religion.islam/pG3RelNubR4)  
Dr. Haddara has also used the alias names Abu-l- 'Ataheya and Al-Muraqqash Al-Akbar. In the 1993 email concerning the compilation list of MSAs, he sends an email signed “Wael” but the “from” line shows the name Abu-l- 'Ataheya. The reply address and the suggested email for further updates are both listed as Haddara.

Dr. Haddara used the name Al-Muraqqash Al-Akbar on occasion, such as when he was signing a petition in 1992 to set up a new group on the web which would discuss matters related to Bosnia. The group was to be called soc.culture.bih. One signer of the petition gave his name as Al-Muraqqash Al-Akbar and gave his email address as:

Al-Muraqqash Al-Akbar HADDARA@SSCvax.CIS.McMaster.CA

Note that the email address given by Al-Muraqqash Al-Akbar is HADDARA@SSCvax.CIS.McMaster.CA which is the same email address given by Wael Haddara when compiling the MSA list.

In his role as the President of the Muslim Association of Canada (MAC), Dr. Haddara was co-sponsoring the establishment of a new chair in Islamic studies at Huron College. The partner in this funding effort was the Islamic Centre of Southwest Ontario (ICSO), which was first registered as a charity in 1995. The ICSO has Assem Fadel as its president who was also the treasurer in the past.

The fact that the MAC/Dr. Haddara would chose to partner in a funding effort for an Islamic Chair of Studies with the ICSO and Assem Fadel (both live in London ON) raised questions, as Mr Fadel was also the head of the charity registered as the World Islamic Call Society of Canada. Assem Fadel was president of the organization from its inception until it lost its charitable status. The World Islamic Call Society of Canada was completely funded by Libya through President Kaddafi’s “jihad fund” and was disbursing money to a variety of individuals not qualified as recipients. One of those was a jihadist political party that tried to overthrow the government of Trinidad and Tobago (Jamaat al-Muslimeen).

Assem Fadel was the holder of the bank account that transferred the monies in question. The CRA also noted that for a number of years the majority of the money from the charity was used for administrative

196 Abu-l- 'Ataheya and Al-Muraqqash Al-Akbar are both the names of famous Arab poets. No reasons has been found for why Dr. Haddara chose to use these aliases, but Arabic culture did – and still does – hold poets in high esteem. Abu-l- 'Ataheya was born in 748 AD and Al-Muraqqash Al-Akbar is known as a pre-Islamic ear poet born in 550 AD.

197 For one example of his being treasurer see the CRA charity directors list of officials for the ICSO for 2008 under board of directors, trustees and other officials.

198 CRA Charity number 894381573RR0001

expenses including rent of an office in a building owned by Mr. Fadel himself as well as paying for his cell phone etc.  

Dr. Haddara has also been a guest speaker at a number of other organizations which are adherents to the Muslim Brotherhood. Among many others, he was a guest speaker at the 33rd Annual ISNA convention in Toronto along with his brother Yasser Haddara. Other speakers at the same convention were Dr. Rida Beshir who was listed by the Muslim Brotherhood in 1992 as being on its board of directors (Shura Council) as well as begin the “Masul” of the Educational Committee. Another co-speaker was Katherine Bullock, later identified as a spokesperson for the ISNA. 

Dr. Haddara was also on the board of directors for IRFAN – Canada (International Relief Fund for the Afflicted and Needy Canada). He served on the board in 2000 and again in 2002. IRFAN lost it charitable status for “deceptive fundraising” (according to the CRA) which was designed to aid HAMAS, another Muslim Brotherhood adherent organization according to its own charter. The CRA estimates that some $15 million of taxpayer supported charitable money was sent to HAMAS form 2005 to 2009 alone. The CRA also notes that IRFAN was involved in questionable practices related to the Povrel Jerusalem Fund for Human Services (JFHS) back to 2000 and that IRFAN was set up to circumvent the Canadian government’s refusal to grant the JFHS charity status in that same year. 

Specifically, CRA noted that:

> Our findings for the current audit period have identified that IRFAN-Canada has partnered with organizations that, variously: are run by members of the Hamas government; openly support and provide funding to Hamas; have been raided or listed as unlawful associations in Israel for affiliation to Hamas; or have had their bank accounts seized for connections to Hamas. Our findings (keyed to the numbers found on the chart) indicate that IRFAN-Canada provided approximately $14,629,0002 in resources to these organizations during the current audit period...

While he was no longer on the board of directors, CRA documents show that Dr. Haddara was still a voting member of the organization in 2004 and was involved in the process as CRA was attempting to

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202 For a copy of this see, among others, http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1083.pdf

203 Values at heart of Islamic tensions, MARINA JIMÉNEZ and OMAR EL AKKAD, Globe and Mail, Published Tuesday, Nov. 08 2005, 12:00 AM EST. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/values-at-heart-of-islamic-tensions/article989709/?page=all

204 See the CRA charity registration website at http://www.cra-arc.gc.ca/charitylists/. Dr. Haddara can be seen in the 2000 and 2002 Annual Information Return For INTERNATIONAL RELIEF FUND FOR THE AFFLICTED AND NEEDY (CANADA).

205 See section two of the HAMAS charter. The entire charter of HAMAS can be seen at: http://www.palestine-studies.org/files/pdf/jps/1734.pdf


establish the validity of the organization at the time (i.e. 2004). A meeting of IRFAN Canada on 09 September 2004 notes Dr. Haddara as being present and a voting member.209

Assessment of Dr. Haddara

Dr. Wael Haddara has been active in Muslim Brotherhood organizations at least since he entered university, being a member and organizer for the MSA.210 In 2012 and 2103, he was a key player in the inner circle of the Muslim Brotherhood President of Egypt, Dr. Morsi. He was a part of this inner circle during the election campaign and afterwards in Egypt. The UN noted him as a key advisor and as an alternative representative for the head of the state and the Egyptian Ambassador to the UN. Al Jazeera has also noted him as a key advisor to the Muslim Brotherhood President of Egypt. He testified before a House of Lords committee in the UK. He has also served on the board of IRFAN which lost its charitable status for funding HAMAS which is also a Muslim Brotherhood organization211. He has a long standing relationship with the Muslim Association of Canada which overtly states that they are inspired by Hassan Banna – the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Dr. Jamal Badawi (also reported as Gamal Badawi)

The most influential individual in the North American Muslim Brotherhood movement may be Dr. Jamal Badawi. In terms of the length of time serving the movement and his depth of experience across multiple adherent organizations, his impact is hard to underestimate. He has been a lifelong adherent to the Muslim Brotherhood cause and a seemingly tireless organizer. Hassan Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, is one of his key inspirations.212

Dr. Badawi was identified in two significant Muslim Brotherhood documents as being a key leader in the North American operations as far back as the 1990s. In a 1992 document, Dr. Badawi is listed as being on the “board of directors” of the Muslim Brotherhood of North America.213 The listing for him at that time shows his phone number as being 902-445-2494 and his fax as being the same number. That same phone is still listed as belonging to Gamal Badawi (902) 445-2494 of Halifax NS B3M2P6,214 In a 1991 document, Dr. Badawi was identified as an individual of key importance who is at the core of the Muslim Brotherhoods main focus of organizational work.215

209 Page 34 of 62 of the PDF version of the CRA letter (Appendix A). See:
http://www.globalphilanthropy.ca/images/uploads/Appendix_A_AFL_IRFAN.pdf


211 The HAMAS motto, according to section eight of its charter is remarkably similar to that of the Muslim Brotherhood: Allah is its target, the Prophet is its model, the Koran its constitution: Jihad is its path and death for the sake of Allah is the loftiest of its wishes. For a copy of the charter see, among others:
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp


213 For a copy of this see, among others, http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1083.pdf

214 Canada 411 reverse phone number look up service as of 01 March 2014. http://www.canada411.ca/search/?stype=re&what=902-445-2494+%&x=0&y=0

In this 1991 document, Dr. Badawi is specifically noted in the context of:

It is good fortune that there are brothers among us who have this "trend", mentality or inclination to build the organizations.... This is followed by the statement: We want to establish the "Group of organizations", as without it we will not able to put our feet on the true path.\(^{216}\)

In his own words in 2004, Dr. Badawi describes his views of Hassan Banna.\(^{217}\) He was being interviewed by EMEL magazine while on Mt. Nour (Jabal al-Nour) near Mecca in Saudi Arabia. The Prophet Muhammed (PBUH) is said to have spent a considerable amount of time on this mountain, meditating in a small cave. While there, he was asked: “What book or person has been most influential to your life?” He responded by saying:

I have read many books, but Hasan Al-Banna, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, has been most inspirational. In his short life he visited over three thousand villages in Egypt, preaching Islam in a comprehensive yet moderate way, thus re-igniting the spiritual passion in people’s heart. Since his assassination in 1949, at the age of forty-three, his ideas have been widely adopted beyond the boundaries of his homeland by millions. More than any other individual, he has epitomised twentieth century Islamic thought and ideology.

According to his own website, Dr. Badawi has, or has had leadership roles in a number of Muslim Brotherhood adherent groups.\(^{218}\) An extract from his biography reads:

Dr. Jamal Badawi is an Egyptian born Muslim Canadian. He is a former professor who taught at a number of schools including the Sobey School of Business, Saint Mary’s University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he taught in the Departments of Religious Studies and Management. He is a well-known author, activist, preacher and speaker on Islam. Dr. Badawi completed his undergraduate studies in Cairo, Egypt and his Masters and Ph.D. degrees at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana.

Dr. Badawi is the author of many books and articles on Islam. In addition, he researched, designed and presented a 352 segment television series on Islam, which was shown in many local TV stations in Canada, the US and as well as other countries all over the world.

Dr. Badawi also actively participates in lectures, seminars and interfaith dialogues in North America. He was invited as a guest speaker in various functions throughout the world. Additionally, he is active in several Islamic organizations, including Islamic Society of North America (ISNA). He is the founder/chairman of the Islamic Information Foundation, which is a non-profit foundation seeking to promote a better understanding of Islam and the Muslims.

Currently, he is the Vice-Chairman of the Islamic University. Dr. Badawi is the father of 5 and grandfather of 12 children.

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\(^{218}\) See the biography of Dr. Badawi at: [http://jamalbadawi.org/](http://jamalbadawi.org/)
Dr. Badawi has also been on the board of directors of CAIR CAN for every year they have had a published list (2000-2012) as well as having been on the board of directors of the Muslim Association of Canada from at least 2002 to 2006.\(^\text{219}\) He is a member of the Islamic Juridical [Fiqh] Council of North America, The European Council of Fatwa and Research and the International Union of Muslim Scholars.\(^\text{220}\) He is a prolific speaker and has given related presentations in at least 38 countries.\(^\text{221}\) He was also on the Board of Directors of ISNA in 2005.

The phone number given for Dr. Badawi above (902) 445-2494) is also given for:

a. The Board of Directors for Human Concern International (website viewed on 01 March 2014).\(^\text{222}\)
b. Mosque and Islamic Center of Hampton Roads Virginia (listed as a trustee)\(^\text{223}\)
c. The Institute al Islam (listed as a scholar)\(^\text{224}\) and the

d. Islamic Information Foundation – Canada (gives his number as contact point)\(^\text{225}\)

Dr. Yasser Haddara

Dr. Yasser (also Yaser and Yasir) Haddara holds a PhD in Electrical Engineering from Stanford University and is presently Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario making $144,782.45 a year according to the Province of Ontario’s salary disclosure website.\(^\text{226}\)

Dr. Yasser Haddara is the brother of Dr. Wael Haddara.\(^\text{227}\) As with his brother, he has been reported as a presidential aide to Dr. Morsi, the Muslim Brotherhood’s president of Egypt in 2012 and 2013. Al-Arabiya reported him as:

\textit{A presidential aide said Morsi was working at a Republican Guard barracks in a Cairo suburb, near to his office, and had chosen to stay there. Other close advisers were allowed to leave the compound after the 5:30 pm (1500 GMT) deadline expired.}

\(^{219}\) http://canadiancharities.landoffree.com/person/Jamal_Badawi_1
\(^{220}\) http://www.isna.net/jamal-badawi.html
\(^{221}\) http://www.isna.net/jamal-badawi.html
\(^{222}\) http://www.humanconcern.org/board-members as of 01 March 2014. Listed as being a Area Representative for Human Concern International as of 04 February 2014, Dr. Jamal Badawi (Halifax, NS)(902) 445-2494
\(^{223}\) http://www.hamptonmosque.com/contact.html
\(^{224}\) http://www.institutealislam.com/dr-jamal-badawi/
\(^{225}\) http://ratemymuslimcommunity.com/?p=2630
\(^{227}\) http://hamiltonmuslims.wordpress.com/2012/04/20/janazah-for-dr-yaser-haddaras-mother/
The aide, Yasser Haddara, a communications adviser, said it was unclear whether Morsi was free to return to the palace where he spent the previous night. His message to supporters was to resist the "military coup" peacefully and not use violence against troops, police or other Egyptians.228

Dr. Yasser Haddara has also been the Vice President and Chair of the Muslim Association of Canada. As noted above, the MAC are open adherents of Hassan Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, as they state on their own website:

It is now 75 years since Al-Banna initiated that blessed effort. The efforts of the Muslim Association of Canada are separate from the writings and organization of Al-Banna by time and space. The assertion that much of our philosophy and vision derive from the efforts of Al-Banna should not be taken to mean that we adopt in wholesale fashion all of the ideas developed and put forward by Al-Banna or the Muslim Brotherhood. However, we believe that the efforts of Al-Banna and subsequent generations of the Muslim Brotherhood remain the truest reflection of Islamic practice in the modern era.229 He was on the board of directors for Islamic Relief USA and Islamic Relief Canada.230

According to Islamic Relief USA, Dr. Yasser Haddara is:

...currently an associate professor of electrical and computer engineering at McMaster University in Hamilton in Ontario, Canada. Dr. Haddara has extensive community service experience and has served as a member of the IRUSA board for the last two years. He is a founding member of the Hamilton Dialog Group, which fosters dialog across the lines of religion, culture, ethnicity, and aims to foster a spirit of engagement and conflict transformation. He is also a noted public speaker on such topics as spirituality, intellectual development, social reform, Islamic sciences, and civic engagement. Dr. Haddara was one of the developers and lead trainers for the Student Leadership Training Program that was jointly sponsored by the Muslim American Society and the Muslim Association of Canada. Dr. Haddara has been actively involved in several community organizations including the Islamic Society at Stanford University, the Muslim Community Association of the Bay Area, the Islamic Society of North America (Western Region), the Muslim American Society, and the Muslim Association of Canada. Dr. Haddara joined the IRUSA board in March 2006 and served as the chairman until May 2011.231 (Emphasis added)

Dr. Yasser Haddara’s activities serve to underline the connections between Muslim Brotherhood based organizations in Canada and the USA. In the above, it is noted that a student training program was sponsored by the Muslim America Society and the Muslim Association of Canada.

Dr. Yasser Haddara has also been active with a number of youth organizations in both Canada and the USA, as noted by the Muslim American Society (2004):

229 https://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/FAQ.aspx
230 Islamic Relief Canada (sec/treasurer on the CRA T3010: Charity registration number 821896875RR0001
Dr. Yaser Haddara is currently the Chair of the Muslim Association of Canada (MAC)/Muslim American Society (MAS) Youth Division. He has been involved with a number of efforts aimed at young Muslims including Muslim Youth Camp (MYC) in California and American Muslims Intent on Learning and Activism (AMILA). Yaser holds a PhD in Electrical Engineering from Stanford University and is presently Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario.232

Dr. Haddara was also involved with protests suggesting that Canada should withdraw its ambassador from Egypt after Dr. Morsi was forcibly removed from office by street riots and the military.

One of the protest organizers, Yaser Haddara, called on the Canadian government to remove its ambassador to the North African country in order to put pressure on the Egyptian leaders.233

While he is not linked to any wrongdoing, Dr. Yasser Haddara is also a board Member of Hamilton’s Settlement and Integration Services Organization (SISO) an immigration “services”, a group that was defunded by the federal government and investigated by the RCMP. As reported in the Hamilton Spectator:

“SISO has been in turmoil since losing millions in government funding over concerns of financial irregularities. Its former executive director was charged with uttering death threats against staff and there is an ongoing investigation by Hamilton police and the RCMP into allegations of fraud against the government.” 234

Dr. Yasser Haddara is also active in the “Cordoba House” which is a project of the Muslim Association of Canada (Hamilton Chapter).235 This project appears to be consistent with the stated aim of building Islamic Centres close to the universities as noted by the 1991 An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group In North America.

In brief we say: we would like for the Islamic center to become "The House of Dawa" and "the general center" in deeds first before name. As much as we own and direct these centers at the continent level, we can say we are marching successfully towards the settlement of Dawa' in this country.

Meaning that the "center's" role should be the same as the "mosque's" role during the time of God's prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, when he marched to "settle" the Dawa' in its first generation in Madina. From the mosque, he drew the Islamic life and provided to the world the most magnificent and fabulous civilization humanity knew.

233 http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2013/08/17/mohammed-morsi-canada-rallies_n_3773597.html
234 SISO closes doors, again Refugees diverted from city as SISO lays off all staff http://www.thespec.com/news-story/2178092-siso-closes-doors-again/
235 https://www.macnet.ca/English/Hamilton/Pages/Cordoba-House.aspx
This mandates that, eventually, the region, the branch and the Usra turn into "operations rooms" for planning, direction, monitoring and leadership for the Islamic center in order to be a role model to be followed.

Dr. Ingrid Mattson

Dr. Mattson was born in Canada, where she studied Philosophy and Fine Arts at the University of Waterloo, Ontario (B.A. '87). She holds a PhD from the University of Chicago. She worked in Pakistan as part of a Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) funded medical project in the late 1980s.

Dr. Mattson held the position of Vice President for two terms at the ISNA (North America) from 2001 to 2006. She then became President of the ISNA (North America), a position she held until 2010.

ISNA (Canada) lost charity status for one if its organizations (ISNA Development Foundation) for funding terrorism in the Kashmir/Pakistan region. The loss of the charitable status occurred in 2013, but the investigation covers the time period of which Dr. Mattson was active on the board of ISNA as vice chair and President. This puts the contention that Huron College’s chair in Islamic Studies has no connection to terrorism into some doubt.

Despite statements by the ISNA (North America) that it has no connections to ISNA-Canada, the reality is that the two bodies have been significantly interconnected. Two board members of ISNA (Canada) were on the board of ISNA (USA) in 2013 – the year the charity lost its charity status in Canada. Mohamed Bakkari was on the ISNA board of directors in Canada and was the President of the Charity in Canada when it lost its statue. At the same time he was listed at the ISNA (North America) Majlis Ash-Shura as being Vice Chairman for Canada. Dr. Bakkari was also listed in the USA as being on the Executive Council of the ISNA (North America) and was the Vice President for Canada. Khalid Tarabain, another Canadian from ISNA Canada, was also listed on the ISNA (North America) website as being on the Board of Directors (Majlis Ash-Shura) and was noted there as being the “Chairman, Canadian Islamic Trust.” Dr. Syed Imtiaz Ahmad stated to the CRA that the ISNA Development Fund (IDF) had been modelled after the IDF-USA with the IDF acting as a fund raising arm of the ISNA. This was confirmed in two separate interviews in November 2011 and 06 March 2012. Dr. Ahmad was a founding director of the IDF and was a former president of the ISNA-Canada.

236 https://isnacanadaconvention.ca/speakers/dr-ingrid-mattson-2/
237 http://ingridmattson.org/about/
238 An explanation of the loss of status is on the CRA website under charities, ISNA, revoked.
240 See the archived version of the ISNA (USA) board of directors at: http://web.archive.org/web/20130602203325/http://www.isna.net/board-of-directors.html
241 http://www.isna.ca/1/about-us/board-members
242 Page 5/36 of the PDF version of the CRA letter which is available at: http://www.thestar.com/content/dam/thestar/static_images/IDF-complete-audit-letter.pdf
Dr. Mattson is also a trustee\(^{243}\) of the North America Islamic Trust (NAIT). This organization is an unindicted co-conspirator in HLF case. The multiple convictions in that case related to the HLF and IAP involvement in terrorism funding.

The International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) was founded in 1981. One of the co-founders of the IIIT was Anwar Ibrahim of Malaysia, where he remains a director. Anwar Ibrahim was also a trustee of WAMY (1970s and 1980s). The office of WAMY in Canada lost its charitable status for funding organizations said by FINTRAC\(^{244}\) and UN to be terrorist in orientation (BIF-Canada and BIF-USA).\(^{245}\)

Dr. Mattson is currently the Chair of Islamic Studies\(^{246}\) at Huron College (University of Western Ontario), which has received funding from the MAC and IIIT. Professors at the college were concerned about the close relationship between the Islamic Centre of Southwestern Ontario and the MAC.\(^{247}\) The current treasure of the ICSO is Mr. Fadel which is also based in London Ontario.\(^{248}\) Mr. Fadel was the President of the World Islamic Call Society when it lost charitable status. The CRA investigation focused on monies received from Libyan President Kaddafi and his “Jihad Fund” as well as monies transferred to a terrorist group which attempted to overthrow the government of Trinidad and Tobago.\(^{249}\) The MAC, at the time of the announcement of the funding, was headed by Dr. Wael Haddara who went on shortly thereafter to be a senior electoral and presidential advisor to the Muslim Brotherhood’s president of Egypt, Dr. Morsi.\(^{250}\)

Dr. Mattson is on the Council of Advisors for the IIIT\(^{251}\) which is one of the co-founders for the Islamic Chair at Huron College. Questions were raised about whether the source of the funding would have any influence on the choice of the chair.\(^{252}\) Given the IIIT was a funder, it does seem unusual that Dr. Mattson was also on the board of advisors for IIIT and received the position which was funded by her organization.

Dr. Trish Fulton, acting principal of Huron College at the University of Western Ontario at the time of the funding decision, stated that executive board members had been tasked with due diligence and that the values of the MAC and IIIT were “compatible with [Huron’s] values.”\(^{253}\) The Huron College press release

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\(^{243}\) [http://iiit.org/NewsEvents/News/tabid/62/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/262/Default.aspx](http://iiit.org/NewsEvents/News/tabid/62/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/262/Default.aspx)

\(^{244}\) FINTRAC is the Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada. It was established and operates within the ambit of the *Proceeds of Crime (Money Laundering) and Terrorist Financing Act (PCMLTFA)* and its Regulations. For more on FINTRAC see: [http://www.fintrac-canada.gc.ca/fintrac-canada/1-eng.asp](http://www.fintrac-canada.gc.ca/fintrac-canada/1-eng.asp)


\(^{247}\) *Islamic studies funding on the hot seat*, [http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Canada/2011/06/02/18226631.html](http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Canada/2011/06/02/18226631.html)

\(^{248}\) 951 Pond Mills Rd, London, ON, (519) 668-2269

\(^{249}\) See the CRA charities website for details.


\(^{251}\) [http://iiit.org/NewsEvents/News/tabid/62/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/262/Default.aspx](http://iiit.org/NewsEvents/News/tabid/62/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/262/Default.aspx)


stated that Dr. Mattson had “Dr. Mattson’s impeccable credentials.” However, Dr. Fulton also stated that:

*We don’t probe too deeply into values held by donors.*

One of those doing the due diligence was Huron University College Executive Board member Faisal Joseph. Mr. Joseph is believed to have attended a 2008 World Islamic Call Society (WICS) meeting. As noted above, the WICS chapter in Canada was completely funded by Colonel Gaddafi’s *Jihad Fund* and the Canada Revenue Agency revoked the charitable status of the organization in 2011.

Dr. Mattson is a prolific speaker who has appeared regularly at a number of high profile events. These include, among many others:

- *a. As part of Islam Awareness Week (March 12 - March 16, 2007), The Harvard Islamic Society Presents: "A Discussion with Dr. Ingrid Mattson" Join us for a discussion with the President of the largest Muslim organization in North America (the Islamic Society of North America).*

- *b. Featured speaker at the ISNA Canada upcoming (May 2014) convention in Mississauga.*

**Dr. Sheema Khan**

Among her may other undertakings, Dr. Sheema Khan was the founding director of CAIR Montreal, CAIR Ottawa and CAIR CAN. (See the two other sections in this paper on CAIR CAN/NCCM for details).

In May 2006, Dr. Khan gave a presentation to the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) on the experiences of Muslim in Canada after the 911 attacks. This presentation was noted by CAIR CAN in their website. A full copy of Dr. Khan’s speech is also available online.

**Dr. Mohammed Bekkari**

Dr. Bekkari has played a major role in a number of Muslim Brotherhood adherent organizations for an extended period of time. Most recently, he came to attention as being the President of an ISNA charitable organization that lost its charitable status (for cause) as a resulting of using the charities money to fund a terrorist organization. Dr. Bekkari is also involved in a lawsuit with a former ISNA member (Mohammad Ashraf) over allegations of the mismanagement of funds. The problems were noted in the press when the Toronto Star article which noted that a *“Muslim charity squandered money*
for poor” as well as another article Star Investigation: Federal audit raises concern that Canadian charity funded terror.

According to the ISNA website:

Dr. Mohamed Bekkari was born in Morocco in 1947 and currently resides in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. He is a registered child clinical and school psychologist employed by Timiskaming Child and Family Services. Dr. Bekkari has dedicated his life to education and the positive growth of the North American Muslim community, serving for more than thirty years on various ISNA committees as well as ISNA Vice President-Canada, MSA boards, and as the current President of ISNA Canada. Dr. Bekkari is involved not only at the national level but is also actively involved in his local community, Ottawa, the National Capital of Canada.

Dr. Bekkari also is identified as being in a number of leadership positions in Canada. This list includes (but is not limited to)

DR. MOHAMED BEKKARI, director, ISNA-IDB EDUCATION TRUST (Canada, 19 Sep 2001- )
MOHAMED BEKKARI, director, CANADIAN MUSLIM COUNCIL (CMC) (Canada, 11 Dec 1997- )
MOHAMED BEKKARI, director, ISNA HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE (Canada)
MOHAMED BEKKARI, director, CANADIAN ISLAMIC TRUST FOUNDATION (Canada, 5 Jul 1983- )
MOHAMED BEKKARI, director, INDIAN MUSLIM RELIEF COMMITTEE OF ISNA CANADA (Canada, 1 Aug 1997- )
MOHAMED BEKKARI, director, ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA (ISNA) (Canada, 13 Sep 1982- )
MOHAMED BEKKARI, director, ISLAMIC SCHOOLS ASSOCIATION OF CANADA (ISAC) (Canada, 26 Sep 1983- )

The ISNA has a number of charities listed as operating out of their headquarters address. One of them, the ISNA Development Foundation had its charitable status revoked for cause in September of 2013. The Canada Revenue Agency stated that the ISNA Development Foundation (incorporated 2001-12-24) had failed to comply with a number of sections of the charities act and had been funding terrorism.

262 See the Toronto Star article of Thursday, 20 January 2011 Muslim charity squandered money for poor which is available online at:
263 http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2013/07/25/star_investigation_federal_audit_raises_concern_that_canadian_charity_funded_terror.html
265 https://www.ic.gc.ca/app/srch/cc/CorporationsCanada/fdrlCrpDtls.html?corpId=3993205
266 For a short description of the reasons for revoking the charitable status of the ISNA Development Foundation, see the CRA’s website at: http://www.cra-arc.gc.ca/ebci/haip/srch/revcausesumm-eng.action?bn=863919262RR0001
Dr. Bekkari has a long history with this organization. The most recent roles over the last six years have been President of the Board of Directors (2010, 2011 and 2012) and he was listed as the Vice Chair of the organization from 2008 to 2010.\textsuperscript{267} Despite claims that the ISNA (Canada) and ISNA (USA) are separate organizations and have no links to each other, two board members of ISNA (Canada) were on the board of ISNA (USA) in 2013 – the year the charity lost its charity status in Canada. Mohamed Bekkari was on the ISNA board of directors in Canada and was the President of the charity in Canada when it lost its statue. At the same time he was listed at the ISNA (USA) Majlis Ash-Shura as being Vice Chairman for Canada.\textsuperscript{268} Dr. Bekkari was also listed in the USA as being on the Executive Council of the ISNA (USA) and was the Vice President for Canada.

Khalid Tarabain, another Canadian from ISNA Canada\textsuperscript{269}, was also listed on the ISNA (USA) website as being on the Board of Directors (Majlis Ash-Shura) and was noted there as being the “Chairman, Canadian Islamic Trust.”

The claims that the ISNA in Canada and the USA are not connected are clearly false, based on this evidence alone. Additionally, a number of other Canadians have served in important positions in both organizations. Dr. Ingrid Mattson, shows in ISNA (USA) as being on their Executive Council in 2013\textsuperscript{270} and was formerly a president of ISNA (North America).

When the ISNA (Canada) invited Qasi Hussain Ahmand, the head of Jamaat-e-Islami (banned from entering 24 European countries and others), the first contact name given for the conference was listed as Dr. Mohammed Bekkari (dmbekkari@yahoo.com). The phone number given was for the ISNA HQ and the email point of contact was: convention@isnacanada.com.

Dr. Rida Beshir

Dr. Rida Beshir (also Bashir) was listed in a 1992 directory of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America as being on its board of directors (Shura Council) as well as begin the “Masul” (Leader) of the Educational Committee for the same organization.\textsuperscript{271} Like many other senior figures in the Muslim Brotherhood movement, he is educated (Dr., engineer), urbane and sophisticated. At the time the 1992 directory was prepared, he was listed as having a phone number in the 613 calling code area which equates to Ottawa/Kingston region of Canada.\textsuperscript{272} He still lives in the Ottawa area. His own biography describes him as being a member of a variety of Muslim Brotherhood adherent organizations such as the Muslim Students Association, the Islamic Society of North America, the Islamic Circle of North America and the Muslim American Society. He also states that he has been a speaker at a number of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{267} See the CRA’s charity website for further information at: http://www.cra-arc.gc.ca/charitylists/
\item \textsuperscript{268} See the archived version of the ISNA (USA) board of directors at: http://web.archive.org/web/20130602203325/http://www.isna.net/board-of-directors.html
\item \textsuperscript{269} http://www.isna.ca/1/about-us/board-members
\item \textsuperscript{270} http://web.archive.org/web/20130812143051/http://www.isna.net/board-of-directors.html
\item \textsuperscript{271} For a copy of this see, among others, http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1083.pdf
\item \textsuperscript{272} The numbers were listed as: H: (613) 728-3999 and 0: (613) 765-2406
\end{itemize}
adherent organizations (ISNA, ICNA, MSA, MAC, and MAS) as well as being a founding director of the often troubled Ottawa based Human Concern International.\textsuperscript{273}

He has also been on the board of directors of the Muslim Association of Canada.\textsuperscript{274}

On his own website\textsuperscript{275} he notes the following:

\begin{quote}
He has over 35 years of experience in Da’wa work in North America.

He has held various positions with the Muslim Student’s Association (MSA), Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), and Muslim American Society (MAS) on both national and local levels.

He led the training and development department of the Muslim American Society (MAS) for 6 years and served as a member in the department for over two decades. Currently he is still advising the Muslim Association of Canada (MAC) and MAS departments on Tarbiyah matters.

He is a regular speaker at ISNA, ICNA, MSA, MAC, and MAS conventions.

He is one of the founders of Human Concern International (HCI) and served as their Vice President for over a decade.

He is the recipient of the Ottawa Muslim Association and Ottawa Muslim Community Circle appreciation awards in 1993 and 1999 for his volunteer Islamic work in the National Capital region.

He is a member of the advisory board of SIFCA “Shura of Islamic Family Counselors of America”

He is actively developing and delivering training programs to various Muslim communities all over the world.
\end{quote}

Dr. Bashir’s wife, (Dr. Ekram Beshir) also notes in their website that she is a medical doctor by profession, with a background in child psychology. She is the founder of both the Abraar full time Islamic school\textsuperscript{276} and the Rahma School,\textsuperscript{277} a weekend Arabic and Islamic school, in Ottawa, Canada.\textsuperscript{278}

\textsuperscript{273} HCI has drawn attention in the past as Ahmed Said Khard, who was running HCI’s Pakistsan office was arrested for his role in the bombing of the Egyptian Embassy in Pakistan. Khard would be later identified by an al Qaeda website as one of the 120 martyrs of Afghanistan after he was killed by Pakistani troops in a raid on a safe house in South Waziristan, Pakistan. HCI has also had other issues related to accountability of the distribution of their charity money. In 2012 after some funding discussion about Syria, HCI stated that they believe everything they do is now under control.
\textsuperscript{274} \url{http://canadiancharities.landoffree.com/charity/Muslim_Association_Of_Canada} (dates not specified in the listing)
\textsuperscript{275} \url{http://familydawn.com/about-us/} (downloaded 13 March 2014)
\textsuperscript{276} The Muslim Association of Canada website identifies the Abraar School and gives the following information on its website: Abraar Islamic School, MAC Chapter Ottawa, Phone Numbers (613)820-0044, Fax : (613)820-1495, Location 1085 Grenon Ave, Ottawa ON, K2B-8L7.
\textsuperscript{277} \url{https://www.macnet.ca/English/Ottawa/Pages/Al-Rahma-School-W-E-Gowling.aspx}
\textsuperscript{278} \url{http://familydawn.com/about-us/} (downloaded 13 March 2014)
The Muslim Association of Canada (MAC) homepage has an “our schools” button. When you click on this button, the MAC website directs you to a list of schools in Canada run through the MAC.

This directs you to a page containing a list of 20 of the MAC schools in Canada. The page makes the following statement concerning control of the schools:

MAC envisions the school as a learning institution that supports the integrated and balanced development of the individual. MAC operates full-time schools, weekend schools, Quran schools and other programs that provide high quality education opportunities to everyone.

One of those schools is the Abraar School of Canada located in Ottawa. This is the school that Dr. Ekram Beshir claims to have founded.

The value systems of the MAC are, at best, questionable. As noted elsewhere in this report, the website of the MAC has stated that it believes in the teachings of Hassan al- Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood. On their own Q&A section on their website the MAC asks “What is the relationship between MAC and the Muslim Brotherhood?” The response to the questions starts out by saying it is an independent organization, but it follows with:

The Muslim Brotherhood is the oldest of the revivalist Islamic movement and was founded in 1928 by Hasan Al-Banna.

Much of the philosophy and vision of the Muslim Association of Canada derives from the heritage of the Muslim Brotherhood. Our commitment to the model of individual self-development expressed in communal organization is based largely on the vision of the Muslim Brotherhood and Hasan Al-Banna. While the Muslim Association of Canada does not represent the Muslim Brotherhood, it is important to describe here in some detail what we believe are the areas of shared heritage.

We believe that Hasan Al-Banna attempted to revive, among Muslims, the understanding of Islam in a moderate comprehensive manner. In other words, he tried to revive Islam in a manner that would best approximate what Islam would have looked like had the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad, lived and preached Islam in our own time. Furthermore, Al-Banna succeeded in putting together a dynamic organizational structure that brought that understanding to life. Islam, after the efforts of Al-Banna and his brothers, came out of the domain of personal worship and into the arena of public policy. Muslims emerged from a mindset characterized by feelings of inferiority and uncertainty to one of clarity and confidence.

It is now 75 years since Al-Banna initiated that blessed effort. The efforts of the Muslim Association of Canada are separate from the writings and organization of Al-Banna by time and space. The assertion that much of our philosophy and vision derive from the efforts of Al-Banna should not be taken to mean that we adopt in wholesale fashion all of the ideas developed and put forward by Al-Banna or the Muslim Brotherhood. However, we believe that the efforts of Al-

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279 https://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/Home.aspx
280 https://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/Schools-in-Canada.aspx
281 https://www.macnet.ca/English/Ottawa/Pages/Abraar-School.aspx
282 https://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/FAQ.aspx
Banna and subsequent generations of the Muslim Brotherhood remain the truest reflection of Islamic practice in the modern era.\textsuperscript{283}

Given that the aim of Hassan Banna was to create a state where his virulent form of political Islam would run the state, these value statements are at best, questionable in a Canadian context.

**Dr. El-Tantawy Attia**

Dr. Attia\textsuperscript{284} is the executive director of the Masjid Toronto\textsuperscript{285} which is identified as being part of the Muslim Association of Canada.\textsuperscript{286} The Masjid and the Toronto chapter office of MAC are in the same building.

![Photo taken May 2014](https://example.com/photo.png)

Dr. Attia made his views clear with respect to the Masjid when he stated:

"Here, we follow the teachings of the Muslim Brotherhood."\textsuperscript{287}

According to a CAIR CAN press release of 2005, Dr. Attia has been living in Canada since approximately 1971.\textsuperscript{288} Dr. Attia, originally from Egypt, has been at the Masjid since its formation.\textsuperscript{289}

Dr. Attia also believes it is important for Muslims to be involved in student politics.\textsuperscript{290}

\textsuperscript{283} https://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/FAQ.aspx
\textsuperscript{284} The MAC describes Dr. Attia as: Dr. El-Tantawy Attia, Executive Director of MAC's Masjid Toronto. https://www.macnet.ca/English/Winnipeg/Pages/Home.aspx see also: https://www.macnet.ca/English/Toronto/Pages/Home.aspx and https://www.macnet.ca/English/Winnipeg/Pages/Home.aspx
\textsuperscript{285} http://muslimsforwhiteribbon.com/category/portfolio/page/2/
\textsuperscript{288} http://www.zoominfo.com/CachedPage/?archive_id=0&page_id=1217587625&page_url=//www.caircan.ca/tn_m ore.php?id=A1673_0_2_0_M&page_last_updated=2012-05-17T19:12:32&firstName=El-Tantawy&lastName=Attia
\textsuperscript{290} http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:XzBWhvkPsFgJ:theeyeopener.com/2006/11/muslims-playing-for-power/+&cd=7&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=ca&client=firefox-a
Dr. Attia has also been involved in a number of other projects such as being a main point of contact for a 2002 fund raising event to support CAIR CAN operations. His daughter, Sarah Attia, was also listed as a point of contact for the CAIR CAN fundraiser on the same announcement. She was the Vice President of the Muslim Student Association at that time as well as having been a speaker at the May 18-19, 2002 - 28th Annual ISNA Canada Convention in Toronto.291

Dr. Attia was also on the board of directors for the Muslim World League (Canada)292 along with Hassan Hachimi (among others). Mr. Hachimi, a Toronto based architect,293 is currently the head of the political bureau of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood294, according to a statement by the Muslim Brotherhood.295

291 See the history of the Muslim Youth of North America website at:  http://mynamiami.blogspot.ca/ (part 14).
293 As Syrians plan their future, a Canadian helps lead, Published Thursday, Oct. 06 2011, 8:42 PM EDT. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/as-syrians-plan-their-future-a-canadian-helps-lead/article556434/
294 According to the MB statement, he was appointed to the position in August 2013.
Sarah Attia
Sarah Attia is the daughter of Dr. El-Tantawy Attia.

(The above photo is of Khaled Al-Qazzaz, husband of Sarah Attia standing in front of the official aircraft of the President of Egypt, an Airbus A-340 long haul jet) 296

She is the former Vice President of the Muslim Students Association and was a speaker at May 18-19, 2002 - 28th Annual Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) Canada Convention in Toronto. She is a graduate of the Faculty of Engineering, University of Toronto, with a master’s degree in chemical engineering. 297 She was heavily involved in the Muslim Students Association at both the undergraduate and graduate level. According to the Muslim Students Association of Canada and the USA, she was:

Sarah Attia
Vice President Canada
vpcanada@msa-natl.org

Sarah Attia is currently working on her M.S. degree in Chemical Engineering from the University of Toronto. She has just completed her B.S. degree in Chemical Engineering in May 2002, also from the University of Toronto. She has been a part of MSA National for over a year, where she began serving as the East Zone Representative of Canada. She later accepted the position of Vice President of Canada in November 2001. Prior to working with MSA National, Ms. Attia was involved with her local MSA for three years, where she served as the Sisters Vice President from 2000-20001 and the Sisters Events Coordinator from 1999-2000. She is also involved with the youth in her local community, as she presently works with the MAC Toronto Youth Group. 298

Sarah Attia is the wife of the Khaled Al-Qazzaz, who according to his own Twitter account, was working in Egypt as “Secretary on Foreign Relations, Office of the President Politics: Freedom & Justice Party.” The president in question was Dr. Morsi, the Muslim Brotherhood president of Egypt in 2012 and 2013. The Freedom and Justice Party is the political wing of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Mr. Qazzaz is currently being held in jail in Egypt on unspecified charges. His jailing appears to be part of a sweep of Muslim Brotherhood officials. While in Canada as a student (2000-2005) he joined the University of Toronto Muslim Students Association and was the president of the club in 2003/04.299

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298 http://archive.today/oCtsO Executive Committee of the MSA of US & Canada
299 http://www.freekhaledalqazzaz.com/personal-life/
Among those publicly calling for his release is Dr. Tariq Ramadan, a close relative of the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hassan Banna.

Sarah Attia and Mr. Qazzaz were married in 2005 and left Canada to live in Egypt. In 2011, Sarah Attia took her children aged ages 1, 2½ and 5 to see the protests at Tahir Square which would eventually result in the overthrow of President Mubarak. She has written about the experience and wrote two similar journalistic pieces, one for a blog and the other for newspaper. Both articles had the title “I Took My Kids to Tahir Square”

In the article she notes that:

\[ \text{At that moment, I decided that I wanted to continue to raise my children in Egypt if these were the men and women that they would grow to be.} \]

Sarah Attia is currently (May 2014) part of a campaign to pressure the Government of Canada to get her husband released from jail in Egypt.

Hassan Hachimi

Mr. Hachimi, a Toronto based architect, is currently the head of the political bureau of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood, according to a statement by the Muslim Brotherhood. This is especially significant given the ongoing civil war in Syria and that he is the first person to hold this position since the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood was banned by the Syrian government and virtually wiped out in the early 1980s. He is also described as being a secretariat member of the Syrian National Council since at least 2011 and has attended meetings in that capacity.

Here in Canada, he was on the board of directors of the Muslim Association of Canada and also on the board of directors for the Muslim World League (Canada).

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300 http://www.freekhaledalqazzaz.com/support-from-public-figures/
301 http://www.freekhaledalqazzaz.com/personal-life/
302 The blog, initially posted on February 7, 2011, has since been removed. However, a cache of it can be seen at: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:sg9bsQuzptUJ:growmama.com/tag/sarah-attia/+&cd=22&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=ca&client=firefox-a
304 http://www.freekhaledalqazzaz.com/
305 As Syrians plan their future, a Canadian helps lead, Published Thursday, Oct. 06 2011, 8:42 PM EDT. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/as-syrians-plan-their-future-a-canadian-helps-lead/article556434/
306 According to the MB statement, he was appointed to the position in August 2013.
309 http://canadiancharities.landoffree.com/charity/Muslim_Association_Of_Canada (dates not specified)
310 https://opencorporates.com/officers/438471
According to the press release of the Muslim Brotherhood:

Hassan Hachimi, 50, a Toronto architect, fled in 1979 his hometown of Aleppo to Saudi Arabia after his father was persecuted for involvement in the Muslim Brotherhood. In 1996 he arrived in Canada and soon has become increasingly involved in the political activity of the Syrian opposition in exile. In April 2006 he attended in Montreal a conference of the Syrian opposition in exile which called for democratic reforms. Three years later Hachimi joined the committee of “Damascus Declaration” in Canada (Syrian opposition bloc founded in 2005) and was appointed to its Vice President and the coordinator of its activities in Ontario. The committee, first convened in Canada on August 29, 2009, expressed in an official statement its support of democratic political change in Syria. Toronto Star, referring to Hachimi as the “Canadian representative of the Syrian National Council”, reported (February 11, 2012) that Hachimi met Foreign Minister John Baird twice to discuss the crisis in Syria. Hachimi was first and officially mentioned as the chief of the political bureau of the Muslim Brotherhood on April 15, 2013. He replaced in this position Ali Al-Bayanouni, the former leader of the Muslim Brotherhood. In recent article (June 8, 2013) for the official bulletin of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hachimi expressed his disappointment of the helplessness of the international community towards the ongoing crisis in Syria. “The international policy and its diplomatic and intelligence tools failed to see all this [mass killing of civilians], yet it didn’t stop talking on minorities and terrorism,” wrote Hachimi.312

Abdalla Idris (also Abdalla Idris Ali)

According to his biography on his own website, Mr. Idris has a long association with the ISNA, a Muslim Brotherhood adherent organization. He is shown as:

Dr. Abdalla Idris Ali earned his distinction313 in International Relations from the University of Toronto. He is now the Deputy Secretary General of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) Canada.

313 This statement says that Abdalla Idris is a “Dr.” and infers that his PhD came from the University of Toronto. It is not clear if he actually was awarded the PhD from UofT or if he has a thesis published.
Ali began his work in education in Canada as a teacher of Arabic and Islamic studies at the Islamic Centre of Toronto (Jami Mosque) and held other responsibilities including Director of Education at the Centre. Later he served as the Imam and Director of the Islamic Center of Toronto and continues to be an Imam at large in the community. From 1992 to 1997 he served as President of ISNA. Dr. Ali is currently the Majlis Ash-Shura Chair of the Islamic Media Foundation and sits on the Board of Advisors of many Islamic organizations.\(^{314}\)

He was listed as the Secretary General of the ISNA when they lost their charity status for funding terrorism through the ISNA Development Fund.

*Secretary General, Abdalla Idris, Ali Ext: 205, sg@isnacanada.com\(^{315}\)*

Idris also has a series of other affiliations, as noted in his biography for a recent conference:

*Sheikh Abdalla Idris Ali is a well-known American Muslim public speaker, successful fund-raiser and served as ISNA’s President from 1992-1997. Currently, he serves as the Secretary General of Islamic Society of North America (Canada). Additionally, Sheikh Abdalla co-organized the Canadian Islamic Banking Conferences for 1996 and 1997. He also serves as a member on the Board of Trustees for the Islamic Teaching Center (ITC) and North American Islamic Trust (NAIT). (Emphasis added)*

*He is also on the Board of Advisors of the American Muslim Council (AMC) and past-Board member of the Council of Islamic Schools in North America. As an ISNA School principal, he developed and implemented Islamic and Arabic Studies curricula for elementary and junior high students. He has written various articles in Islamic Horizons and is a member of the ATP Editorial Board. His expertise is in the area of Islamic education in North America.\(^{316}\)*

The North American Islamic Trust (NAIT) is an unindicated co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation criminal trial in the USA which say multiple criminal convictions related to the funding of terrorism.

**Khadija Haffajee**

A biography of Khadija Haffajee from the Muslim Observer notes:

*Khadija Haffajee, Majlis Member*

*Khadija Haffajee is a retired schoolteacher who is originally from South Africa. In the past, she has served as chairperson for the ISNA Women’s Committee and Canadian Zonal Representative for the MSA Women’s Committee. She has been a speaker at ISNA Conferences on different occasions and acts as an advisor and counselor for Islamic youth camps.*

*In 1996, she was elected Assistant Secretary General of the International Muslim Women’s Union and was a member of the 1996 Steering Committee for Christian-Muslim NGO Dialogue on Development. She has received recognition for her work with Afghan refugees in Peshawar,*


Pakistan in 1987 and was a member of the Mayor’s Advisory Council on Religious Affairs in 1981. She was also the president of the Ottawa Muslim Women Auxiliary.  

Ms. Haffajee has also been on the board of directors of CAIR-CAN from its founding until the name change in 2013. She appears to be on the board of the newly formed National Council of Canadian Muslims – the new name for CAIR-CAN. She is of the few to have been there every year along with other stalwarts such as Dr. Wael Haddara (left at the end of 2012) and Dr. Jamal Badwi (still on the board).

Ms. Haffajee was also on the Editorial Board of the ISNA (North America) magazine Islamic Horizons when it published a cover article on Hassan Banna identifying him as a Martyr of our Times. The article itself was titled Remembering a True Guide – A Martyr of Dawa who offered the eternal message. She was also on the board of directors of the ISNA as well, serving in at least 2000 and 2005.

Assem Fadel

Mr. Fadel was the Chair/President of the World Islamic Call Society (Canada) from its formation until the time it lost its charity status for funding terrorism. CRA also states that there were dubious practices (private benefits to a director) where funds were used to benefit Mr. Fadel personally. At one point, the Canadian Chapter of the WICS handled money going from Libya to Jamaat al-Muslimeen which, among other things, used the money to try and overthrow the government of Trinidad and Tobago.

Also according to the CRA statement, Mr. Fadel was the primary director and only real person operating the charity and the money from Libya would be funnelled through his own bank account.

The WICS charity also moved money from Libya through Canada and onto the US as a means of avoiding sanctions there, according to the CRA.

According to the CRA when it revoked the charity status of WICS:

“The Society acts at the direction of, and receives all of its funding from, the Libyan-based World Islamic Call Society (WICS-Libya), an organization founded by Muammar al-Qadaffi (Gadhafi) in 1972 whose objects and activities are not confined to the advancement of religion as that term is understood under Canadian law.”

According to various sources, WICS-Libya is operated under the control of the Government of Libya and funded by allocations made by Muammar al-Qadaffi (Gadhafi) from “the Jihad Fund”. An affidavit and the Plea Agreement filed in the successful U.S. conviction of Abdurahman

317 http://theamericanmuslim.org/tam.php/features/articles/haffajee_khadija
318 See the ISNA magazine Islamic Horizons, March/April 1999 issue, pages 34 to-39. Hasan Al-Banna a Martyr of Our Time Original subtitle: Remembering a True Guide.  
319 http://canadiancharities.landoffree.com/person/Khadija_Haffajee
Muhammad Alamoudi in 2004 on charges of wilfully attempting to violate U.S. economic sanctions against Libya imposed because of Libya’s involvement in terrorist bombings and the downing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, attest to the use of the WICS-Libya’s network to move funds on behalf of the Libyan government in violation of the sanctions against Libya.” (FN4)

“The audit found that the majority of 2006, 2007, and 2008 expenditures made by the Society were for office rent, administrative expenses, and telephone expenses. The rent is paid to its Chairman/President Assem Fadel, and has been since June 2001 when it appears the office was moved to 106 Kent Street, London, a property which Mr. Fadel owns. Mr. Fadel also has a cellular phone paid for by the Society, in addition to a telephone line installed at the Kent Street property. These rent and phone expenses alone represent 52%, 70%, and 77% of the total expenses incurred by the Society for the years 2006, 2007, and 2008 respectively. The financial statements filed with the Society’s 2009 information returns indicate that all of its expenditures are administrative in nature, and that 78% of these expenditures were for telephone and office rental. We note, in particular, that the $9701 the Society has reported in section D4 of the return as the amount it has spent on charitable programs comprises the amounts paid for rent and telephone expenses.”

Mr. Fadel is also the current treasurer of the Islamic Centre for Southwestern Ontario (ICSO) which is also based in London Ontario.322 ICSO is also reported as a financial supporter of the Huron College’s (University of Western Ontario) new chair in Islamic studies.323 In his capacity as treasurer for the ICSO, he gives his email contact as wics@golden.net, an apparent reference to the World Islamic Call Society.324

Mr. Fadel is also a representative of the International Development and Relief Foundation where he gives his name and contact points as: Assem Fadel, London, ON, wics@golden.net, (519-438-3218)325

The ICSO is also the co-funder for the new chair in Islamic Studies at Huron College (University of Western Ontario) along with the Muslim Association of Canada. Dr. Wael Haddara of the MAC, speaking on behalf of the organization at the time (2011) stated:

“MAC welcomes Huron’s decision to create a chair in Islamic Studies,” said Wael Haddara, President of the Muslim Association of Canada. “And, we couldn’t be happier with their choice of Dr. Ingrid Mattson as the inaugural chair. Her academic and professional record is second-to-none and we are confident her expertise and teaching ability will raise the level of discussion about Islamic religion and culture in this country.”326

Dr. Haddara is a major figure in Muslim Brotherhood circles, including being an electoral and senior political advisor in the inner circle of the Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood President, Dr. Morsi. Dr. Mattson

322 951 Pond Mills Rd, London, ON, (519) 668-2269
324 http://chathamkent.cioc.ca/record/LON3285  See also: http://www.southwesthealthline.ca/printService.aspx?id=13285
is a major figure in the ISNA, which had the status of one of its charities revoked for funding terrorism. (ISNA – Development Fund)

Mr. Fadel also appears to be interested in Louis Farrakhan of the American based Nation of Islam, having travelled to Chicago in 2000 to attend an Islam Saviour’s Day event where Farrakhan was a major speaker. The presence of Mr. Fadel at the conference was noted in the press which stated:

Assem Fadel, a Muslim from Canada who is not a member of the Nation of Islam, applauded the distinction and said Farrakhan's speech provided him with "proof" that a Muslim unification was possible among U.S. groups.\(^\text{327}\)

The presence of Mr. Fadel at a Nation of Islam event may appear a bit unusual given that the NOI recognizes its founder Master Wallace Fard Muhammad as a divine being and that his follower Elijah Muhammad was revered as a prophet. Both of these concepts would be abhorrent to most Muslims, but both Mr. Farrakhan and Mr. Fadel have connections (funding and organizational) to Libya and to President Momar Gaddafi. Mr. Farrakhan has also stated in the past that he is looking at unification of his movement with other Islamic movements.\(^\text{328}\)

Abdallah Assafiri

A 1992 Directory of the Muslim Brotherhood of North America listed an A. Assafiri as the Masul for the East of Canada and gave his phone number as: H: (819) 372-3321.\(^\text{329}\) To have been listed as a “Masul” or leader in 1992, Mr. Assafiri must have been involved with the organization prior to 1992 as the position of Masul suggests some trust and responsibility within the organisation.

Mr. Assafiri is a member of the Centre culturel islamique de Québec where he is described as being the “directeur de la formation et de l’animation religieuse”\(^\text{330}\) He stated that the organization was formed as a non-profit organization in 1985 during his testimony to the Quebec Provincial Legislature.\(^\text{331}\)

He has been a speaker at events such as the ISNA 2002 annual conference where he spoke on the issue of “Being a Muslim in Canada.”\(^\text{332}\)

He has also been a commentator on a number of social issue in Quebec including issues related to convers and marriage\(^\text{333}\) and the wearing of the hijab in sports.

\(^\text{327}\) [http://www.angelfire.com/me/anneesa/Farrakhan.html](http://www.angelfire.com/me/anneesa/Farrakhan.html) and [http://www.apnewsarchive.com/2000/Farrakhan-Reaffirms-Reconcile-Vow/id-32b0c6e81eacc1cf85a250f36e0926a7](http://www.apnewsarchive.com/2000/Farrakhan-Reaffirms-Reconcile-Vow/id-32b0c6e81eacc1cf85a250f36e0926a7)

\(^\text{328}\) [http://www.angelfire.com/me/anneesa/Farrakhan.html](http://www.angelfire.com/me/anneesa/Farrakhan.html)

\(^\text{329}\) For a copy of this see, among others, [http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1083.pdf](http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1083.pdf)


Mr. Assafiri is also a member of the “Coalition Québec-Palestine.” In a newspaper article he is described as being “un Canadien d’origine libanaise, membre de la Coalition.” (A Canadian of Lebanese origin, member of the Coalition.) 334

Mr. Assafiri also appears to be/was the named administrative contract for the Government of Quebec’s web domain **gouv.qc.ca**, according to the Who IS registry of domain name sites.

gouv.qc.ca registry whois 335
Domain name: **gouv.qc.ca**
Domain status: registered
Creation date: 2000/10/23
Expiry date: 2018/09/22
Name: A.R.C. Informatique Inc.
Number: 401749
Registrant: Gouvernement du Quebec Conseil du tresor Services gouvernementaux
Administrative contact: **Abdallah Assafiri**
Postal address: 1500, Cyrille-Duquet, Quebec QC G1N 4T6 Canada
Phone: 1 (418) 644-4667
Fax: 1 (418) 643-5789
Email: @internet.gouv.qc.ca

Ayman Sharawi
Ayman Sharawi is formerly of Toronto and was an individual who attended the (in)famous 1993 Philadelphia meeting. He is listed in the official transcripts of the FBI recording of the meeting as AY. He is believed to be married to the sister of the Palestinian wife of Ahmed Said Khadr, an al Qaeda financial and operational figure. Mr. Khadr had also been living in Toronto on-and-off until he died in a shootout with Pakistani authorities in October of 2003.336 Sharawi was using the Toronto area phone number of 416-391-0324 at that time and this phone number shows up in the phone book of Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzook, the founder of the Islamic Association of Palestine in the USA and currently believed to be the number two figure in HAMAS.337 He may now be living in Saudi Arabia with his wife.

Chiheb Battikh (also reported as Chihab Batikh, Chihab Battikh and Chihab Battiel338)

Chiheb Battikh is a former Tunisian who has lived in Canada for approximately 25 years. His most recent address was in Montreal Quebec, but he has also lived in Mississauga Ontario.

335 WHOIS look-up made at 2014-03-02 15:44:42 (GMT)
336 For a profile of Mr. Khadr, see: [http://www.cbc.ca/news2/interactives/khadr/slides.html](http://www.cbc.ca/news2/interactives/khadr/slides.html)
338 [http://canadiancharities.landoffree.com/charity/Muslim_Association_Of_Canada](http://canadiancharities.landoffree.com/charity/Muslim_Association_Of_Canada)
Given the profile that the Muslim Brotherhood gives to dawah, education and outreach, an individual who directs such activities on the part of an adherent organization can be considered a key figure. Mr. Battikh was head of the education section for the Muslim Association of Canada.

In March of 2014, he pled guilty to the attempted kidnapping of the three year old son of a rich Montreal businessman and was sentenced to six years. The intent of the kidnapping was ransom. The alleged kidnapping attempt took place in December 2012 near the F.X. Garneau Park in Outremont. Court documents produced as a result of the preliminary hearing held in 2013 suggest that Mr. Battikh was planning the kidnapping at least nine months ahead of time, although court testimony also suggested the attack was only planned “weeks” ahead.

A French language paper (Tunis Tribune) also picked up the kidnap for ransom story and the headline read:

\[Canada: \text{Un Tuniso-canadien, proche d'Ennahdha accusé d'enlèvement d'enfant}\]

(Canada: A Tunisian Canadian, close to Ennahdha accused of kidnapping a child)

The Ennahdha Movement and political party has long standing connections to the Muslim Brotherhood as well as some earlier connections to the Iranian Khomeneist revolution. While claiming to be moderate, the party’s general secretary in Tunisia, Hamadi Jebali, called the Tunisian revolution “a divine moment in a new state, and in, hopefully, a 6th caliphate,” and that “the liberation of Tunisia will, God willing, bring about the liberation of Jerusalem.” Shortly after that, leaders of the HAMAS party visited Tunisia.

Mr. Battikh has been involved with the Muslim Association of Canada (MAC) for considerably more than 10 years and has filled a number of leadership roles. He has been quoted in the press on numerous occasions in an MAC role. He was on the Board of Directors as far back as at least 2000, on the executive committee and he has also been the Head of the MAC Education Department and played a role in the MAC’s “Springs of Knowledge” program as well. His name was also quoted as being a

339 The name of the victim was the subject of a publication ban at the time of his bail hearings and convictions and will remain in effect in perpetuity as a child was the primary victim.
340 See the story in the Journal de Montreal at: http://www.journaldemontreal.com/2014/03/21/kidnapping-six-ans-au-cachot-pour-lenlevement-dun-bambin-de-3-ans
341 The author read the transcript of the preliminary hearing in the Montreal courthouse on 22 April 2014. The dates of 02 April 2012 and 18 April 2012 are identified by the SPVM as being the dates he was searching the Internet for information on how to obtain pepper spray and a Taser. When arrested, Mr. Battikh had both in his possession.
343 http://news.tunistribune.com/
344 See more at: http://news.tunistribune.com/?q=node/6#sthash.ThVG0Wo2.dpuf The paper is published in Paris, France.
346 See the CRA charities website for further information on the MAC and its board members.
347 See the website at: http://springsofknowledge.com/#
representative of the MAC responsible for the purchase of a building when the MAC announced\textsuperscript{348} that they would purchase a new property for an Islamic Centre at 615 rue Belmont, Montreal, QC, H3B 2L8. The three million dollar deal was the subject of a court action and Mr. Battikh’s name appears as acting on behalf of the MAC.\textsuperscript{349} The status of the purchase remains unclear as the transaction is being contested in court. His name was also listed as a contact for an MAC West Island sports camp for children with the contact number of 514-983-5566.\textsuperscript{350}

The Muslim Association of Canada has a strong, long standing link to the Muslim Brotherhood and its founder, Hassan Banna. As noted elsewhere in this paper, the MAC believes:

\textit{MAC's roots are deeply enshrined in the message of Prophet Mohammad. It's modern roots can be traced to the vigorous intellectual revivalist effort that took hold in Muslim societies starting in the early twentieth century. This revival aimed at reconciling faith with the challenges of modernity and providing a clear articulation of balance and moderation in understanding Islam. In the Arab world, this revival culminated in the writings of the late Imam Hassan al-Banna and the movement of the Society of Muslim Brothers (commonly known as the Muslim Brotherhood). Al-Banna’s core messages of constructive engagement in society, focus on personal and communal empowerment, and organizational development had a deep impact on much of the Muslim world.}\textsuperscript{351}

\textit{It is now 75 years since Al-Banna initiated that blessed effort. The efforts of the Muslim Association of Canada are separate from the writings and organization of Al-Banna by time and space. The assertion that much of our philosophy and vision derive from the efforts of Al-Banna should not be taken to mean that we adopt in wholesale fashion all of the ideas developed and put forward by Al-Banna or the Muslim Brotherhood. However, we believe that the efforts of Al-Banna and subsequent generations of the Muslim Brotherhood remain the truest reflection of Islamic practice in the modern era.}\textsuperscript{352}

\textbf{Daood Zwink}

Daood Zwink has a long history with a number of Muslim Brotherhood adherent organizations including the ISNA and the MYNA. He is currently living in Michigan. He recently became the new executive director of the Michigan Muslim Community Council. The announcement June 6, 2013

\textit{Daood Zwink is MMCC's new Executive Director. He has a long history of community service. He worked with the Islamic Society of North America, and served as its Vice President. He was one of the founders of the Muslim Youth of North America, and more recently, worked with the

\textsuperscript{348} Assalalamou alaikom, L’association musulmane du Canada est heureuse de vous annoncer l’acquisition d’un nouveau centre islamique dans le centre ville de Montréal. Il s’agit d’un édifice de cinq étages sise à l’adresse suivante :615 Rue Belmont, Montréal, QC H3B 2L8. See: \url{http://musulmansgrandmontreal.net/mgm/node/733}

\textsuperscript{349} \url{http://pointdebasculecanada.ca/images/data/pdf/0%20org%20mac%20belmont%20motion.pdf}

\textsuperscript{350} For the poster and announcement of this camp see: \url{http://events.noorgle.com/attachments/macyouth-04.pdf}

\textsuperscript{351} \url{http://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/About%20MAC.aspx}

\textsuperscript{352} \url{https://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/FAQ.aspx}
Mr. Zwink, as noted, was one of the founders of the MYNA, an offshoot of the ISNA. His role seems to have been extensive, as noted in a history of the MYNA. Several entries note him as:

Dec. 26-31, 1985 - The First Annual Muslim Youth Winter Conference takes place at ISNA Headquarters in Plainfield, IN, conducted by the ISNA Youth Planning Committee. Umar Hasan is the Chairman of both the committee and the conference. Fatima Abugideiri is the conference [program?] chairperson. Dawood Zwink is a speaker [and probably an advisor].

1988-89 – Ahmad Zaki Hammad elected for his second term as ISNA President. Both Dawood Zwink is VP U.S. and Dr. Syed Imtiaz Ahmad is V.P. Canada again for a second term as well. Ghulam Nabi Fai is president of MSA.

Feb. 13-14, 1988 - MYNA Executive Committee Meeting at ISNA Headquarters. Attendees include Dawood Zwink, chair of the advisory board, Baha Ahmed, east zone advisor, Nadifa Abdi, central zone advisor, Abdel Waheed Mustafa, western Canada zone advisor.

Feb. 13-14, 1988 - MYNA Executive Committee Meeting at ISNA Headquarters. Attendees include Dawood Zwink, chair of the advisory board, Baha Ahmed, east zone advisor, Nadifa Abdi, central zone advisor, Abdel Waheed Mustafa, western Canada zone advisor.

Khalid Tarabain

Mr Tarabain was on the ISNA Canada and ISNA USA board of directors when ISNA lost charity status in 2014 for funding terrorism.

He is currently listed as an area representative on the Board of Directors of Human Concern International as well as being on the board of HCI in 2006.

He has filled a number of other roles such as:

KHALID TARABAIN, director, ISNA-IDB EDUCATION TRUST (Canada, 19 Sep 2001-)
KHALID TARABAIN, director, THE CANADIAN ISLAMIC TRUST FOUNDATION (Canada, 5 Jul 1983-)
KHALID TARABAIN, director, ISLAMIC SCHOOLS ASSOCIATION OF CANADA (ISAC) (Canada, 26 Sep 1983-)
KHALID TARABAIN, director, AL RASHID MOSQUE (Canada, 23 Feb 2009-)

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353 See the announcement in the Muslim Observer at: http://muslimmedianetwork.com/mmn/?p=13362
355 http://www.humanconcern.org/page.aspx?pid=375 Address in Ottawa is 877 Shefford Road, K1J 8H9, Gloucester, Ontario, Tel: 613-742-5948 or 1-800-587-6424, Fax: 613-742-7733. Toronto office is Jaafar Dirie - 7150 Edwards Blvd. Mississauga, ON, L5S 1Z1 Tel: (905) 564-1810 E-mail: hcipta@humanconcern.org; Office in Lebanon is Dr. A. M. Haddad, Mr. Rabih Yazbeck - P.O. Box 113-5395 Beirut, Lebanon Tel: (961) 1-360256 E-mail: info@hcilebanon.org; Montreal office is Yazan Nasreddin - 3600 Barclay, Suite 325, Montreal, QC H3S 2A6 T/F: (514) 807-5756 Email: montreal@humanconcern.org
Mr. Tarabain was also the Chairman of the Edmonton Islamic Academy. The Edmonton Islamic Academy Building is owned by the Arabian Muslim Association (Canadian Islamic Centre) and operated by Edmonton Islamic Academy Society through a rental agreement.  

Of note, the Arabian Muslim Association was involved in a 2004 court case concerning the use of the name “Canadian Islamic Centre, Al-Rashid Mosque” which was also being used by an Imam who had briefly worked at the mosque. The court documents note that:

On June 20, 2002, a trust agreement was in fact concluded between the Arabian Muslim Association and the World Islamic Call Society concerning the operation of the “Canadian Islamic Centre, Al-Rashid Mosque”, the complex on 113 St. in Edmonton.

The court also made reference to an earlier agreement between the Arabian Muslim Association and

Clause 1: (Supervisory Board)

The Arabian Muslim Association (AMA) and The World Islamic Call Society (WICS) agree to establish a Supervisory Board consisting of five members, three from the AMA and two from the WICS who are non-residents of the city of Edmonton, with the chairman being from the AMA. The Chairman will not have a vote unless there is a tie.

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357 https://opencorporates.com/officers?button=&q=Khalid+Tarabain+&utf8=%E2%9C%93
358 Edmonton Islamic Academy website as of 14 March 2014 http://www.islamicacademy.ca/site/board_of_trustees
359 Arabian Muslim Association v. Canadian Islamic Centre, 2004 ABQB 784, Date: 20041101, Docket: 9703 03258, Registry: Edmonton
18. The Muslim Brotherhood and Canadian Organizations – Three Examples

The Muslim Brotherhood has a wide range of organizations that operate in North America. Most of them exist on both sides of the border in parallel or similar structures such as the ISNA in both countries or CAIR in the USA and CAIR CAN in Canada. This section will look at three examples of Muslim Brotherhood organizations and give an overview of how they were created and why the larger civil and democratic society should take precautions. What is being taught and advocated by these organizations should be of serious concern. The three examples will be the Young Muslims of Canada which is an offshoot of the ICNA, the now defunct Muslim Youth of North America and CAIR-CAN/NCCM.

The first example of Young Muslims in Canada was chosen as it shows how the teachings of Hassan Banna and Sayyid Qutb are being put forth to young persons living in Canada. The concepts of being a martyr and a “lover of death” are being openly advocated and indeed recommended with glowing introductions.

The second example of the Muslim Youth of North America (MYNA) was chosen as it shows, in their own words, how the Muslim Brotherhood created the Muslim Student Association, the Islamic Society of North America, the MYNA and a host of smaller professional organizations. It also includes a short section on Fawad Siddiqui, who has heavily researched the MYNA and ISNA making use of his position as an insider. Given that the ISNA holds him out as a leader of youth and a part of their youth internship program, his views and research are especially worthy of examination.

The CAIR-CAN/NCCM example was chosen as it clearly shows the CAN/USA cross border nature of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America. It also serves as an excellent example of the centrality of the Palestinian cause in the Muslim Brotherhood as well as the ongoing policy and practice of denial. Lastly, it gives insight into an organization that has filed a lawsuit against the Prime Minister of Canada and his PMO spokesman.

Young Muslims in Canada-ICNA: Lovers of Death?
The ICNA (Islamic Circle of North America) has offices in Canada and the USA. Each of them also has a youth wing and a children’s wing. The youth wing in Canada is called “Young Muslims in Canada.” Its website (http://web.youngmuslims.ca/) provides reading and references to a long list of Muslim Brotherhood figures such as the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood Hassan Banna as well as Dr. Yusuf Al Qaradawi and Sayyid Qutb. Dr. Qaradawi holds a prominent intellectual role in the Muslim Brotherhood and stated himself that he grew up in its traditions. Sayyid Qutb was a key figure of the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1950s and 1960s and was executed for his role in the attempted overthrow of the government of President Nasser of Egypt. His written works such as In the Shade of the Qur’an and Milestones retain a high profile to this day.

Note this explanation about the role of the organization from the ICNA (USA):

360 In an introduction to one of his books, Dr. Qaradawi states: However, in most examples I will be citing the Muslim Brotherhood, because that is the movement where I grew up; I experienced all its hardships and good times, and shared in many of the events it witnessed over almost a half-century. See: http://www.islambasics.com/view.php?bkID=48&chapter=1
ICNA’s youth division Young Muslims (YM) provides the largest off-campus platform for and by the Youth in North America. YM arranges summer and winter camps, youth NeighborNets and other activities for long-term development of youth as true Muslims. YM is organized separately for brothers and sisters.\(^{361}\)

ICNA’s (USA) website also states:

**Young Muslims Sisters is the youth division of ICNA for young girls.**\(^{362}\)

The ICNA Canada website says that it has three divisions. Included in that is the youth division.

**ICNA Canada has three divisions: ICNA Canada Sisters Wing, Young Muslims Sisters and Young Muslims Brothers.**\(^{363}\)

In 2007, the Young Muslims in Canada organization was described in the press as:

*Mississauga-based Young Muslims of Canada is a grassroots organization that works towards outreach, education and development, and service was started in 1995. Syed Reza, 25, the national coordinator for the organization, said Muslim youths are at times at odds with their surroundings, and the problem has to be addressed by the community as a whole.*\(^{364}\)

The full title of the website is “Young Muslims in Canada - In Pursuit of Allah's Pleasure.” The site is available at: [www.youngmuslims.ca](http://www.youngmuslims.ca)

When promoting itself to potential youth members, the Young Muslims in Canada website offers the following:

*Who are we? An Islamic organization working for and through the Muslim youth in Canada. Our aim is the establishment of Islam in North America in its entirety and comprehensiveness. We work towards the spiritual, moral, intellectual, and social revival of Muslim youth through Dawah (invitation to Islam), Tarbiyah (education & training), Tazkiyah (personal development), and community involvement and activism.*\(^{365}\) (Emphasis added)

A variety of articles in their online library of books provides insight into what is being presented to the youth involved. The article written by Hassan Banna with the simple title of “Jihad” has a preface written by Dr A. M. A. Fahmy of the International Islamic Forum. In the preface\(^{366}\) Dr. Fahmy notes the following:

*Though jihad may be a part of the answer to the problems of the ummah, it is an extremely important part. Jihad is to offer ourselves to Allah for His Cause. Indeed, every person should according to Islam prepare himself/herself for jihad and every person should eagerly and

\(^{361}\)[http://icnasc.org/about-icna](http://icnasc.org/about-icna) (as of 07 March 2014)

\(^{362}\)See the photo caption at: [http://www.icna.org/youth-conference-2012/](http://www.icna.org/youth-conference-2012/)

\(^{363}\)[http://icnacanada.net/about-2/divisions/](http://icnacanada.net/about-2/divisions/)


\(^{366}\)This same preface also shows up on a Facebook site with the title “Return Of The Khilafa before 1445 A.H. In sha Allaah.” The Facebook site appears to be calling for the return of a caliphate before 1445 A.H. which means 2024 C.E. [https://www.facebook.com/ReturnOfTheKhilafaBefore1445AhInShaAllaah](https://www.facebook.com/ReturnOfTheKhilafaBefore1445AhInShaAllaah)
patiently wait for the day when Allah will call them to show their willingness to sacrifice their lives. We should all ask ourselves if there is a quicker way to heaven? It is with this in mind that this booklet is being published.\(^{367}\) (Emphasis added)

Within the paper presented there are other views worthy of note which were written by Hassan Banna and presented on the Young Muslims in Canada website:

My brothers! The ummah that knows how to die a noble and honourable death is granted an exalted life in this world and eternal felicity in the next. Degradation and dishonour are the results of the love of this world and the fear of death.

Therefore prepare for jihad and be the lovers of death. Life itself shall come searching after you. (emphasis added)

You should yearn for an honourable death and you will gain perfect happiness. May Allah grant myself and yours the honour of martyrdom in His way!\(^{368}\)

As one observer notes about the overall indoctrination of young Muslims living in Canada:

Young minds are encouraged to feel hostility for their Canadian homeland in Sayyid Qutb’s Milestones which propounds that “any place where the Islamic Shari’ah is not enforced and where Islam is not dominant becomes the home of Hostility [Dar-ul-Harb, more precisely translated as the House of War] for both the Muslim and the Dhimmi [religious minorities tolerated by Muslims in exchange of a special tax]” and that “A Muslim will remain prepared to fight against it...”.\(^{369}\)

**Muslim Youth of North America (MYNA) – What is Aimed at Youth?**

A review of the MYNA organisation is a useful exercise as it casts a light on some of the early organizations founded under the umbrella of the Muslim Brotherhood. Research provided by the MYNA itself shows that the first major organization founded by the Muslim Brotherhood in North America was the Muslim Students Association, founded in the Chicago area in 1963. One of the next major steps was the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) which was in the works for several years before being organized with its new premises in Indiana in 1982/1983. From the ISNA came a number of other organizations. One of these was the MYNA.

The MYNA is also a useful example as it shows the cross-border nature of the Muslim Brotherhood adherent organizations. The MYNA was formed with a mixture of American and Canadian based individuals with a variety of events and camps in both countries. While there are voices in the ISNA now

\(^{367}\) [http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/jihad/](http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/jihad/)

\(^{368}\) See the closing summation of the paper JIHAD: HASAN AL-BANNA at: [http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/jihad/](http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/jihad/)

that claim the organizations in Canada and the USA are separate, this shows that the ISNA and MYNA were truly integrated across borders.

Fawad Siddiqui and Asad Siddiqui posted a history of the Muslim Youth of North America (MYNA) on the World Wide Web. Mr. Fawad Siddiqui was in the MYNA and helped organize some of its events. As they note, the idea for the formation of the MYNA has its roots in a 1974/75 reorganization of the Muslim Students Association and the subsequent formation of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) (1982-1983). The research work is extensive and it is clear that the author(s) had access to the files of the Islamic Society of North America’s offices in Indiana. The research includes an impressive collection of names, dates, meeting decisions, funding challenges and solutions as well as insights into internal wrangling within the MYNA, the ISNA and the MSA as well as the close relationship of these three organizations as the Muslim Brotherhood expanded its operations in North America.

In its March/April 2004 issue, the ISNA’s magazine *Islamic Horizons* published a series of article on the MYNA written by Taneeza Islam and Fawad Siddiqui. Much of the material on the website is similar to the material in the ISNA magazine. As such, it seems reasonable to assume that the material represents the views of the ISNA. Fawad Siddiqui is listed as an associate editor in this magazine issue. (page 49).

The first part of the history is called *History of MYNA - Part 1 Premordial (sic) Sludge*

He begins the history with the following:

1950s-60s-70s-80s - Youth Camps are a standard part Islamic Movement programs in the Muslim world, particularly done by the Ikhwan-al-Muslimoon which starts in Egypt and is strong in many Arab Muslim countries. Muslims start to immigrate to America as students and form local associations. They become the MSA of US and Canada in 1963.

As an insider of the MYNA and someone with trusted access to its files, Mr. Siddiqui makes two interesting observations here. The first is that Youth Camps are a standard part of the Muslim Brotherhood’s (Ikhwan-al-Muslimoon) operations. The second is the implicit observation that the

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371 See [http://mynamiami.blogspot.ca/2005/09/history-of-myna-part-1-premordial.html](http://mynamiami.blogspot.ca/2005/09/history-of-myna-part-1-premordial.html) and note the comment: March (or April), 2002 - The MYNA Olympics take place in Atlanta, Georgia. (Note: they may have been called the MSA Sportsfest by this point.) A team from Miami goes representing the MYNA Miami chapter (Fawad Siddiqui is the coach). See also the statement: Imam Magid, Imam Musri, and Fawad Siddiqui are included among the speakers. See also: The 1994 FYLTP happens in Herndon Virginia with 75 people in attendance. The youth complain about a lack of parental involvement. MYNA is still referred to as a “youth movement.” [This may be the one I, Fawad Siddiqui, attended as the Region 7 Director of Publicity, or maybe that was 1995.]


374 There were other youth organizations with the overall umbrella of the MSA and the ISNA. Mr. Siddiqui notes that: 1976 - Ezzat Jaradat is president of MSA (succeeded by Yaqub Mirza). MAYA, the Muslim Arab Youth of America, is founded as an MSA constituent organization-it is actually an adaptation and conglomeration of existing Arab students associations, primarily the Kuwaiti Students Association, according to Ahmed ElHattab, who was active in the previous organizations, as well. ElHattab is MAYA’s first president. Their programs are primarily in Arabic with overlapping speakers from MSA programs, but also others who only speak Arabic from overseas. [Much later there will be a Malaysian Islamic Studies Group under the MSA/ISNA umbrella for years, as well. Both will decline in the 80s (check)--and indeed die out--before MYNA’s similar decline in the late 90s, but then MYNA is
Muslin Student Association of the US and Canada was formed by Ikhwan in 1963 as a result of their immigration to North America. This is consistent with the claims of a number of senior Muslin Brotherhood officials such as Mohammed Akram\textsuperscript{375} and Zeid al-Noman.\textsuperscript{376}

In Part Two of his history, Mr. Siddiqui writes that:

\textit{MSA Graduates to ISNA, takes Youth Committee along for the ride}

\textbf{1979-1980} - M. Naziruddin Ali is MSA president. MSA Headquarters is built in Plainfield, Indiana (it may have been completed in 1982 or 1983.) [It will go on to host many youth camps, conferences, training programs, executive council and advisor meetings, the Youth Committee chair’s desk, a MYNA office, the MYNA cubicle, the MYNA cabinet, and eventually the current ISNA/MYNA youth director.]

\textbf{1981-82} - Sayyid M. Syeed is MSA president. The proposed change from MSA to the “Islamic Society of North America” takes effect. The existing MSA umbrella organization becomes the ISNA umbrella organization, with various constituent organizations under it, including existing MSA constituent organizations, such as the Islamic Medical Association (IMA), as well as newly formed groups, such as the Muslim Communities Association (MCA).

In these two paragraphs, Mr. Siddiqui observes what is commonly believed. The MSA had grown over the almost 20 year period of its founding in 1963 and had matured to the point where it becomes the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) with a wider field of interests. Note also that there are other organizations developing such as the IMA and MCA, indicative of the policy of building multiple organizations to develop a series of voices – albeit all of them tracing back to the Muslim Brotherhood.

Mr. Siddiqui then points out:

\textbf{1983} - Ilyas Ba Yunus is President is the first ISNA president. (2) Da’ud Mulla is “Youth (Boys) Chairman,” (2b) Tanveer Mirza is “Youth (Girls) Chairman” of the ISNA Youth Committee, which has clearly been subdivided into Boys and Girls groups by this point.\textsuperscript{377}

From this statement, it is also clear that the ISNA, from its inception, has a youth wing divided into male and female. This observation is followed by:

\textit{starting to be revived while they are not. But as MAYA and MYNA—and probably MISG in some form—were very successful for very many years, people who went through their programs are now prominently placed in Muslim American community leadership and Islamic activism via various organizations and efforts throughout the country. When in 1994, ICNA seeks to start a youth wing, they approach MYNA leaders who advise them in the creation of ICNA’s YM, or Young Muslims, a more ICNA-movement-oriented and indeed smaller scale version of MYNA, basically, which continues to operate till today, as does a 90s-formed youth wing of the Muslim American Society (MAS), known as MAS Youth, as the only Muslim youth organizations with functional structures. They are picking up steam today while MYNA goes through reorganization.}

\textsuperscript{375} See the list of Muslim Brotherhood organizations in An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America 5/22/1991.

\textsuperscript{376} See also the multiple references to the MSA and the Muslim Brotherhood in "Ikhwan in America," a speech and Q&A by Zeid al-Noman. See, among many other sources: http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/26.pdf

\textsuperscript{377} See History of MYNA - Part 2 MSA to ISNA which is available online at: http://mynamiami.blogspot.ca/2005/09/history-of-myna-part-2-msa-to-isna.html
1984 – Ba-Yunus still president. (3) Junaid Noor Hasnain, from Columbia, Maryland, is the chairperson of the Youth Committee. (His number then listed is 301-730-5044). (3b) Fatima Abu Gideiri [the daughter of former 1973-74 MSA President, the now late, Tijani Abu Gideiri], from Indianapolis, IN, is the chairperson of the “Young Muslimah Subcommittee.” [Her number then listed is 317-882-9798. As of 2003, she now lives in the Washington DC area]. The ISNA Youth Committee is now said to be mostly all comprised of American-born-and-raised Muslim youth.378

Mr. Siddiqui later notes the family relationships will be important:

This is also the birth of the MYNA “dynasties” as Sameer has siblings who will also go on to positions of power in the MYNA structure, a common occurrence over the next 20 years, but to be fair, it was already a common feature of MSA activities and is still a feature of Islamic work in America today, as it is families with interest and their children that prove willing to take on the bulk of the voluntary efforts.379

Family Connections: It is worth noting here that the head of the Young Muslimah Subcommittee at that time was also the daughter of the former MSA President. Family relationships and family ties across organizational boundaries are common in many of the Muslim Brotherhood organizations. In Egypt, Mahmoud Ghozlan is a member of the Brotherhood’s Guidance Office and served as secretary-general of the group until his arrest in February 2002. Currently, he is married to Fatima al-Shater, the sister of MB deputy supreme guide Khairat al-Shater.380 Mahmoud Ezzat is currently the Deputy supreme guide of the Muslim Brotherhood and he is married to the daughter of former supreme guide Mahdi Akef. Ahmed Fahmi, the speaker of the Egyptian Speaker of the Shura Council (upper house of parliament) and his son is married to the daughter of Dr. Morsi, the Muslim Brotherhood member who was president of Egypt in 2012/2013. Dr. Wael Haddara (MAC, CAIR CAN, IRFAN and senior political advisor to the Egyptian President) is the son of a Muslim Brotherhood activist and his brother Yasser is also active, including being an advisor to the President Morsi of Egypt as well.

Following several years of discussion, the ISNA decided in 1985 to officially form the MYNA in 1985. The leaders of the ISNA agreed to the plan and encouraged its development. They believed that they had a “proposed organization that may one day take its rightful place within the framework of ISNA alongside MSA and MCA” as was noted in the Jan.-Feb. 1986 Islamic Horizons magazine article on the conference.383

378 See History of MYNA - Part 2 MSA to ISNA which is available online at: http://mynamiami.blogspot.ca/2005/09/history-of-myna-part-2-msa-to-isna.html
380 For more on this see Who’s Who in Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood which is available online at: https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/whos-who-in-the-muslim-brotherhood
381 For more on this see Who’s Who in Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood which is available online at: https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/whos-who-in-the-muslim-brotherhood
382 For more on this see Who’s Who in Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood which is available online at: https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/whos-who-in-the-muslim-brotherhood
The First Annual Muslim Youth Winter Conference takes place at ISNA Headquarters in Plainfield, IN, conducted by the ISNA Youth Planning Committee. Umar Hasan is the Chairman of both the committee and the conference. Fatima Abugideiri is the conference chairperson. Dawood Zwink is a speaker [and probably an advisor].

Youth representatives from the five ISNA zones and several Islamic Centers and Societies attend, many of them the children of ISNA leaders, activists, and workers, or those generally involved with ISNA activities throughout the continent. The conference program is a combination of educational lectures and panel discussions, and organizational meetings to discuss the structure....

MYNA is founded, introduced, discussed, formatted and approved at the conference. There is an election and five representatives on a national committee and two regional reps from every zone formed the center of the functional youth activities. The original structure had a president, vice president, secretary, treasurer and zonal representatives, all youth.

The elected officers were Central US Zone: Sameer Bade, Western US Zone: Cameron Kergaye, Eastern US Zone: Furqan Ismail and Hayat Alvi, Canadian Zone: Hoda Fahmy.

The Islamic Horizons magazine is a publication of the ISNA. Among others, Khadija Haffajee (CAIR CAN, NCCM, ISNA) of Ottawa has been on the editorial board. At the time that Khadija Haffajee was on the editorial board, the magazine published a glowing article on Hassan Banna and called him the True Guide.

In 1985, there was also the publication of the first issue of “New Dawn” which would become the official publication of the MYNA. In the history of the MYNA, it is stated that the first contributors of the publication were all founding members of the MYNA. They were Ambara Abdi, Afeefa Syeed, Cameron Kergaye, Sameer Bade, Nikhat Zafaruddin, and Rahat Kurd is quoted. The editorial board was made up of Suhail A. Khan, Sameer A. Bade and Zeynab O. Ahmed. It covers the conference, touts it, and outlines the goals for “Islamic Youth Movement in North America.”

Of note, Suhail Khan is the son of Dr. Mahboob Khan, one of the original founders of the MSA according to his obituary which was published on IkhwanNet. Suhail Khan gained some notoriety when he declared that there was no Muslim Brotherhood in America while at a Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) Conference.

See the complete section at: http://mynamiami.blogspot.ca/2005/09/history-of-myna-part-4-birth-of-myna.html
Khadija Haffajee is a retired schoolteacher who is originally from South Africa. In the past, she has served as chairperson for the ISNA Women’s Committee and Canadian Zonal Representative for the MSA Women’s Committee. For more on her biography see the separate listing on her in this paper or see the ISNA’s own description of her on their website at: http://www.isna.net/about/profiles/Khadija_Haffaje.html
Islamic Voice, MAY 1999, MONTHLY * Vol 13-05 No:149 * MAY 1999/ SAFAR 1419H
See the video at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5lnIla7twYc
In the closing of Part Four on his history of the MYNA, Mr. Siddique closes with:

“Because of you dedicated young Muslims all this was possible. Pat yourselves on the back. You deserve it!” “ISNA provided free facilities for this conference and made the burden lighter to carry. A pillar of support.” From the start ISNA is referred to as an outside supporting body.

The MYNA ran a series of training camps with a number of them being in Canada. The longest running appears to have been the Annual Canada MYNA Camp which came to be known as the Long Bay Camp although the first camping event was held in Paris Ontario and not in Long Bay itself. The remaining 18 Annual MYNA Camps (that were noted in this history) were all held in Long Bay Ontario, just south of Ottawa. Among the entries noted for the Long Bay camps are the following four entries:

July 28-31, 1988 - Br./Sr. Summer Rec. Camp (Paris Camp, ON)

July 14-17, 1988 - “Second Annual Canadian MYNA Camp” aka the “Long Bay Camp,” held in Paris, Ontario (Canada East Zone) themed “Nature Allah’s Gift-Let’s Get Down to Earth”, 80 participant youth from Ottawa, Toronto, and Montreal. Innovative camp concept. Dawood also attends/speaks. Rahat Kurd attends and writes of the camp in the Dec. 1988 Islamic Horizons: “‘Islam in the great outdoors, with salat under the stars,’ is how the Second Annual Canadian MYNA Camp was billed. Unlike most clever ad copy, that’s just what it was...so it didn’t mention the mosquitos. But with “Nature: Allah’s Gift: Let’s Get Down to Earth” as its theme, this three-and-a-half-day whirlwind camp in Long Bay, Ontario was well worth the Calamine. Most participants-youth from Ottawa, Toronto, and Montreal-were drawn to the new approach to this year’s endeavor: inviting campers to take a long, loving look at their diverse natural surroundings, from the complex, tiny world of bees and ants, to glorious sunsets and crescents.

July 7-9, 1989 - East Canada Summer Recreational Camp, Long Bay Camp, Ontario. About 70 youth attended. “The program was for the most part highly interactive and emphasized simulation exercises.” “Build Islamistan was an exercise with the difficulties in achieving practical peace with Islam as the foundation.” Life in a Shanty Town illustrated competition for scarce resources and the consequences of interaction between first, second, and third world countries.

July 13-15, 1990 – East Canada Long Bay Camp, Ontario, theme “A Time for Iman.” Some of the more valuable sessions were simulation exercises. “Sand Castles” was an exercise concerning the different forms of government and how Islam reacts to each one of them. Other sessions included Da’wa, different ways of approaching people, interaction between the genders, and separate sessions for the brothers and the sisters to freely talk about their concerns.

In Part 14 of the history, there is the following entry that suggests the Long Bay Camps continued under the name of the Muslin Youth of Ottawa which is seen as a descendant of the MYNA Camps.

http://www.myo.ca/camp/ - the Muslim Youth of Ottawa page contains current info on the existing youth group there which is the descendant of the MYNA group there. Also it has information about the Long Bay Ottawa Youth Camps, which have run for 19 years and ARE the MYNA Long Bay Camps, still going. http://www.myo.ca/isa.htm - the MYO is so strong that it’s become an umbrella organization that’s created basically a High School MSA program of it’s
There are also references to other camps run by the MYNA in Canada. For instance:

Aug. 11-18, 1990 – West Canada Zone Conference at Clear Lake, Manitoba. Themed “Islam as an Alternative Life-style.” The program of this camp focused on issues such as Islamic identity, the significance of prayer, parent-child relationships in Islam, the Companions’ techniques of problem-solving, programming youth activities, Da’wa techniques, and world issues.

Rather humorously, the author notes that people from Toronto sometimes feel they speak for all of Canada:

Nov. 1987 - Islamic Horizons Nov. issue features a Community Profile of Toronto’s Jami’ Masjid which mentions the Toronto MYNA group and their July 3-5 camp. They discuss the generation gap in the article, as well. “‘A number of girls want to leave home because they’re fed up with the contradiction they have to put with their family lives and their outside interactions,’ says Iman Khalifah, Muslim Youth of North America’s (MYNA) Canadian Zone rep. [Toronto’s MYNA has a penchant for describing itself as representing all of Canada from an early time, it seems. Today Toronto’s MYNA is described as all of Canada’s in Annual Reports to this day.]

Throughout the report, there are references to a variety of Canadian individuals and events which were a part of the MYNA organization. Among them are:

Part 7 - 1987 - At the start of the year Hasan AlTalib is MYNA president, Mukhliis Balbale of Wheaton IL is VP, Maseer Bade is treasurer, Indianapolis, Hibba Abugideiri is secretary, Reston VA. There are two representatives for Canada regions 1 (Windsor and Kingston, Ontario) and 2 (Gloucester and Ottawa,

1988-89 – Ahmad Zaki Hammad elected for his second term as ISNA President. Both Dawood Zwink is VP U.S. and Dr. Syed Imtiaz Ahmad is V.P. Canada again for a second term as well. Ghulam Nabi Fai is president of MSA.

1988 - Abdul Waheed Mustafa is the West Canada Advisor (204-832-3511) Ahmed Zaki Hammad is President of ISNA. MYNA is listed under “Departments and Services” in the ISNA Annual report and not a separate constituent affiliate organization.

Feb. 13-14, 1988 - MYNA Executive Committee Meeting at ISNA Headquarters. Attendees include Dawood Zwink, chair of the advisory board, Baha Ahmed, east zone advisor, Nadifa Abdi, central zone advisor, Abdel Waheed Mustafa, western Canada zone advisor. Maseer Bade, chairman, Amal Abu-Karam secretary/treasurer, Mihad Fahmy, Canadian zonal representative

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389 This number is currently registered to A W Mustapha, (204) 832-3511, East St Paul MB.
May 14-15, 1988 - At this point there are 366 total members. 142 East, 130 Central, 56 Central, 38 Canada. The suggestion to fix it is that they need zonal reps. Amal and Engi come every week to ISNA HQ to handle mail and money. Maseer cleans the office.

June 24-26, 1988 - Eastern Canada Zonal Conference - St. Catherine’s Conference coop with ISNA Canadian Conference. Niagara falls trip during the conference (they went and had to come back.)

Feb. 19, 1988 - a youth halaqa in Ottawa, which they want to do on a monthly basis.

1988-89 The following is a list of communities with recently formed MYNA local groups. East Canada has groups in Windsor, London, Burlington, Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, Mississauga, and Brampton. West Canada has units in Calgary, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver.

1995: Sabah Iqbal is West Zone Canada Rep, Waheed Mustafa is West Zone Canada Advisor. For the first time, city reps were elected from each of the regions to remain in constant contact with the zonal rep.

Shaema Imam is East Zone Canada Rep. Rahat Kurd (FYLTP Program Chairperson) is East Canada Muslim Youth Advisor. The East Zone Canada “focuses on making new contacts, increasing the networking between local and regional chapters, and organizing the zones internal structure,” says the 95 Annual Report. “The Maritime Region” is established and local youth groups “were either founded or revitalized,” says the 95 Annual Report. The circulation of Ottawa’s newsletter, “word” and Montreal’s bilingual newsletter “Salam” are increased. Summer and winter camps are held at the local level, “as were a large variety of other youth group activities.”

July 1, 1995 - West Zone Canada “Campference” held in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, attended by over 100 youth (120-150 people) from a cross the zone. Also, for the first time, city representatives were elected from each of the regions to remain in constant contact with the zonal representatives.

The MYNA eventually collapsed as of 2004, although there are efforts in place to get in going again. What happened? According to Mr. Siddique, the following is the situation:

**What happened to MYNA**

The Muslim Youth of North America died out in 2004 when its board of advisors were dismissed by ISNA after over a year of working to reform and revive the organization. Its president at that time was actually kept in place by ISNA even though she had resigned the previous year. In this blog I will be posting the various ideas that had been discussed from 2002-2004 to reform that organization into what would have been a very useful national institution for the Muslim youth of America, especially now, when issues of identity, faith, and character building shouldn’t be left in the hands of people affiliated with ideologies that promote hated. (sic)

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390 In his last entry of April 2013, Mr. Siddique raise the question of whether there should be an MYNA again and he looks specifically at a Miami chapter. See the article : Is it time for MYNA Miami again? It is available at: http://mynamiami.blogspot.ca/2013_04_01_archive.html

A Note on Fawad Siddiqui

Mr. Fawad Siddiqui appears to have been the primary researcher and co-author of the history of the MYNA that was published in a 2004 issue of the ISNA magazine as well as posted on the World Wide Web. Taneez Islam was the co-author of the ISNA magazine piece and Asad Siddiqui appears to have done most of the posting of the articles to the history of the MYNA website.

Fawad Siddiqui is an interesting figure due his history with the MYNA, his coaching of MYNA activities, his role with the internship program of the ISNA and his article on the MYNA itself. His involvement with youth organization and interns suggests a strong role in youth leadership.

Mr. Siddiqui was born on 20 November 1978. Both of his parents were ISNA activists according to his own statement to the UK based Guardian Newspaper. In a 2007 article, Mr. Siddiqui was:

"A veteran convention visitor, Fawad Siddiqui, 28, says the best stalls were the ones that show how activities, chores and rituals can be "Islamicised", and recalls how an alarm clock that emitted a call to prayer five times a day was an instant hit when it was unveiled.

Mr Siddiqui, whose parents were among the early ISNA activists, describes the event as a "big family reunion." "Muslims in North America are scattered and they rarely meet up, so there's a lot of catching up to do. More importantly, there's a lot of shopping to be done."

In addition to being a writer and associate editor for the ISNA, Mr. Siddiqui is also an actor and cartoonist. His personal website for his more creative work is http://www.faviqawal.deviantart.com. This is noted in his profile engine site which is related to his work as part of the summer internship program for the ISNA. His photo and name as part of the internship program can be seen at http://profileengine.com/groups/profile/421729034/isna-internship-summer-program which in turn links to: http://profileengine.com/groups/profile/421729034/isna-internship-summer-program#/people/1728109/fawad.siddiqui. The photo of him compares to that of his own publicity photos for his acting work.

His creative website, which has been hosted on the website “deviant art” for ten years has a number of poetic and visual presentations. One of these is a poem with the title “Poem from the perspective of a.....” It was dated Mar 21, 2007, 8:35:08 PM. The poem appears to suggest he does not like “kufar” (disbelievers) and that “we” will run planes into “you”.

Poem from the perspective of a.....

You are all kufar
—disbelievers—
those who “cover up.”

http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/sep/03/usa
See, among others: http://www.frontyardtheatrecollective.com/home/bios/
http://faviqawal.deviantart.com/art/Poem-from-the-perspective-of-a-51409234
We will run planes
into you.
Get your attention?
You like the brown
skin? You like
the accent?
You like it on your
TV. You like it
on your cab drivers
on your convenient store
owners—your doctors and
your engineers?
You like it when we build your roads and your bridges and fix your health
While you kill us and you kill us and you kill us and you bomb us
You like it on the faces of the masses
as they huddle under the approaching
fall of bombs like heavy metal rain,
as the children run en masse
enslaved with nowhere to run
to
We will run planes
into
you.

Mr. Siddiqui also does visual art such as the following piece with the title “Harm harm at all costs.”

![Image of visual art](http://faviqawal.deviantart.com/art/harm-harm-at-all-costs-24046105)

It is not clear from artwork or the title for whom the harm is intended, other than the obvious sword killing the man.
CAIR USA and CAIR CANADA – Formation and Connections
The Council of American Islamic Relations (CAIR USA) was set up to be a lobby group for the Muslim Brotherhood to advance its goals on the Palestinian situation. This fits logically in the larger program of the Muslim Brotherhood which has had Palestine at the centre of their ideology since its formation in Egypt. CAIR USA was set up by members of the Islamic Association for Palestine, which itself had been created by the Muslim Brotherhood in North America in 1981.

History
The Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) is a Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan) front organization, as described by themselves. In a document with the title A Historical outline and the main issues (written on 10/25/91, approved by the Council on 11/9/91), it was noted that:

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

In 1987, HAMAS (Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyahwas or the Islamic Resistance Movement) was founded as an arm of the Muslim Brotherhood. This is not a secret or an assumption, but rather the Charter of HAMAS states it quite clearly that:

The Islamic Resistance Movement is a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood chapter in Palestine. The Muslim Brotherhood movement is an international organization. It is one of today’s largest Islamic movements. It professes a comprehensive understanding and precise conceptualization of the Islamic precepts in all aspects of life: concept and belief, politics and economics, education and social service, jurisdiction and law, exhortation and training, communication and arts, the seen and the unseen, and the rest of life’s ways.

In 1993, the Oslo Accords (also referred to as the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements) were signed in the USA after secret negotiations between the Government of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. The short term goals were a withdrawal of Israeli forces from Palestinian controlled territory and the recognition of self-government for the Palestinian. Longer terms goals included agreements on refugee return, borders and the building of Israeli “settlements.” In short, at the time it looked like the agreements might be the start of a comprehensive peace agreement between the Palestinians and Israel.

397 The entire charter of HAMAS can be seen at: http://www.palestine-studies.org/files/pdf/jps/1734.pdf
HAMAS and the Muslim Brotherhood in general were against the accords. The overall view of the Muslim Brotherhood since its inception in the 1920s and 1930s (long before Israel was created) was that the Palestinian situation was at the heart of their struggle and that no accommodation with any outside colonial power or Zionist movement was acceptable.

The newly formed HAMAS worked hard to undermine the agreement and other Muslim Brotherhood organizations fell into line on the issue.

The Philadelphia Meeting of 1993

In North America, the Muslim Brotherhood response to the Oslo Accords was taking shape. A group of them met in a Philadelphia hotel to discuss possible responses. As one researcher noted, the meeting was:

Organized by senior Hamas operative Abdelhaleem Ashqar, who was indicted in August 2004 for allegedly participating in a 15-year racketeering conspiracy to finance Hamas’ activities, the meeting was called in the wake of the Oslo Accords. In the Accords, Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin agreed to a future of coexistence and independence for the Israelis and Palestinians. The 25-person gathering represented, according to the FBI, “a meeting...among senior leaders of HAMAS, the HLFRD and the IAP.” A FBI analysis further noted: “all attendees of this meeting are Hamas members or sympathizers.”

The researcher goes on to note:

According to the July 2004 HLF indictment, “The purpose of the meeting was to determine their course of action in support of Hamas’ opposition to the peace plan and to decide how to conceal their activities from the scrutiny of the United States government.” Attendees at the FBI-monitored meeting included five HLF officials who were indicted with the group in July 2004: Executive Director Haitham Maghawri, Chief Executive Shukri Abu Baker, Treasurer Ghassan Elashi, Chairman of the Board Mohammad El-Mezain, and fundraiser Mufid Abdulqader. Highlighting the familial ties binding HLF’s top officials to Mousa Abu Marzook, the godfather of IAP and HLF, Elashi (cousins through marriage) and El-Mezain (cousin) are both related to him.

Also at the meeting was Abdel-Jabbar Hamdan, an HLF fundraiser who was arrested on immigration charges the same day that the HLF indictment was unsealed. But surely the most notable attendees were future CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad, whose presence is documented in the FBI-certified hotel registry; and CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad.

According to the FBI’s recordings of the meeting, Ahmad referred to himself as Omar Yahya. Although he claimed in a 2003 deposition that he “can’t recall attending this meeting” he acknowledged that “some people call me” Omar Yahya “because it’s like one of my middle names.” Ahmad also acknowledged knowing many of the men who were in Philadelphia, including Ashqar, Abu-Baker, Elashi and Maghawri.

398 HAMAS was formed in 1987.
While he testified that he could not remember being there, transcripts show it was Ahmad who called the meeting to order:

This meeting was called for by the Palestine Committee in order to have a seminar or a meeting to the brothers present here today in order to study the situation in light of the latest developments on the Palestinian arena, its effects and impact on our work here in America.

Awad, like Ahmad, said he could not remember whether he attended the Philadelphia meeting when asked during a 2003 deposition. But government transcripts show Awad was an active participant, including this exchange in which he and Ahmad discuss tailoring their message to appeal to Americans while hiding their true intent:

Awad: What is important is that the language of the address is there even for the American. But, the issue is how to use it.....

Omar Ahmad: There is a difference between you saying "I want to restore the '48 land" and when you say "I want to destroy Israel."

Awad: Yes, there are different but parallel types of address. There shouldn't be contradiction. Address people according to their minds. When I speak with the American, I speak with someone who doesn't know anything. As for the Palestinian who has a martyr brother or something, I know how to address him, you see?

In conjunction with their support for the jihad in Palestine, the participants also recognized the critical importance of domestic lobbying. Stressing the need for deeper engagement with the American Muslim community, one attendee discussed the groups “attempts to encourage the Islamic community to be involved in the political life in this country.” He commented, “We should assist them in this task. This will be an entrance for us to put, through the Islamic community, pressure on the Congress and the decision makers in America.”

CAIR Founder Omar Ahmad went a step further, envisioning a lobby because “we don’t have influence over the Congress...This will bolster our position in America with the U.S. Administration and other media and political organizations.”

He concluded:

This can be achieved by infiltrating the American media outlets, universities and research centers as we previously said. ... if Muslims engage in political activism in American and started to be concerned with Congress and public relations we will have an entry point to use them to pressure Congress and the decision-makers in America.

CAIR was incorporated the following summer.

The Founding of CAIR USA in 1994

400 This statement and others can also be seen in testimony at: US v. Holy Land Foundation, 3:04-CR-240-G, Government Exhibit 16-75, p. 17
CAIR USA was incorporated in 1994 in the USA by three members of the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), an organization believed to be a front for the Muslim Brotherhood. They were Nihad Awad, Omar Ahmad and Refeq Jaber. The incentive to create this organization, as noted, derived from the Oslo Peace Accords which envisaged a peace settlement between the Palestinians and Israel. The IAP was fundamentally opposed to this as it conflicted with their views that no peace was acceptable with Israel and that conflict must continue. This view was consistent with that of HAMAS, which is the Palestinian arm of the Muslim Brotherhood and ran contrary to the views of FATAH.

CAIR CAN

CAIR USA soon had a Canadian chapter that would work to support the aims of CAIR USA and the Muslim Brotherhood.

CAIR-CAN has made repeated denials that it is linked to or has a relationship with CAIR-USA. In response to the name change from CAIR-CAN in 2013, to the National Council of Canadian Muslims, the organization produced a list of frequently asked questions. With reference to the relationship with CAIR USA, the following response is given:

At the time of CAIR.CAN’s beginnings in 2000, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) in the United States had established itself as a pioneering civil liberties advocacy organization for American Muslims. They had developed best practices and extensive knowledge in this important area. It was hoped that CAIR would provide a model that would serve Canadian Muslims equally well. And it has. However, there was never any operating or funding relationship between CAIR-CAN and CAIR, and CAIR-CAN focused entirely on issues affecting Canadian Muslims, independently of CAIR. (Emphasis added)

The current executive director of CAIR-CAN/NCCM is Mr. Ihsaan Gardee. He has been “with CAIR-CAN since 2006 where he first served as CAIR-CAN’s Community Relations & Operations Director before being promoted as CAIR-CAN’s fourth executive director in October of 2008.”

Prior to his employment with CAIR-CAN, he was “involved with CAIR CAN as an occasional volunteer from its early years.”

It is fair to say that Mr. Gardee has been involved with CAIR CAN for a significant period of time as a volunteer, a staff member since 2006 and its executive director since 2008. As such, he should be knowledgeable about the organization and its operations.

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402 Omar Ahmad would be with CAIR from its founding until 2005.
403 “Articles of Incorporation, Council on American-Islamic Relations” 15 September 1994.
404 The list of frequently asked questions can be seen at: http://nccm.ca/NCCM_FAQ.PDF
405 See paragraph 2 of the list of frequently asked questions at: http://nccm.ca/NCCM_FAQ.PDF
407 See the biographic information on CAIR CAN’s website at: http://www.caircan.ca/Final%20CAIRCAN%20Bios%20Copy.pdf
Ihsaan Gardee was interviewed by the CBC’s Evan Solomon on 28 January 2014. As the Executive Director of CAIR-CAN/NCMM, he stated that the organization was in no way related to the American based Council on American Islamic Relations. The CBC website also reports that:

*The groups shared names (NCCM was known as CAIR-CAN) until July 2013. Gardee said the Canadian group only used the name because CAIR was well recognized within the Muslim civil liberties movement.*

When asked during the interview about the relationship between CAIR CAN and CAIR USA, Mr. Gardee made repeated statements to the effect that there was no relationship between the two organizations other than the similarities in their names. The following extracts are from the 9’:58” interview.

(Begins at 3:25) The interviewer, Mr. Solomon, asks: Why did you change your name? There have been allegations that the organization when it began was linked to the Council on Islamic American Relations and that organization has been subject to its own controversies. So why did you change your name? Was it to disassociate yourself from the American organization?

(Begins at 3:58) Mr. Gardee replies: The name of the organization was originally CAIR CAN because CAIR in the US is a well-known well recognized Muslim civil liberties organization. But we are two separate and distinct organizations, we always have been (interviewer interrupts) we have separate board members, we have separate staff we’ve never had any funding....(interviewer interrupts) (Emphasis added)

(Begins at 4:20) Interviewer: Some say they consider the Canadian version a branch plant.

(Begins at 4:28) Well Evan, what I can tell you is that we have never had any funding relationship with them, we never had an operational relationship with them, we have always had two separate boards of directors, constitutions, bylaws, employees (interviewer interrupts) (Emphasis added)

(Begins at 4:46) Interviewer: There are no links but you chose the same name?

(Begins at 4:49) The organization as I mentioned and as I just told you went with that name as it was a well-recognized name within the Muslim civil liberties movement.

(Begins at 6:22) Mr. Gardee: We are a fully independent autonomous organization that has been active in Canada for the past 14 years.....

(Begins at 7:23) Mr. Gardee: As I have told you we are and always have been a separate and independent and autonomous organization....

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The positions taken by Mr. Gardee in this interview are difficult to understand. In the past, Mr. Gardee has held positions related to operations and community relations and he is now the executive director. Additionally, his own organization reports that he was a volunteer “from its early years.” Yet he repeatedly states that they have no relationship to CAIR USA and does so in a variety of ways while responding to a series of different questions. His denials seem almost Orwellian given the preponderance of evidence, much of it from CAIR USA and CAIR CAN, that the two organizations share multiple links.

CAIR-CAN/NCMM has been directly tied to its American based parent back to its founding roots in 1994. The organizations share a common heritage, timelines, technical connections and both CAIR-CAN and CAIR USA have made repeated claims in the past that they are connected to each other.

The current rounds of denial from CAIR-CAN may be driven more by a desire to separate itself from CAIR USA’s set of problems related to the Holy Land Foundation terrorism funding trial and a host of other problems. One of CAIR CAN’s founding directors is an un-indicted co-conspirator in the same trial which related to HAMAS funding operations in the USA and Canada.\footnote{Dr. Jamal Badawi.} CAIR USA is also an unindicted co-conspirator in the same proceedings.\footnote{http://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/16/us/16charity.html?_r=0} Another long time CAIR CAN board member who left in 2012 (Dr. Wael Haddara) has also been drawing unhelpful attention to CAIR-CAN due to his close working relationship to Dr. Morsi, the Muslim Brotherhood’s President of Egypt from 2012 to 2013.

A Note on CAIR Chapters

The statement by Mr. Gardee that CAIR CAN is and “always have been separate and independent and autonomous” from CAIR USA is disingenuous and may attempt to mislead the viewer with semantics. All of the CAIR chapters (30+) in the USA and Canada are registered independently and each has their own bylaws and other organizational documents.

The creation of local organizations appears to be consistent the general workings of the Muslim Brotherhood and its adherent organizations. This is noted in the bylaws as they were written on the official English language of the Muslim Brotherhood “IkhwanWeb.” When looking at local organizations, the bylaws lay out the view that (Article 51):

\[
\text{Every branch has the right to develop its own bylaw regulating its activities and consistent with domestic circumstances.}\footnote{“The Muslim Brotherhood's Guidelines” as published on IkhwanWeb, the official English language website of the Muslim Brotherhood.}
\]

The USA Connections

The following are examples of the connections between CAIR CAN and CAIR USA:

1. CAIR USA and CAIR Canada share common roots.
CAIR USA was formed in September of 1994. CAIR's presence in Canada began that same year when Dr. Sheema Khan says she joined CAIR USA while living in Montreal.\footnote{Paragraph 5 of the 16 December 2003 affidavit signed by Dr. Khan.}

According to Dr. Khan, the first Canadian chapter of CAIR was formed in Montreal. The Quebec Registry of Enterprises (File 3346439360) showed the Council on American-Islamic Relations as CAIR-Montreal. CAIR-Montreal was registered in January 1997, struck off the Registry in May 1999, replaced by CAIR-Ottawa, and by CAIR-CAN in 2000.\footnote{Paragraph 6 of the 16 December 2003 affidavit signed by Dr. Khan.}

The stated purpose of the Montreal chapter was to promote awareness of CAIR (USA) in Montreal. That was in 1996 and Dr. Khan states that she was director of this chapter until 1998. \footnote{Paragraph 6 of the 16 December 2003 affidavit signed by Dr. Khan.} She added that at that time CAIR USA had control over the character and quality of the activities of the Canadian chapter.

Further development occurred when the Ottawa chapter of CAIR USA was formed in 1998 by Dr. Khan. As the founding director of the Ottawa chapter, she further stated that CAIR Ottawa became CAIR CAN in 2000 and that the activities of these organizations was designed to promote awareness of CAIR USA.

Note the last sentence in this paragraph from the affidavit:

\textit{Paragraph 6: In 1996 a Canadian chapter of CAIR UNITED STATES was established in Montreal. The purpose of the chapter was to promote CAIR UNITED STATES awareness in Montreal. One of the means of promoting awareness was through the distribution in Canada of CAIR UNITED STATES' newsletters, publicity kits, brochures and handbooks. CAIR UNITED STATES had direct control over the character and quality of the activities of the Canadian chapter in Montreal.} (Emphasis added)

Dr. Khan goes on to state that CAIR USA has direct control over the character and quality of all activities of CAIR CAN as well.

\textit{Paragraph 8: That CIRC used the trademarks CAIR and CAIR-CAN and the name Council on American-Islamic Relations Canada under licenses from CAIR UNITED STATES. Under terms of the license CAIR UNITED STATES has direct control over the character and quality of all activities of CIRC including the use of its trade-mark and trade name.}

2. CAIR CAN says that its parent organization is CAIR USA

According to CAIR CAN’s own website,\footnote{The website referred to here is \url{www.caircan.ca}. The site was caircan.ca was registered originally with a creation date of 2001/05/16 according to the WHOIS website using information from the Canadian Internet Registration Authority, (\url{http://www.cira.ca/}). When checked on 28 February the site showed as active with an expiry date of 2018/05/16 and a last update of 2013/06/25. The DMOZ Title for the site is: CAIR-CAN - Council on American -Islamic Relations Canada.} CAIR CAN has a parent organization which is identified as CAIR USA based in Washington DC. In this extract from a 2003 publication titled “A Journalist’s Guide to Islam” on a website belonging to CAIR CAN the following statement makes this clear:
CAIR (Council on American-Islamic Relations) This Washington-based organization is CAIR-CAN’s parent organization. It has an email newsletter for the news media, providing news releases and background materials about important Islamic events. It is worth receiving. Tel: 202-488-8787 Fax: 202-488-0833 Email: webmaster@cair-net.org, Web site: www.caircan.org (A Journalist’s Guide to Islam (version 2003) Conceived by the Council on American Islamic Relations Canada. Published by Islamic Social Services Association Canada.)

3. CAIR in Canada was formed to work with CAIR USA

According to CAIR CAN’s own statements in 2005, CAIR in Canada was founded to work with CAIR USA which was (apparently) “well known” to Canadian Muslims. On their website in 2005, CAIR CAN provided a graphic that contained the following information:

In 1996, a group of concerned Canadian Muslims started an informal network in Canada to work with the Washington-based CAIR, an organization well known among Canadian Muslims since 1994. In the spring of 1997, CAIR-Montreal was formed, and was soon after replaced by CAIR-Ottawa. In 2000, CAIR-CAN was incorporated as a Canadian organization speaking out for Canada’s Muslim population.

This same graphic provided information on its then-director, Dr. Khan and provided the following information:

Sheema Khan completed her undergraduate studies at McGill University prior to obtaining her PhD in Chemical Physics from Harvard University. Residing in Ottawa with her husband and three children, she is a long-time activist and speaker and has been the chair of CAIR CAN since its inception. A regular columnist for the Globe and Mail, Sheema works as a patent agent and is an inventor of patents with pharmaceutical technology.

4. CAIR USA states that CAIR CAN is their Canadian office (13 examples)

The main CAIR USA website has published a number of articles where its states that CAIR CAN is their Canadian office. Typical of these articles are statements such as:

The main branch of the Calgary Public Library was the site for the launch of the CAIR-CAN -- the Canadian office of the Council on American-Islamic Relations -- national Islamic library project.

This extract came from a story with the title Libraries Get New Package to Study Islam.

417 Archived copies of the CAIR CAN website can be found by using the Internet archive website called “The Way Back Machine” which can be found at www.web.archive.org. For a copy of the see http://web.archive.org/web/20030701034732/http://www.caircan.ca/ and the select “download the CAIR CAN Journalists Guide” which will then be found at: http://web.archive.org/web/20030617021214/http://www.caircan.ca/downloads/jgprint.pdf
Twelve other stories with similar statements denoting CAIR CAN as the Canadian office of CAIR are:

*Canadian newspaper publishes apology for anti-Muslim article*

*CAIR-CAN: Is Canada 'Subcontracting' Torture?*

*CAIR-CAN CITED IN 2005 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT*

*CAIR-Can Meets With U.N. Rapporteur*

*Her Comic Take*

*Canadian MP offers apology for assistant’s remark*

*Canadian Muslims condemn firing of Publisher*

*Canadian Muslims condemn vandalism against Jewish institutions*

*Canadian group denied public funding to fight circumcision*

*Muslims urge denial of public funding for Anti-circumcision campaign*

*Vandals attack Canadian Islamic Center*

*Suspicious fire destroys Canadian Mosque*

5. CAIR USA chapters say that CAIR CAN is one of its chapters

As of early 2014, two CAIR chapters in the USA claim that CAIR CAN is a chapter of the same organization of which they are members. These are:

http://cairhouston.org/chapters.htm (as of 28 February 2014)

http://www.cairchicago.org/cair-chapters/ (as of 28 February 2014)

6. CAIR USA Chicago’s website lists CAIR CAN as a Canadian chapter

The website of the Chicago chapter of CAIR USA lists 32 chapters of CAIR and identifies CAIR CAN as being one them.\(^421\)

7. Technical Connections

CAIR CAN has used the email address of canada@cair-net.org. This is the same service used by other CAIR USA chapters such as CAIR San Antonio SanAntonio@cair-net.org, CAIR Cleveland http://ohio.cair.com and Care Ohio which also uses ohio@cair-net.org

8. CAIR CAN and CAIR USA – common staff

Maryam Dadabhoy works for CAIR-CAN in Toronto and formerly worked for CAIR Los Angeles. One of CAIR-CAN’s websites notes:

\(^{421}\) http://www.cairchicago.org/cair-chapters/
Maryam joined CAIR CAN in 2004. She manages Toronto affairs related to media, Islamic awareness trainings, advocacy and community relations. Maryam graduated from California State University Fullerton in 2002 in Business Administration. Prior to joining CAIR CAN, she was with the Los Angeles office of the US-based CAIR. 422

CAIR CAN may also be trying to disassociate itself from some questionable affiliations, although this is not clear. For example one of the original board members in 2000 was Dr. Jamal Badawi who has remained on the board of CAIR CAN throughout its existence. Dr. Badawi is an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation trial in the USA. The trial directly addressed the funding of HAMAS. Dr. Badawi has been identified in two primary source documents as being a key figure in the Muslim Brotherhood’s North American organization (board of directors and noted as an individual at the core of their organizational work and educational work.) 423

Another long time board member of CAIR CAN is Dr. Wael Haddara. He served on the board of directors of Canada for at least nine years (2002-2011) and may have been on the original board in 2000 as well. Dr. Haddara has been involved with a number of Muslim Brotherhood related organizations and was recently a senior advisor to the Muslim Brotherhood’s President of Egypt, Dr. Morsi. Dr. Haddara was also on the board of IRFAN-Canada (International Relief Fund for the Afflicted and Needy, Canada) in the years 2000424 and 2002425 and he remained a voting member of the organization until at least 2004 according to the CRA investigation. IRFAN was under investigation for years and eventually lost its charitable status for having transfer some 14 million dollars to HAMAS despite claims it did not as well as having been warned about the potential problems. The CRA believes that IRFAN was set up in 2000 to circumvent the Canadian government when it would not give charity status to the Jerusalem Fund. 426 (See separate entries on Wael Haddara and IRFAN in this report for details). Dr. Haddara was also a long time board member and also president of the Muslim Association of Canada which has publicly stated its belief in the teaching of Hassan Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood. (See separate entries on Dr. Haddara and the MAC in this report).

Khadija Haffajee has also been on the board of CAIR/CAN NCCM from its inception in 2000. She is also on the “ISNA Women’s Committee and was the Canadian Zonal Representative for the MSA Women’s Committee. She has been a speaker at ISNA Conferences on different occasions and acts as an advisor and counselor for Islamic youth camps. ” 427 Of note, Khadija Haffajee was on the editorial board of Islamic Horizons when the published a glowing tribute to Hassan Banna as the “True Guide” in 1999. 428

CAIR CAN was first registered in July of 2000. The initial registration shows:

422 http://www.caircan.ca/Final%20CAIRCAN%20Bios%20Copy.pdf
424 As listed on the T3010 form of IRFAN as submitted to the CRA for the year 2000. Available on the CRA website.
425 As listed on the T3010 form of IRFAN as submitted to the CRA for the year 2002. Available on the CRA website.
427 http://www.isna.net/about/profiles/Khadija_Haffaje.html
428 See the ISNA magazine Islamic Horizons, March/April 1999 issue, pages 34 to-39. Hasan Al-Banna a Martyr of Our Time Original subtitle: Remembering a True Guide.
COUNCIL ON AMERICAN ISLAMIC RELATIONS (CANADA)

Company Number
3784720

Status
Active

Incorporation Date
10 July 2000 (over 13 years ago)

Jurisdiction
Canada

Registered Address
99 KAKULU RD, SUITE 100, KANATA ON, K2L 3C8, Canada

Directors/Officers

JAMAL Badawi, director
WAEL HADDARA, director
SHAHINA SIDDQUI, director
KHADIJA HAFIF, director
AFTAB SABIR, director
SELMA DJUKIC, director
KHALID ELGAZZAR, director
KASHIF AHMED, director

The corporate history of this organization is:

Corporate Name History
2000-07-10 to 2013-06-24
COUNCIL ON AMERICAN ISLAMIC RELATIONS (CANADA)

2013-06-24 to Present
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CANADIAN MUSLIMS (NCCM)

While CAIR CAN’s name was changed to National Council of Canadian Muslims, a new umbrella organization in the USA will be known as the U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO).

The new USA organization will consist of the following groups: Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), Islamic Circle of North American (ICNA), Muslim American Society (MAS), American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), The Mosque Cares, Muslim Legal Fund of America (MLFA), Muslim Alliance in North America (MANA) and the Muslim Ummah of North America (MUNA).

See the file at https://opencorporates.com/companies/ca/3784720
https://www.ic.gc.ca/app/scc/CorporationsCanada/fdrlCprDtls.html?corpId=3784720
19. Canadian Charity Status Revoked (IRFAN, ISNA Development Foundation, WICS, WAMY)

Four charities in Canada with Muslim Brotherhood connections have had their charitable status revoked following investigations by the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA). Three of these were revoked for cause which the CRA states occurs only in the “most severe cases of non-compliance, or cases where there is continuous non-compliance.” Another was revoked for failing to conduct any substantive charitable activity during the three years under audit while providing a private benefit to a Director. All of the money provided to this charity came from Colonel Kaddafi in Libya and his “jihad fund.”

The CRA clearly identifies that funding terrorism is a major factor in all four cases and that in one case, a charity was claiming to be raising funds for victims of disasters in Asia, yet was using the money to fund terrorism in the Middle East. In other words, individuals in Canada who may have thought they were funding a charity to help those truly suffering from a natural disaster were in fact having their money used to fund terrorism. Additionally, all Canadians are subsidizing this activity due to the tax breaks that accrue to charitable donations.

These four noteworthy charities with revoked status are:

1. IRFAN-Canada (International Relief Fund for the Afflicted and Needy) (2011-04-09) Mississauga ON
2. ISNA Development Foundation (2013-09-21) Mississauga ON
3. WICS (World Islamic Call Society) (2011-03-26) London ON
4. WAMY (World Assembly of Muslim Youth) (2012-02-11) Mississauga ON

IRFAN-Canada (International Relief Fund for the Afflicted and Needy) (2011-04-09) Mississauga ON

In 2011, the CRA revoked (for cause) the charitable status of IRFAN-Canada due a series of failures and for funding HAMAS which has been listed as a terrorist group. The short form of the statement as it appears on the CRA website reads:

On the basis of our audit, we have concluded that IRFAN-Canada has: ceased to comply with the requirements of the Act for its continued registration; failed to comply with or contravened sections 230 to 231.5 of the Act; issued a receipt for a gift or donation otherwise than in accordance with the Act and the Regulations or that contains false information; and failed to file an information return as required under the Act-[o]ur analysis of the audit information has led the CRA to believe that IRFAN-Canada provides support to Hamas, a listed terrorist organization. Our findings indicate that IRFAN-Canada provided over $14.6 million in resources to operating partners that were run by officials of Hamas, openly supported and provided funding to Hamas, or have been listed by various jurisdictions because of their support for Hamas or other terrorist entities.

http://www.cra-arc.gc.ca/chrts-gvng/chrts/glssry-eng.html#revokedcause
In addition to failing to comply and funding a terrorist group, the CRA also noted that IRFAN was raising money by appeals made to the general public under misleading circumstances. Specifically, CRA notes that IRFAN requested pledges for money for the 2004 Tsunami disaster, the South East Asia Earthquake Disaster of 2006, the Indonesian Earthquake of 2006, the Bangladesh Cyclone of 2007, the Burma Cyclone of 2007, the Pakistan Earthquake of 2008 and the Indonesian Earthquake of 2008. The CRA audit discovered that the money raised through these campaigns was not sent to assist those in need. Rather, the money was then co-mingled with the general monies of IRFAN and then used to fund other activities such as funding terrorism. (Section 2.5 Public Breech Test/Deceptive Funding)\(^{433}\)

The CRA audit and investigation also reveals that they believe IRFAN was an integral part of the international fund raising efforts to support HAMAS. They add that it is a strong possibility that IRFAN was created in order to circumvent the CRA’s refusal to grant charitable status previously to charitable status to the Poverl Jerusalem Fund for Human Services (JFHS). The CRA believes that there are “strong indicators” that the JFHS acted in Canada on behalf of the American based Holy Land Foundation.\(^{434}\) The Holy Land Foundation has been the subject of an extensive criminal investigation in the USA which resulted in convictions for funding terrorism.\(^{435}\)

The CRA also stated that there was “clear evidence” that at their earliest inception, the HLF and JFHS were in close communication, their identities overlapped, and they were part of the North American network established by the Muslim Brotherhood’s Palestine Committees to support HAMAS.\(^{436}\)

Furthermore, the CRA notes that JFHS and IRFAN’s have a past pattern (1992-2002) of funding organizations that have been recognized as having links to HAMAS and that despite its 2004 undertaking, IRFAN continued to do so.\(^{437}\)

The CRA believes that IRFAN was set up in 2000 to circumvent the refusal of the Government of Canada to grant charitable status to the JFHS. The founding member of the board of directors of IRFAN were Nadeem Siddiqi, Mohamed Farhad Khadim, Dr. Wael Haddara, Reyad Hobba and Mohammad Ammak.\(^{438}\)

Dr. Wael Haddara is also noted as being on the board of directors again in 2002\(^{439}\) and the CRA report also notes that he was a voting member of the organization until at least 2004.\(^{440}\)

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\(^{433}\) For more information on the deceptive fund raising efforts of IRFAN see Section 2.5 Public Breech Test/Deceptive Funding, (page 22/27) of the CRA report/letter dated 14 December 2010 (file number 3001490). The subject line of the letter was RE: Audit of Registered Charity: International Relief Fund for the Afflicted and Needy (Canada).


\(^{438}\) As listed on the T3010 form of IRFAN as submitted to the CRA for the year 2000. Available on the CRA website.

\(^{439}\) As listed on the T3010 form of IRFAN as submitted to the CRA for the year 2002. Available on the CRA website.

\(^{440}\) CRA report/letter dated 14 December 2010 (file number 3001490). RE: Audit of Registered Charity: International Relief Fund for the Afflicted and Needy (Canada). (Annexes)
From this reporting, it appears clear that Dr. Haddara was in a position of authority and influence when the IRFAN was set up, as well as being a voting member until 2004. During this time period, IRFAN was involved in a series of deceptive practices, including false claims of fund raising for disasters and funding terrorism.

As noted elsewhere in this report, Dr. Haddara has an extensive and long standing list of affiliations with the Muslim Brotherhood including have been a senior political and electoral officer for the Muslim Brotherhood’s President of Egypt, Dr. Morsi.

As made clear by the HAMAS charter itself, HAMAS is part of the Muslim Brotherhood. The CRA audit of IRFAN and the Holy Land Foundation trial in the USA make it clear that the IRFAN, the JFHS and others are part of the various Palestine Committees set up by the Muslim Brotherhood in North America.

ISNA Development Foundation (2013-09-21) Mississauga ON

In 2013, the CRA revoked (for cause) the charitable status of the ISNA Development Foundation for funding terrorism. The ISNA is located at 2200 South Sheridan Way in Mississauga Ontario. The same address houses/housed a number of other charities and organizations run by the ISNA, including, but not limited to the Islamic Schools Association of Canada (ISAC) The Canadian Islamic Trust Foundation, The Canadian Muslim Relief Committee of ISNA Canada, the Indian Muslim Relief Committee of ISNA Canada, the Canadian Muslim Council, the Islamic Book Service, ISNA-IDB Education Trust, the Muslim Youth of North America and the Islamic Centre of Canada. The ISNA itself has direct links to the Muslim Brotherhood and was one of its first North American organizations set up in Canada and the USA.

The short version of the CRA revocation statement reads as follows:

On the basis of our audit, we have concluded that the Organization has: ceased to comply with the requirements of the Act for its continued registration; failed to comply with or contravened any of sections 230 to 231.5 of the Act; issued a receipt for a gift or donation otherwise than in accordance with the Act and its Regulations; and failed to file an information return as required under the Act. Our analysis of the information obtained during the course of the audit has led the CRA to believe that the Organization had entered into a funding arrangement with the Kashmiri Canadian Council/Kashmiri Relief Fund of Canada (KCC/KRFC), non-qualified donees under the Act, with the ultimate goal of sending the raised funds to a Pakistan-based non-governmental organization named the Relief Organization for Kashmiri Muslims (ROKM) without maintaining direction and control. Under the arrangement, KCC/KRFC raised funds for relief work in Kashmir, and the Organization supplied official donation receipts to the donors and disbursed over $281,696 to ROKM, either directly, or via KCC/KRFC. Our research indicates that ROKM is the charitable arm of Jamaat-e-Islami, a political organization that actively contests the legitimacy

441 Section Two of the charter begins with the line: The Islamic Resistance Movement is a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood chapter in Palestine. The entire charter of HAMAS can be seen at: http://www.palestine-studies.org/files/pdf/jps/1734.pdf

442 For a short description of the reasons for revoking the charitable status of the ISNA Development Foundation, see the CRA’s website at: http://www.cra-arc.gc.ca/ebci/haip/srch/revcausesumm-eng.action?bn=863919262RR0001
of India’s governance over the state of Jammu and Kashmir, including reportedly through the activities of its armed wing Hizbul Mujahideen. Hizbul Mujahideen is listed as a terrorist entity by the Council of the European Union and is declared a banned terrorist organization by the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act of 1967. Given the commonalities in directorship between ROKM and Jamaat-e-Islami, concerns exist that the Organization’s resources may have been used to support the political efforts of Jamaat-e-Islami and/or its armed wing, Hizbul Mujahideen.

Dr. Mohamed Bekkari was on board of directors of the ISNA Development foundation for at least the last five years before its lost its status for funding terrorism (2008-2012) including being the Vice Chair and President. He also sits on the boards of many other organizations that sit under the ISNA umbrella as well. Dr. Bekkari is currently (2013/14) involved in a law suit involving the ISNA, himself and a former staff member Mohammad Ashraf. This stories have been covered in the Toronto Star articles which noted that a Muslim charity squandered money for poor as well as another article Star Investigation: Federal audit raises concern that Canadian charity funded terror.

Khalid Tarabain was also on the board of directors of the ISNA Development Foundation for three of the last five years before the charity lost its status for funding terrorism.

The ISNA and its Previous Connections to Terrorism Funding

The ISNA has been repeatedly tied directly to issues of concern about the promotion of terrorist groups or the funding of terrorism. The most recent and well documented of these is the Canada Revenue Agency statement of September 2013 which revoked the charitable status of the ISNA Development Foundation. Specifically, the CRA had concerns that the charity’s money “may have been used to support the political efforts of Jamaat-e-Islami and/or its armed wing, Hizbul Mujahideen.”

The ISNA has a previous history with the Jamaat-e-Islami such as when they invited the head of Jamaat-e-Islami to be a speaker at the 34th Annual Convention. Zazi Hussain Hamad (also reported as Qazi Hussain Hamad) was the head of Jamaat-e-Islami in Pakistan at the time. The group has been banned as a terrorist group in numerous countries. He would have been a speaker on Saturday 23 May 2008 from 1:45 to 2:45 PM and on Sunday 24 May 2008 from 1:45 to 2:45 PM. Following that, he was to have been a moderator on a panel from 7:15 PM to 8:45 PM.

The conference was called “Our Youth, Our Future: Path to Paradise.” The conference was endorsed by CAIR CAN, the ICNA, the Muslim Association of Canada (MAC) and the event was sponsored by Human

443 See the Toronto Star article of Thursday, 20 January 2011 Muslim charity squandered money for poor which is available online at: http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2011/01/20/muslim_charity_squandered_money_for_poor.html

444 http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2013/07/25/star_investigation_federal_audit_raises_concern_that_canadian_charity_funded_terror.html

445 A PDF version of the 36 page letter from CRA is available online at: http://www.thestar.com/content/dam/thestar/static_images/IDF-complete-audit-letter.pdf

446 See the short statement of the CRA issued when the revocation occurred. It can be found on the CRA charity listing website.

Concern International (HCI). Dr. Wael Haddara and Dr. Yasser Haddara were both on the board of directors of the MAC at the time Mr. Ahmad was invited. Dr. Wael Haddara was on the board of CAIR CAN at the time along with Dr. Jamal Badawi and Ms. Haffajee. Among many other, Khalid Tarabain was on the board of directors of HCI at the time. Dr. Bekkari was the Vice Chair of the ISNA Development Foundation, the charity that would eventually have its status revoked in 2013 for concerns about funding terrorism: Jamaat-e-Islami and/or its armed wing, Hizbul Mujahideen.

Mr. Ahmad did not make it to the convention as the Canadian government pulled his visa shortly before the conference after a complaint from the NGO Canadian Coalition for Democracies (CCD).

WICS (World Islamic Call Society) (2011-03-26) London ON

IN 2011, the World Islamic Call Society lost its charitable status for failing to meet the definition of being a charity and for providing private benefits to its director. The case is interesting as WICS-Canada was a chapter of the World Islamic Call Society that was set up by the former President of Libya and funded through his “jihad fund.” The short statement from CRA concerning this revocation reads:

*On the basis of the Canada Revenue Agency audit, we have concluded that the World Islamic Call Society (Society) has ceased to comply with the requirements of the Act for its continued registration as it has failed to meet the definition of a charitable organization under the Act by failing to conduct any substantive charitable activity during the three years under audit. It has also provided a private benefit to a Director.*

In its longer audit report, CRA also noted:

> “The Society acts at the direction of, and receives all of its funding from, the Libyan-based World Islamic Call Society (WICS-Libya), an organization founded by Muammar al-Qadaffi (Gadhafi) in 1972 whose objects and activities are not confined to the advancement of religion as that term is understood under Canadian law.”

> According to various sources, WICS-Libya is operated under the control of the Government of Libya and funded by allocations made by Muammar al-Qadaffi (Gadhafi) from “the Jihad Fund”. (FN3) An affidavit and the Plea Agreement filed in the successful U.S. conviction of Abdurahman Muhammad Alamoudi in 2004 on charges of wilfully attempting to violate U.S. economic sanctions against Libya imposed because of Libya’s involvement in terrorist bombings and the downing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, attest to the use of the WICS-Libya’s network to move funds on behalf of the Libyan government in violation of the sanctions against Libya.”

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The head of the charity was Assem Fadel. Assem Fadel was president of the organization from its inception until it lost its charitable status. One of the recipients of the WICS money was a jihadist political party that tried to overthrow the government of Trinidad and Tobago (Jamaat al-Muslimeen). Assem Fadel was the holder of the bank account that transferred the monies in question. The CRA also noted that for a number of years the majority of the money from the charity was used for administrative expenses including rent of an office in a building owned by Mr. Fadel himself as well as paying for his cell phone etc.

Mr. Fadel is also the President and former treasurer of the Islamic Centre of Southwest Ontario (ICSO), which was first registered as a charity in 1995. The ICSO is also the co-funder of the new chair of Islamic Studies at Huron College (University of Western Ontario). The other funder of this chair is the Muslim Association of Canada, which had Dr. Wael Haddara as President at the time of the announcement of the project.

WAMY (World Assembly of Muslim Youth) (2012-02-11) Mississauga ON

The CRA short statement on the revocation of charitable status read:

*On the basis of our audit and of our review of the Organization's Registered Charity Information Returns for the years from 2005 to 2009, we have concluded that the Organization: failed to comply with or contravened subsection 230(2) of the Act; ceased to comply with the requirements of the Act for its continued registration; and failed to file an information return as required under the Act. Our analysis of the Organization's operations has led the CRA to believe that the Organization, which has been inactive since at least 2005, was established to support the goals and operations of its parent organization located in Saudi Arabia. Our analysis particularly noted that the Organization shared a common director, contact information, and a bank account with the Benevolence International Fund in Canada (BIF-Canada), and provided $50,246 to the Benevolence International Foundation in the United States (BIF-USA) in 2001. On November 21, 2002, BIF-Canada and BIF-USA were added to the Consolidated List of the United Nations Security Council's Al-Qaida and Taliban and Sanctions Committee.*

WAMY was founded in part by a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, according to the biography of Kamal Helbawy who has been identified as one of the longest serving adherents of the Muslim

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450 CRA Charity number 894381573RR0001
453 CRA charities website.
454 For one example of his being treasurer see the CRA charity directors list of officials for the ICSO for 2008 under board of directors, trustees and other officials.
Brotherhood. His biography is posted on IkhwanWeb, the official English language website of the Muslim Brotherhood in an article titled: A brother and a scholar.\footnote{http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=22724}

For 58 years, Kamal Helbawy has been a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, making him one of the oldest members of the Islamic movement. He joined the MB when he was 12 - in 1951 - and since then the Brotherhood, Islam and political Islam have been the centre of his life.

Helbawy has established several organisations, associations and research centres with a focus on Islam as a religion and as a political ideology. In the early 1970s, he took part in founding the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) in Saudi Arabia and served as its executive director until 1982. (Emphasis added)

Dr Helbawy was then in charge of Muslim Brotherhood activities in Afghanistan from the late 1980s until 1994. He then moved to the United Kingdom and has been based there ever since. Upon his arrival in London, he established the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) and the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB), which have helped establish him as one of the leaders of the Islamic community in the UK.

As noted by the CRA as well, WAMY is an organization based in Saudi Arabia which has funded a number of projects outside of Saudi Arabia itself. One of those organizations was CAIR (USA) whose leadership has had a long standing relationship with WAMY and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. CAIR founder Nihad Awad has meet with the Secretary General of WAMY in Saudi Arabia and WAMY and CAIR have had joint projects.\footnote{http://www.arabnews.com/node/286568}

CAIR USA has also made it clear that they have derived funding from Saudi Arabia in the past, at least according to their own executive director:\footnote{Prin"ce Talal is the grandson of King Abdulaziz. He is famous (infamous?) for his announcement that he would sue Forbes magazine for under estimating his wealth. Forbes reported him as being the 26th richest man in the world worth an approximate USD 20 billion. Prince Talal claims he is worth some 7 billion more than Forbes reported and this under estimation damaged his reputation. The outcome of this situation is, as yet, unclear.}

\begin{quote}
Elaborating on the CAIR campaign to dispel misunderstandings of Islam and Muslims, Nihad Awad, CAIR executive director, said that his group proposes to spend $10 million annually for five years in a media campaign. He said that CAIR would also recruit volunteers and produce educational material as part of its initiative. “We are planning to meet Prince Alwaleed ibn Talal\footnote{http://www.arabnews.com/node/286568} for his financial support to our project. He has been generous in the past,” he added.
\end{quote}

The Use of Monies Raised by the Various “Palestine Committees”

A variety of adherent Muslim Brotherhood organizations have raised money for the Palestinian cause, both legally and illegally in Canada and the USA (and elsewhere). The loss of the charitable status for IRFAN-Canada highlights how a Muslim Brotherhood led organization has transferred literally millions of
dollars of “charity” money overseas to HAMAS. Much the same can be said for the Islamic Association for Palestine and for the Holy Land Foundation (among others).

In a special non-periodical bulletin (Issue 1- dated 01 October, 1992) the Muslim Brotherhood sends the following information to its various Masuls (leaders). It is worth noting that the bulletin itself says it should not be photocopied (underlined) but that the ideas should be spread among the Ikhwan. In the section titled “Inside News” the bulletin, the examples of how HAMAS is operating with the money are given, including the claimed killing of a Canadian and the wounding of two others by Muhammad Arif Bisharat (a.k.a. Abu Suhayb):

The pioneering role played by the Hamas Movement among the Palestinian people sectors inside and outside and on all the horizons is known to you. This is a blessings arid a favor from God.

The Movement has become the first organization in the field as your brothers bear the burdens of the Intifadah and are in the front row of the distinguished operations against the enemy and its collaborators. The Movement has now a weight that is taken into consideration abroad and it is the one leading the powers that are opposed to the peaceful settlement, and it amasses all the capabilities for that purpose.

Due to the brothers’ conviction of the necessity of keeping you abreast of the different developments inside the Movement, and also the news of your brothers inside and outside, and in order for you to be aware and informed of the Movement’s policies and plans, something which helps you to perform your duties, and in order to gather efforts, program them and coordinate between them …, due to all of this, it was decided to issue a private, non-periodical bulletin dealing with all of the aforementioned (The Movement’s positions and news, news of the inside, directions.).

The first issue of “The Trust” is between your hands and we ask God to help us and you to fulfill the proper duty towards the trust. We find it necessary to make some remarks which should be observed precisely:

1- The bulletin is specifically for the brothers, the Masuls of (Palestine Committee in every country only), and it is a trust in their necks.

2- The brothers are to study the bulletin in the periodical meeting of the committee and it is not to be photocopied, meaning that the original copy should remain the only one. (Emphasis added)

3- The brothers should work on spreading the contents of the bulletin and the ideas contained in it among the Ikhwans and the collective Islamists. (Emphasis added)

News of the Inside

The Jerusalem Operation:

Two units of Izz al-Din d-Qassam attacked a group of soldiers. One of the Mujahedeen fired his M16 machine gun at one of the soldiers, killing him immediately. This operation caused a

massive reaction among the Jews as it took place in Jerusalem. The news agencies broadcasted the news. We received a report from the inside about the brother who carried out the Jerusalem operation.

Name: Muhammad Arif Bisharat (Abu Suhayb).

Town: Tammun - Jenin

Age: Approximately 20 years.

Status: Single

He carried out a previous heroic operation as on June 13, 91, brother Bisharat stabbed three Canadian settlers, killing one of them and inflicting medium wounds on the two other ones and this took place at al-Aghwar region. The army identified him and started to chase him, Fatah Movement tried to claim responsibility for this operation and did not succeed. The brother carried out several operations after that and was wounded during one of them and managed to flee before the army found him. Finally, he carried out the operation of the attack on the soldier in Jerusalem. (Emphasis added)
20. CAIR: False Outrage and Media Manipulation for Distraction

CAIR regularly exploits attacks against Muslims for profit and creates false stories in the media to create fake outrage, even when the attacks are not caused by racism or religious hatred.

According to a police affidavit, 17 year old Fatima Alawadi of El Cajon Californian jumped out of her mother’s car going approximately 35 miles per hour (56 kilometres per hour). They were having a discussion concerning her upcoming forced marriage to her cousin in Iraq. According to the affidavit based on police, paramedic and hospital staff, she told her mother “I love you Mom” and jumped out of the car as she did not want the forced marriage.

On 21 March 2012, Fatima’s mother Shaima Alawadi was beaten in her home having been hit six times in the head and suffered four skull fractures. According to police, she had been beaten with a large object.461

On 24 March 2012, Shaima Alawadi was taken off life support and she died in hospital from her beating injuries. Her body was flown back to Iraq for burial. She and her husband had initially left Iraq to escape persecution suffered under President Saddam Hussein.

On 25 March 2012, police state that whatever the motive, the attack appears to be "an isolated event," not part of an overall pattern of violence toward immigrants. Concerns about a hate crime were raised as it was also reported that a noted had been left next to her body with the statement: “Go back to your country, you terrorist.”

On 08 November 2012 her husband Kassim Alhimidi was arrested for her murder. It turns out that a divorce was being planned and the 17 year old daughter of the family was refusing to marry her cousin who lives in Iraq and these issues were at the centre of the problems.

On 31 January 2014 the CAIR (Chicago) Monitor ran a story that blamed the death of Shaima Alawadi on the “America’s inherent racism and prejudice.”462 This is fully 13 months after the arrest of Kassim Alhimidi for what appears to be an honour killing and some 21 months after police state that the attack appears to be "an isolated event," not part of an overall pattern of violence toward immigrants.

The paragraph stating that the killing of Shaima Alawadi was the fault of America reads as follows:

On February 26, 2012, George Zimmerman shot and killed Trayvon Martin in self-defense as Martin was on his way home in Sanford, FL, armed with a bag of skittles and iced tea. He was 17 years old, an African-American student at Michael Krop High School. One month later on March 21st, Shaima Alawadi was beat to death inside her home and left next to a note that read, “This is my country. Go back to yours, terrorist.” She was a 32-year-old mother of five who had left her country, Iraq, with her family following the Shiite uprisings, in hopes of finding peace in El Cajon, CA. These two now-lifeless Americans represent the true victims of America’s inherent racism and prejudice. We must then think to ourselves: what was their crime—the color of their skin (i.e.

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462 http://chicagomonitor.com/2014/01/hello-khan-may-i-call-you-terrorist/
their darker than white complexions), their ethnicity, their beliefs?—and when will the hate end.
(Emphasis added)

The honour killing and maiming of wives and daughters is a sensitive issue that most likely has its basis in cultural rather than religious norms. However, the question of honour killings and wife beating is an issue of particular sensitivity for organizations such as CAIR and CAIR CAN. This may account for the policy of denial and the blame for such events on others.

Long-time CIAR CAN board member and well known North American Muslim Brotherhood figure Dr. Jamal Badawi has written on wife beating.\(^{463}\) He approves of the practice and falls back on the belief that men are in charge of women because they spend their resources to support them. The verse in the Quran that he refers to is Surat An-Nisā' (The Women) 4:34.\(^{464}\)

\[
\text{Men are in charge of women by [right of] what Allah has given one over the other and what they spend [for maintenance] from their wealth. So righteous women are devoutly obedient, guarding in [the husband's] absence what Allah would have them guard. But those [wives] from whom you fear arrogance - [first] advise them; [then if they persist], forsake them in bed; and [finally], strike them. But if they obey you [once more], seek no means against them. Indeed, Allah is ever Exalted and Grand.}^{465}\]

Dr. Badawi does not seem to address the issue of whether it is permissible for an unemployed man to beat his employed wife.

The issues of wife beating, domestic violence and honour killings are delicately interwoven. However, Dr. Badawi has made his views clear and his writing leaves many some disturbed. His introductory paragraph on the subject of is worth reading in full:\(^{466}\)

\[
\text{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 then a punitive one.}
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Continuing with his own words, Dr. Badawi makes the following observations:

\(^{463}\) [http://www.themodernreligion.com/women/w_abuse_badawi.htm](http://www.themodernreligion.com/women/w_abuse_badawi.htm)


\(^{465}\) There are multiple interpretation of what it means to beat or strike a woman as noted at the end of the third last sentence. For seven different English language translations, see [http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=4&verse=34](http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=4&verse=34)

\(^{466}\) Is wife beating allowed in Islam? By Dr. Jamal Badawi: [http://www.themodernreligion.com/women/w_abuse_badawi.htm](http://www.themodernreligion.com/women/w_abuse_badawi.htm)
It must be seen as A RARE EXCEPTION TO THE REPEATED EXHORTATION OF MUTUAL RESPECT, KINDNESS AND GOOD TREATMENT, discussed earlier. Based on the Qur’an and hadith this measure may be used in the cases of lewdness on the part of the wife or extreme refraction and rejection of the husband’s reasonable requests on a consistent basis (nushuz). Even then, other measures, such as exhortation, should be tried first.

Of particular note is the option that many individual chose when looking at the rules offered by ancient texts such as the Torah, the Bible or the Quran. The holy books, many theologians argue, should have their spiritual and moral values taken up and used in today’s society. The physical aspects of life at the time are not relevant to today’s society and should be left in the past. Many others simply state that those were different times and that different standards applied. Society has move along and now we have different standards that reject issues such as wife beating.

Polygamy

Shahina Siddiqui of the Manitoba Islamic Association is also a founding member of the board of directors of CAIR CAN and has been on that board for more than ten years. She remains on the board of the National Council of Canadian Muslims,467 which is what CAIR CAN is now called following a 2013 name change. In addition to these positions, she was also the media spokesperson for CAIR CAN.468 As with many others in the Muslim Brotherhood movement, she supports polygamy. In a 2008 newspaper article on Ali Hindy of Toronto and how he had performed multiple polygamous marriages, the following was printed:

"The purpose of polygamy was to protect women," said Shahina Siddiqui, a social worker with the Islamic Social Services Association, who has worked on a number of polygamy cases. "The way it is being done here, it is not just. Second and third wives have no social support, no legal protection, no recourse if things go wrong; that in itself negates the entire premise of the Islamic law. It can't do what it was meant to do." Polygamy can work, Siddiqui stresses, if the society is set up for it, if it's open to it, and if adults consent to it.469

Conclusion

At the root of this issue for groups such as CAIR CAN and the rest of the Muslim Brotherhood lies the problems of moderate Islam (times have changed) and the heavily politicized views of the salafist movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood. The Ikhwan, as salafists, are determined to move societal standards back to the time of the first three generations after the founding of Islam. Therefore they seek a more literal interpretation of the Quran and are not willing to move away from the rules

467 [http://www.nccm.ca/about/our-board/](http://www.nccm.ca/about/our-board/)
468 This information on her as a spokesperson was taken from the CAIR CAN media guide. Archived copies of the CAIR CAN website can be found by using the Internet archive website called “The Way Back Machine” which can be found at www.web.archive.org. For a copy of the see: [http://web.archive.org/web/20030701034732/http://www.caircan.ca/](http://web.archive.org/web/20030701034732/http://www.caircan.ca/) and the select “download the CAIR CAN Journalists Guide” which will then be found at: [http://web.archive.org/web/20030617021214/http://www.caircan.ca/downloads/jgprint.pdf](http://web.archive.org/web/20030617021214/http://www.caircan.ca/downloads/jgprint.pdf)
469 GTA’s secret world of polygamy: As Toronto mother describes her ordeal, imam admits he has ‘blessed’ over 30 unions, Noor Javed Staff Reporter, Published On Sat May 24 2008, AARON LYNETT/TORONTO STAR. Available online at: [http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2008/05/24/gtas_secret_world_of_polygamy.html](http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2008/05/24/gtas_secret_world_of_polygamy.html)
which may have been seen as valid in the year C.E. 622 (Year one is the Islamic calendar) but not so much in 2014.
21. Secret Intelligence, OSINT and National Level Intelligence Agencies

This is not the place to address the role of intelligence in democratic societies. It is a much larger topic unto itself that needs addressing in a post-Cold War, post-2008 economic crisis, post-Edward Snowden world. We appear to be in a “third wave” of the intelligence community. The first was that of the formation of the most intelligence agencies and processes as a result of the end of World War Two and the start of the Cold War. Following the collapse of the Cold War and the USSR, there was no overwhelming force or principle that focussed the intelligence community. That ended with the attacks of 911 (start of second wave) which then reformed (distorted?) the priorities of the intelligence community in the West and brought us to where we are now. Clearly, a focus on Al Qaeda and its inspired followers is required, but it should not be allowed to shape all of the thinking and decision making that occurs.

The state does have a duty, a responsibility and an obligation to protect itself and its citizens/subjects. In democratic societies, this is a difficult and the task of achieving the proper balances between the security of the state and the rights of the collective and individuals citizens is floundering.

Part of this problem is the nature of the primary intelligence and enforcement organizations used by the state. Most of them are products of the Cold War and – consciously or not – they operate in a world which they assume is state centric (in the Westphalian sense of the term). This view of the world, known by International Relations scholars as “Political Realism” or is sometimes discussed as “Power and Realist Theory.”

Set up and run according to these views of the world, these agencies are now attempting to use “square hole” operating rules and methods in a “round hole” world. No matter how big the hammer, the process will not work well, its fails regularly and causes doubt and concern among the citizenry.

Consider, as just one small example the issue of electronic spying carried out by agencies such as the NSA in the USA, GCHQ in the United Kingdom or CSEC in Canada.

In the Canadian case, the CSEC has a legal mandate to do electronic spying, but not on Canadians. Its focus is to spy on foreign threats. In the ‘bad old days’ of the Cold War, this type of distinctions between ‘Canadians’ and ‘non-Canadians’ may have made sense. It does not make sense now.

Today, however, organizations such as the Muslim Brotherhood are non-state actors and see the world in a totally different manner. They envisage, as do many others, a sort of post-Westphalian world where the secular states dissolves in favour of a new (old?) form of structure and organization. To them, the Westphalian state system was a European export of the 1700s and the 1800s which was used as a tool of colonial oppression to subdue them. In their view, the system is worn out and needs to be replaced.

It is not just the Muslim Brotherhood that sees the world through this lens. The world of finance and economics clearly runs both within and outside the boundaries of the sovereign state. Financial derivatives and foreign currency trading flow across multiple state borders and most politicians have no real idea on what is happening or how to control it.
Another key factor is that secrecy is the enemy of knowledge. The amount of knowledge in the world is exploding and it is being shared to a greater degree than ever. The vast majority of this knowledge is not classified or held by government agencies. Agencies that try to focus on secret information for analysis are working with a pool of knowledge that is becoming relatively smaller and increasingly irrelevant as each year passes. If their secret knowledge is not contextualized and assisted by open source knowledge, they are not producing the best product available. In 2007 in a book titled Seeing the Invisible – National Security Intelligence in an Uncertain Age, I stated that:

Secrecy is the enemy of knowledge. And it will take lots of knowledge to prevail in the face of asymmetric threats such as transnational terrorism or transnational organized crime. The current threat is devolving downwards from systems threats (countries or large organizations) to the individual or small groups (self-forming terrorist groups etc). Unfortunately, most of the highly technological and classified intelligence systems were designed to operate against country level Cold War style threats. These highly classified systems work well against large scale threats such as armies or nuclear weapons networks, but they cannot perceive individual level capabilities or intentions.

At the same time, most intelligence agencies still cling to their treasured classification systems. Unfortunately, the over classification of intelligence is just another barrier to the flow of needed information. In Cold War days, this may have been acceptable as events moved at a rather glacial pace most of the time. Now, however, the information needed to stay current can change in weeks or months and a crisis can develop almost overnight. This means barriers have to be broken and intelligence has to be based on a “need to share” rather than a “need to know” basis.

OSINT is no more or less reliable than classified intelligence. Despite the widely held assumption that classified intelligence is more reliable that OSINT, there is no actual body of evidence to support this. As with any other form of information, there are methods available for verifying the reliability of sources and facts.

“There’s smart secrecy and stupid secrecy...”. This is the view of Gabriel Schoenfeld, a conservative scholar and Senior Fellow from the equally conservative Hudson Institute. He is the author of the recent book “Necessary Secrets - National Security, the Media, and the Rule of Law.”

The above has also been my view for a number of years, having worked in a variety of capacities in the intelligence world and having been the holder of one of those “above top secret” clearances. In 2010, I pointed this out in Global Brief magazine by stating again:

Secrecy has a valid place in intelligence agencies and in government in general, even in democracies. It can be a valid concept when an agency has to protect a source or agent or to

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470 For more information on open source intelligence and how secrecy is the enemy of knowledge, see Thomas Quiggin, Seeing the Invisible – National Security Intelligence in an Uncertain Age, World Scientific, Singapore, 2007, pages 157 to 177.

471 See the larger discussion of this issue at Thomas Quiggin, Seeing the Invisible – National Security Intelligence in an Uncertain Age, World Scientific, Singapore, 2007, pages 157 to 177.

472 See the article Smart Secret and Stupid Secret as published in GLOBAL BRIEF. It is available online at: http://globalbrief.ca/tomquiggin/2010/09/26/smart-secret-and-stupid-secret/
protect an ongoing operation. Secrecy is, however, the enemy of knowledge. An overuse of classification means that knowledge and information has a difficult time crossing the artificially created boundaries of secrecy. With knowledge being the only real weapon against an asymmetric threat, such as terrorism, large secrecy-driven bureaucracies are making the problem of security more difficult. With too much secrecy, the intelligence world becomes an insular place where analysts will only talk to people who confirm what they already (mistakenly) may know.473

This paper, for instance, was written entirely with open sources. You will not see footnotes that say I have a “confidential source” nor will you see statements such as “a government official with knowledge on this subject said....”.

Additionally, excessive secrecy slows the travel of knowledge. During the Cold War, information often moved at a glacial rate (pun intended). This was not critical, as events and equipment development tended to move rather slowly as well. Intelligence personnel could watch the progression of a new tank or aircraft occur over a period of five years or more. Now, information has a tendency to stale date in times periods closer to six or eighteen months, not five years. In order to be useful, information and intelligence has to travel quickly. Secrecy is a barrier to this, yet agencies tend to put secrecy of even the most mundane of details ahead of operational efficiency.

This obsession with secrecy is weakening both the government’s ability to understand the world around it as well as weakening the confidence of the population in the government. For more on this, and especially how this negatively affects journalists, see the podcast interview starting at 10:58 with Ottawa Citizen journalist Ian MacLeod titled My Brother’s Keeper? This is available online at the Broken Mirrors Website.474

As a society, we need the citizens and the government to redefine how we deal with emerging changes and emerging threats to society. Intelligence is too important to be left to intelligence agencies.

474 http://www.brokenmirrors.ca/?p=50
22. A Note on the Muslim Brotherhood in Other Countries

This paper has its primary focus on Canada although nearly every aspect of the Muslim Brotherhood in Canada has links to the USA. As already stated, the Muslim Brotherhood tends to see North America and one operational area for organization and impact. The Muslim Brotherhood may be more successful in countries such as Canada, the USA, the UK and Australia due to those countries having long histories of immigration and integration. As well, individual members have been successful in their education and careers as evidenced by the high number of PhDs and other advanced degrees, mostly in the sciences, medicine and engineering.

During the course of the research, it became quite clear that other countries besides those in the Middle East have a significant Muslim Brotherhood presence that operates along the same general lines as those adherent groups in North America. Among those countries that continuously appeared in the research are Australia, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, France and Germany, as well as the pan-European Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe.

Each country is different and each has its own story to tell. However, the timelines, methods, organizational names and approaches to publicity appear to remain relatively constant over those countries listed above.

It is probable that the Muslim Brotherhood has an organizational presence in about 60 countries in total (low end estimates) to as many as 70 (higher end estimates).

In the UK, the government of Prime Minister David Cameron has recently announced that it will launch

"an urgent investigation into the Muslim Brotherhood amid fears that the Islamist organisation is planning extremist activities from Britain. The review will include an assessment by MI6, the foreign intelligence service, of claims that the group was behind the murder of three tourists on a bus in Egypt in February and a spate of other recent attacks. MI5, Britain’s domestic intelligence agency, will also be asked to investigate how many senior leaders are based in this country after last year’s military coup in Egypt, which deposed Mohamed Morsi, the Muslim Brotherhood leader who was elected president."475

The UK decision to have this investigation may well lead to similar investigations in other countries that have a significant Muslim Brotherhood presence. Among those most likely may be Australia, Canada, Germany and France.

475 The Times of London, PM orders inquiry into Muslim Brotherhood’s terror links, Francis Elliott, Michael Savage and Sean O’Neill.Last updated at 12:01AM, April 1 2014. See the story online at: http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article4050750.ece
23. The Role of the Government of the United States of America

The role of the government of the United States appears to be ambiguous with respect to the Muslim Brotherhood and its respective adherent organizations. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, for instance, has ordered its staff to cut ties with CAIR in 2009 following concerns about its support for HAMAS. The prosecution of the Holy Land Foundation cases was an example of an active policy of enforcement, yet the US DoJ has not followed up on these initial successes by going after the unindicted co-conspirators that it identified during the HLF convictions and sentencing of 2008/09.

In 2013, the Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies Appropriations Bill did make an observation and noted that the Attorney General of the USA would refuse to attend meetings if he knew CAIR officials were present:

*Liaison partnerships.—The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) was listed as an unindicted co-conspirator in a case in which the Holy Land Foundation was found guilty of material support of a terrorist organization. The committee acknowledges the attorney general’s refusal to attend certain meetings knowing that CAIR officials would be present, as indicated in testimony before the committee on February 28, 2012. The committee understands that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has an existing policy prohibiting its employees from engaging in any formal non-investigative cooperation with CAIR. The committee encourages the attorney general to adopt a similar policy for all department officials.*

United States Secretary of State Kerry, believes that the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt was responsible for “stealing” the revolution. He was quoted as saying:

*And those kids in Tahrir Square, they were not motivated by any religion or ideology. They were motivated by what they saw through this interconnected world, and they wanted a piece of the opportunity and a chance to get an education and have a job and have a future, and not have a corrupt government that deprived them of all of that and more. And they tweeted their ways and Facetimed their ways and talked to each other, and that’s what drove that revolution. And then it got stolen by the one single most organized entity in the state, which was the Brotherhood.*

However, many in the USA feel that the Muslim Brotherhood was potentially a useful partner before the Arab Spring and other continue to believe this after the Arab Spring and the rise and fall of the Muslim Brotherhood Presidency in Egypt.

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At the same time, a number of Muslim Brotherhood related officials have close ties to the US government, not the least of them the ISNA president Imam Mohamed Magid\textsuperscript{480} who is also on the DHS Countering Violent Extremism Working Group.\textsuperscript{481}

While the Canadian government has taken an active role in cutting charity money support (ISNA, IFRAN etc) and the UK government is pressing ahead with an investigation into the role of the Muslim Brotherhood there, the US government overall remains ambiguous and appears to be increasingly out of step with its “five eyes” allies.

\textsuperscript{480} The DHS document lists Magid as being: Executive Director, All Dulles Area Muslim Society (ADAMS Center). See page 28 of https://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/hsac_cve_working_group_recommendations.pdf

\textsuperscript{481} See the DHS document Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Working Group, Homeland Security Advisory Council, Spring 2010 which is available online at:
https://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/hsac_cve_working_group_recommendations.pdf
24. Recommendations for Future Action in Canada – Charities and Front Organizations

The role of the Muslim Brotherhood does not appear to be consistent with values of the Canadian Constitution, the Canadian Charter of Rights nor the US Constitution and Bill of Rights.

The Government of Canada may wish to pursue a wider investigation into the activities of the Muslim Brotherhood with a particular focus on its activities in Canada and the USA. Cooperation or information sharing with the proposed investigation\textsuperscript{482} in the United Kingdom may be useful.

With respect to Canada, the government may wish to address:

1. Which organizations in Canada have Muslim Brotherhood affiliations throughout their history and current activities?
2. Which organizations in Canada have Muslim Brotherhood affiliations through their leadership, board of directors etc?
3. Which of these organizations has charitable status and should this status be reviewed?
4. Which of these organizations has access to government, and should this access be reviewed?
5. Should CBSA consider the increased screening individuals from Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia (and others) for membership or activities with respect to the Muslim Brotherhood?
6. Should the Canada Revenue Agency conduct a more extensive review of charity applications as well as a review of existing charities?
7. Should Canada consider requiring individuals who advocate imposing foreign standards on Canadians through political means register their activities as a form of lobbying?

Reciprocity of Charitable Funds

A number of charities in Canada receive funding from overseas. They have been required to report this funding since 2009. However, the sources and the amounts are not generally made known. As a means of providing transparency and accountability, two recommendations could be made:

1. The amounts and sources of the funds should be made available,
2. Money from foreign countries should only be acceptable if reciprocity exists with the country of the donors involved. Currently, many foreign states will not allow foreign money to enter their countries while at the same time, both their state and private institutions can send money to Canadian charities.

\textsuperscript{482} The Times of London, \textit{PM orders inquiry into Muslim Brotherhood’s terror links}, Francis Elliott, Michael Savage and Sean O’Neill. Last updated at 12:01AM, April 1 2014. See the story online at: \url{http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article4050750.ece}
Criminal Charges?

Additionally, the CRA has repeatedly shown that charities in Canada have used their charitable status for funding terrorism in areas as diverse as the Kashmir and Palestinian territories. The charitable status for these organizations has been removed, yet few actions have been taken concerning a criminal investigation for funding terrorism, even though the CRA reports repeatedly highlight the names of the individuals involved. The recent listing of IRFAN as a terrorist entity does appear to be a positive step in that direction. Whether this is the start of a trend or a “one off” event is not clear, but it does send a message of its own.⁴⁸³

25. Conclusions

The Muslim Brotherhood has been active in Canada and the United States since the late 1950s and has developed a series of front organizations and charities. Whether it is the original goals of Hassan Banna in the 1930s, the 1981 Project, the 1991 Memorandum or the 2014 Young Muslims in Canada website providing direction, the goals remains the same: *The establishment of an Islamic state as envisaged by individuals such as Hassan Banna and Sayyid Qutb*. The experience of President Morsi and his attempt to implement el-Shater’s Ikhwani policy of “renaissance” shows that the beliefs are current and not simply historical. They are also global.

Individuals such as Dr. Wael Haddara are at the forefront of these efforts and Dr. Haddara’s role with the Egyptian president and his role at the UN show the degree to which he (and others) have influence both in Canada and abroad.

CAIR-CANS proposed lawsuit against the Prime Minister of Canada serves to highlight how the policy of denial is practiced in and for the mainstream media. It also demonstrates how the organization feels it can threaten anyone, including the Prime Minister, who dares to assess the origins and nature of their work.

The various Muslim Brotherhood adherent organizations in Canada are led by educated and sophisticated individuals who practice a policy of denial as to their roots and aims of their organizations. As such, the statements of denial and “the past” and “we are a grassroots” organization should be examined with great skepticism.
Glossary

Caliph: a spiritual leader of Islam, claiming succession from Muhammad or any of the former Muslim rulers of Baghdad (until 1258) and of the Ottoman Empire (from 1571 until 1924).

Caliphate: The rank, jurisdiction, or government of a caliph.

Civilization Jihad: As used by the Muslim Brotherhood and explained in the 1991 General Memorandum, this is the process of eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and "sabotaging" its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated and God's religion is made victorious over all other religions.

Dawah (also Dawa) The practice or policy of conveying the message of Islam to non-Muslims. It is one of the key principles and objectives of the Muslim Brotherhood. As noted by the leading Ikhwani sholar Youssef Qaradawi: Conquest through dawah, that is what we hope for....We will conquer Europe, we will conquer America, not through the sword but through dawah.

General Guide: The leader of the Muslim Brotherhood. The current General Guide is Mohammad Badie who is held in an Egyptian jail.

Hadith: This is often translated as “tradition” and refers to the deeds and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). There are a variety of books and writings consisting of material based on those that either knew the prophet or recalled how he spoke or acted.

Ikhwani: One who is an adherent of the Muslim Brotherhood.

IkhwwanWeb: The official English language website of the Muslim Brotherhood (www.ikhwanweb.com).

Jihad: The term jihad has many meanings depending on the context and who is using the term. It can mean an inner struggle to improve one’s self (greater jihad) or it can mean a war or struggle against unbelievers (lesser jihad).

Masul: A leader or one who occupies a leadership role.

Nahda: Literally translated as “renaissance.” When used in the context of the Muslim Brotherhood, it refers to the political program of how the Muslim Brotherhood would go about running a society. In Egypt, the term referred to the intended program as laid out by Mohammed Khairat Saad el-Shater, a senior member of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Night Journey: A reference to the Isra and Mi’raj which was the journey of the Prophet Mohamed (PBUH) where in a single night he traveled to what is now called the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem/Al Quds and then ascended to heaven to meet with other prophets before returning to earth. It is this event that makes Jerusalem (Al Quds) one of the three holy sites of Islam.

484 http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/caliph
485 http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/caliphate?s=t
486 http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/dawah?s=ts
Qutbist: One who follows the teaching and ideology of Sayyid Qutb. The term is often used in the pejorative sense and implies one is will to use harsh measures or violence to achieve an Islamic caliphate.

Salafist/Salafi: Salafism is a movement in Sunni Islam which is derived from the term salaf meaning "predecessors" or "ancestors." In general, a salafist is one who shapes his beliefs and lifestyle on the earliest Muslims who existed at the time of the Prophet Mohamed (PBUH). This is based on a hadith that says “The people of my own generation are the best, then those who come after them, and then those of the next generation.” While many self-declared salafists are non-violent in their outlook, some salafist movement support the use of violence to obtain a political ends.

Settlement: According to Zeid Noman of the Muslim Brotherhood: By "settlement of the Dawa’a", the Muslim Brotherhood Dawa’a is meant. It is not meant to spread Islam as spread of Islam is a general thing and it is indeed a goal for each Muslim in general terms. The second thing is the settlement of the Dawa’a and finding permanent fundamentals in the cities where Ikhwans now live in order to, in order for them to be the meeting points for the coming brothers.

Sharia Law: Islamic law based on the Qur’an. Depending on the interpretation, the law could be relatively benign or harsh. There is no definitive version of Sharia, rather it is a matter of interpretation. The Qur’an has approximately 500 verse which can be interpreted as laying out matters of law and lifestyle. Typically about 140 to 150 of these are quoted as forming the basis for Sharia law.

Shia or Shi’ite: A member of one of the two largest religious divisions of Islam that regards Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad, as the legitimate successor of Muhammad, and disregards the three caliphs who succeeded him.488

Shirk: Greater Shirk: This means ascribing to someone other than Allah something that belongs only to Allah, such as Lordship (ruboobiyyah), divinity (uloohiyyah) and the divine names and attributes (al-asma’ wa’l-sifaat). Lesser Shirk: This includes everything that may lead to major shirk, or which is described in the texts as being shirk, but does not reach the extent of being major shirk.489

Shura Council: A committee of leaders, roughly comparable to a board of directors or a leadership council.

Sufi: A member of an ascetic, mystical Muslim sect.490

Sunni: a member of one of the two great religious divisions of Islam, regarding the first four caliphs as legitimate successors of Muhammad and stressing the importance of Sunna as a basis for law.491

Wahhabi: A follower of ’Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792), who stringently opposed all practices not sanctioned by the Koran. The Wahhabis, founded in the 18th century, are the most conservative Muslim group and are today found mainly in Saudi Arabia. Someone who is radical and espouse violence within this line of thought can be called a “Wahabist.” When someone is South Asia refers to the “Arabization

488 http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/Shi%CA%BFite
489 http://islamqa.info/en/34817
490 http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/sufi?s=t
491 http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/sunni
of Islam." they are often referring to the influence of the Wahabis which has been spread by money provided by the Saudi government.

Waqf: An institution comparable to a trust fund or an endowment.493

492 Among many other press and academic articles, see Gurmukh Singh, Pakistan is paying the price for Arabization: http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/pakistan-is-paying-the-price-for-arabization/article563748/
493 http://www.nait.net/index.htm
Bibliography of Suggested Readings: The Muslim Brotherhood

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This bibliography can be seen online at:

Dr. Judith Tinnes

The bibliography was compiled and selected by Judith Tinnes, Ph.D. She studied Information Science and New German Literature and Linguistics at the Saarland University (Germany). Her doctoral thesis dealt with Internet usage of Islamist terrorists and insurgents. While working for several research support organisations, she has gained expertise in information retrieval, librarianship and electronic publishing. Currently she works in the Research & Development department of the Leibniz Institute for Psychology Information (ZPID) for the open-access publishing project PsychOpen. In her spare time, she works as an Editorial Assistant for ‘Perspectives on Terrorism’.

Abstract

This bibliography contains journal articles, book chapters, books, edited volumes, theses, grey literature, bibliographies and other resources on the Muslim Brotherhood. It is not restricted to a particular time period and covers publications up to early March, 2014. The literature has been retrieved by manually browsing recent publications of more than 200 core and periphery sources in the field of terrorism studies. Additionally, full-text and reference retrieval tools have been employed for expanding the pool of sources and locating older publications.

Keywords: bibliography, resources, literature, Muslim Brotherhood, al-ʾIkhwān al-Muslimūn

495 See a bio of Dr. Schmid on the staff page of International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague: http://www.icct.nl/about/staff
496 http://www.jamesforest.com/?page_id=2
An Explanatory Memorandum
On the General Strategic Goal for the Group In North America
5/22/1991

Contents:

1- An introduction in explanation
2- The Concept of Settlement
3- The Process of Settlement
4- Comprehensive Settlement Organizations
In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful
Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds And
Blessed are the Pious

5/22/1991

The beloved brother/The General Masul, may God keep him
The beloved brother/Secretary of the Shura Council, may God keep him
The beloved brothers/Members of the Shura Council, may God keep them

God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.... To proceed,

I ask Almighty God that you, your families and those whom you love around you are in the best of conditions, pleasing to God, glorified His name be.

I send this letter of mine to you hoping that it would seize your attention and receive your good care as you are the people of responsibility and those to whom trust is given. Between your hands is an "Explanatory Memorandum" which I put effort in writing down so that it is not locked in the chest and the mind, and so that I can share with you a portion of the responsibility in leading the Group in this country.

What might have encouraged me to submit the memorandum in this time in particular is my feeling of a "glimpse of hope" and the beginning of good tidings which bring the good news that we have embarked on a new stage of Islamic activism stages in this continent. The papers which are between your hands are not abundant extravagance, imaginations or hallucinations which passed in the mind of one of your brothers, but they are rather hopes, ambitions and challenges that I hope that you share some or most of which with me. I do not claim their infallibility or absolute correctness, but they are an attempt which requires study, outlook, detailing and rooting from you.

My request to my brothers is to read the memorandum and to write what they wanted of comments and corrections, keeping in mind that what is between your hands is not strange or a new submission without a root, but rather an attempt to interpret and explain some of what came in the long-term plan which we approved and adopted in our council and our conference in the year (1987).

So, my honorable brother, do not rush to throw these papers away due to your many occupations and worries. All what I'm asking of you is to read them and to comment on them hoping that we might continue together the project of our plan and our Islamic work in this part of the world. Should you do that, I would be thankful and grateful to you.

I also ask my honorable brother, the Secretary of the Council, to add the subject of the memorandum on the Council agenda in its coming meeting.

May God reward you good and keep you for His Daw'a

Your brother/Mohamed Akram
In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful
Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds And
Blessed are the Pious

Subject: A project for an explanatory memorandum for the General Strategic goal for the Group in North America mentioned in the long-term plan

One: The Memorandum is derived from:
1- The general strategic goal of the Group in America which was approved by the Shura Council and the Organizational Conference for the year [1987] is "Enablement of Islam in North America, meaning: establishing an effective and a stable Islamic Movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood which adopts Muslims' causes domestically and globally, and which works to expand the observant Muslim base, aims at unifying and directing Muslims' efforts, presents Islam as a civilization alternative, and supports the global Islamic State wherever it is".
2- The priority that is approved by the Shura Council for the work of the Group in its current and former session which is "Settlement".
3- The positive development with the brothers in the Islamic Circle in an attempt to reach a unity of merger.
4- The constant need for thinking and future planning, an attempt to read it and working to "shape" the present to comply and suit the needs and challenges of the future.
5- The paper of his eminence, the General Masul, may God keep him, which he recently sent to the members of the Council.

Two: An Introduction to the Explanatory Memorandum:
- In order to begin with the explanation, we must "summon" the following question and place it in front of our eyes as its relationship is important and necessary with the strategic goal and the explanation project we are embarking on. The question we are facing is: "How do you like to see the Islam Movement in North America in ten years?", or "taking along" the following sentence when planning and working, "Islamic Work in North America in the year (2000): A Strategic Vision".
- Also, we must summon and take along "elements" of the general strategic goal of the Group in North America and I will intentionally repeat them in numbers. They are:
  [1- Establishing an effective and stable Islamic Movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood.
  2- Adopting Muslims' causes domestically and globally.
  3- Expanding the observant Muslim base.
  4- Unifying and directing Muslims' efforts.
5- Presenting Islam as a civilization alternative
6- Supporting the establishment of the global Islamic State wherever it is].

- It must be stressed that it has become clear and emphatically known that all is in agreement that we must "settle" or "enable" Islam and its Movement in this part of the world.
- Therefore, a joint understanding of the meaning of settlement or enablement must be adopted, through which and on whose basis we explain the general strategic goal with its six elements for the Group in North America.

Three: The Concept of Settlement:
This term was mentioned in the Group's "dictionary" and documents with various meanings in spite of the fact that everyone meant one thing with it. We believe that the understanding of the essence is the same and we will attempt here to give the word and its "meanings" a practical explanation with a practical Movement tone, and not a philosophical linguistic explanation, while stressing that this explanation of ours is not complete until our explanation of "the process" of settlement itself is understood which is mentioned in the following paragraph. We briefly say the following:

Settlement: "That Islam and its Movement become a part of the homeland it lives in".

Establishment: "That Islam turns into firmly-rooted organizations on whose bases civilization, structure and testimony are built".

Stability: "That Islam is stable in the land on which its people move". Enablement: "That Islam is enabled within the souls, minds and the lives of the people of the country in which it moves".

Rooting:"That Islam is resident and not a passing thing, or rooted "entrenched" in the soil of the spot where it moves and not a strange plant to it".

Four : The Process of Settlement:
- In order for Islam and its Movement to become "a part of the homeland" in which it lives, "stable" in its land, "rooted" in the spirits and minds of its people, "enabled" in the live of its society and has firmly-established "organizations" on which the Islamic structure is built and with which the testimony of civilization is achieved, the Movement must plan and struggle to obtain "the keys" and the tools of this process in carry out this grand mission as a "Civilization Jihadist” responsibility which lies on the shoulders of Muslims and - on top of them - the Muslim Brotherhood in this country. Among these keys and tools are the following:

1- Adopting the concept of settlement and understanding its practical meanings:
The Explanatory Memorandum focused on the Movement and the realistic dimension of the process of settlement and its practical meanings without paying attention to the difference in understanding between the resident and the non-resident, or who is the settled and the non-settled
and we believe that what was mentioned in the long-term plan in that regards suffices.

2- Making a fundamental shift in our thinking and mentality in order to suit the challenges of the settlement mission.

What is meant with the shift - which is a positive expression - is responding to the grand challenges of the settlement issues. We believe that any transforming response begins with the method of thinking and its center, the brain, first. In order to clarify what is meant with the shift as a key to qualify us to enter the field of settlement, we say very briefly that the following must be accomplished:

- A shift from the partial thinking mentality to the comprehensive thinking mentality.
- A shift from the "amputated" partial thinking mentality to the "continuous" comprehensive mentality.
- A shift from the mentality of caution and reservation to the mentality of risk and controlled liberation.
- A shift from the mentality of the elite Movement to the mentality of the popular Movement.
- A shift from the mentality of preaching and guidance to the mentality of building and testimony.
- A shift from the single opinion mentality to the multiple opinion mentality.
- A shift from the collision mentality to the absorption mentality.
- A shift from the individual mentality to the team mentality.
- A shift from the anticipation mentality to the initiative mentality.
- A shift from the hesitation mentality to the decisiveness mentality.
- A shift from the principles mentality to the programs mentality.
- A shift from the abstract ideas mentality to the true organizations mentality [This is the core point and the essence of the memorandum].

3- Understanding the historical stages in which the Islamic Ikhwani activism went through in this country:

The writer of the memorandum believes that understanding and comprehending the historical stages of the Islamic activism which was led and being led by the Muslim Brotherhood in this continent is a very important key in working towards settlement, through which the Group observes its march, the direction of its movement and the curves and turns of its road. We will suffice here with mentioning the title for each of these stages [The title expresses the prevalent characteristic of the stage] [Details maybe mentioned in another future study]. Most likely, the stages are:

A- The stage of searching for self and determining the identity.
B- The stage of inner build-up and tightening the organization.
C- The stage of mosques and the Islamic centers.
D- The stage of building the Islamic organizations - the first phase.
E- The stage of building the Islamic schools - the first phase.
F- The stage of thinking about the overt Islamic Movement - the first phase.
G- The stage of openness to the other Islamic movements and attempting to reach a formula for dealing with them - the first phase.
H- The stage of reviving and establishing the Islamic organizations - the second phase.
We believe that the Group is embarking on this stage in its second phase as it has to open the door and enter as it did the first time.

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

5- Understanding that we cannot perform the settlement mission by ourselves or away from people:
A mission as significant and as huge as the settlement mission needs magnificent and exhausting efforts. With their capabilities, human, financial and scientific resources, the Ikhwan will not be able to carry out this mission alone or away from people and he who believes that is wrong, and God knows best. As for the role of the Ikhwan, it is the initiative, pioneering, leadership, raising the banner and pushing people in that direction. They are then to work to employ, direct and unify Muslims' efforts and powers for this process. In order to do that, we must possess a mastery of the art of "coalitions", the art of "absorption" and the principles of "cooperation".

6- The necessity of achieving a union and balanced gradual merger between private work and public work:
We believe that what was written about this subject is many and is enough. But, it needs a time and a practical frame so that what is needed is achieved in a gradual and a balanced way that is compatible with the process of settlement.
8- The conviction that the success of the settlement of Islam and its Movement in this country is a success to the global Islamic Movement and a true support for the sought-after state, God willing:
There is a conviction - with which this memorandum disagrees - that our focus in attempting to settle Islam in this country will lead to negligence in our duty towards the global Islamic Movement in supporting its project to establish the state. We believe that the reply is in two segments: One - The success of the Movement in America in establishing an observant Islamic base with power and effectiveness will be the best support and aid to the global Movement project.

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And the second - is the global Movement has not succeeded yet in "distributing roles" to its branches, stating what is the needed from them as one of the participants or contributors to the project to establish the global Islamic state. The day this happens, the children of the American Ikhwani branch will have far-reaching impact and positions that make the ancestors proud.

8- Absorbing Muslims and winning them with all of their factions and colors in America and Canada for the settlement project, and making it their cause, future and the basis of their Islamic life in this part of the world:
This issues requires from us to learn "the art of dealing with the others", as people are different and people in many colors. We need to adopt the principle which says, "Take from people... the best they have", their best specializations, experiences, arts, energies and abilities. By people here we mean those within or without the ranks of individuals and organizations. The policy of "taking" should be with what achieves the strategic goal and the settlement process. But the big challenge in front of us is: how to connect them all in "the orbit" of our plan and "the circle" of our Movement in order to achieve "the core" of our interest. To me, there is no choice for us other than alliance and mutual understanding of those who desire from our religion and those who agree from our belief in work. And the U.S. Islamic arena is full of those waiting...., the pioneers.
What matters is bringing people to the level of comprehension of the challenge that is facing us as Muslims in this country, conviction of our settlement project, and understanding the benefit of agreement, cooperation and alliance. At that time, if we ask for money, a lot of it would come, and if we ask for men, they would come in lines. What matters is that our plan is "the criterion and the balance" in our relationship with others.
Here, two points must be noted; the first one: we need to comprehend and understand the balance of the Islamic powers in the U.S. arena [and this might be the subject of a future study]. The second point: what we reached with the brothers in "ICNA" is considered a step in the right direction, the beginning of good and the first drop that requires growing and guidance.
9- Re-examining our organizational and administrative bodies, the type of leadership and the method of selecting it with what suits the challenges of the settlement mission:
The memorandum will be silent about details regarding this item even though it is logical and there is a lot to be said about it.

10- Growing and developing our resources and capabilities, our financial and human resources with what suits the magnitude of the grand mission:
If we examined the human and the financial resources the Ikhwan alone own in this country, we and others would feel proud and glorious. And if we add to them the resources of our friends and allies, those who circle in our orbit and those waiting on our banner, we would realize that we are able to open the door to settlement and walk through it seeking to make Almighty God's word the highest.

11- Utilizing the scientific method in planning, thinking and preparation of studies needed for the process of settlement:
Yes, we need this method, and we need many studies which aid in this civilization Jihadist operation. We will mention some of them briefly:
- The history of the Islamic presence in America.
- The history of the Islamic Ikhwan presence in America.
- Islamic movements, organizations and organizations: analysis and criticism.
- The phenomenon of the Islamic centers and schools: challenges, needs and statistics.
- Islamic minorities,
- Muslim and Arab communities.
- The U.S. society: make-up and politics.
- The U.S. society's view of Islam and Muslims... And many other studies which we can direct our brothers and allies to prepare, either through their academic studies or through their educational centers or organizational tasking. What is important is that we start.

12- Agreeing on a flexible, balanced and a clear "mechanism" to implement the process of settlement within a specific, gradual and balanced "time frame" that is in-line with the demands and challenges of the process of settlement.
13- Understanding the U.S. society from its different aspects an understanding that "qualifies" us to perform the mission of settling our Dawa' in its country "and growing it" on its land.
14- Adopting a written "jurisprudence" that includes legal and movement bases, principles, policies and interpretations which are suitable for the needs and challenges of the process of settlement.
15- Agreeing on "criteria" and balances to be a sort of "antennas" or "the watch tower" in order to make sure that all of our priorities, plans, programs, bodies, leadership, monies and activities march towards the process of the settlement.
16- Adopting a practical, flexible formula through which our central work complements our domestic work.
[Items 12 through 16 will be detailed later].
18- Understanding the role and the nature of work of "The Islamic Center" in every city with what achieves the goal of the process of settlement:
The center we seek is the one which constitutes the "axis" of our Movement, the "perimeter" of the circle of our work, our "balance center", the "base" for our rise and our "Dar al-Arqam" to educate us, prepare us and supply our battalions in addition to being the "niche" of our prayers.

This is in order for the Islamic center to turn - in action not in words - into a seed "for a small Islamic society" which is a reflection and a mirror to our central organizations. The center ought to turn into a "beehive" which produces sweet honey. Thus, the Islamic center would turn into a place for study, family, battalion, course, seminar, visit, sport, school, social club, women gathering, kindergarten for male and female youngsters, the office of the domestic political resolution, and the center for distributing our newspapers, magazines, books and our audio and visual tapes.

In brief we say: we would like for the Islamic center to become "The House of Dawa'" and "the general center" in deeds first before name. As much as we own and direct these centers at the continent level, we can say we are marching successfully towards the settlement of Dawa' in this country.

Meaning that the "center's" role should be the same as the "mosque's" role during the time of God's prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, when he marched to "settle" the Dawa' in its first generation in Madina. from the mosque, he drew the Islamic life and provided to the world the most magnificent and fabulous civilization humanity knew.

This mandates that, eventually, the region, the branch and the Usra turn into "operations rooms" for planning, direction, monitoring and leadership for the Islamic center in order to be a role model to be followed.

18- Adopting a system that is based on "selecting" workers, "role distribution" and "assigning" positions and responsibilities is based on specialization, desire and need with what achieves the process of settlement and contributes to its success.

19- Turning the principle of dedication for the Masuls of main positions within the Group into a rule, a basis and a policy in work. Without it, the process of settlement might be stalled [Talking about this point requires more details and discussion].

20- Understanding the importance of the "Organizational" shift in our Movement work, and doing Jihad in order to achieve it in the real world with what serves the process of settlement and expedites its results, God Almighty's willing:
The reason this paragraph was delayed is to stress its utmost importance as it constitutes the heart and the core of this memorandum. It also constitutes the practical aspect and the true measure of our success or failure in our march towards settlement. The talk about the organizations and the "organizational" mentality or phenomenon does not require much details. It suffices to say that the first pioneer of this phenomenon was our prophet Mohamed, God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him, as he placed the foundation for the first civilized organization which is the mosque, which truly became "the comprehensive organization". And this was done by the pioneer of the contemporary Islamic Dawa', Imam martyr Hasan al-Banna, may God have mercy on him, when he and his brothers felt the need to re-establish" Islam and its movement anew, leading him to establish organizations with all their kinds: economic, social, media, scouting, professional and even the military ones. We must say that we are in
a country which understands no language other than the language of the organizations, and one which
does not respect or give weight to any group without effective, functional and strong organizations.

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It is good fortune that there are brothers among us who have this "trend", mentality or inclination to
build the organizations who have beat us by action and words which leads us to dare say honestly what
Sadat in Egypt once said, "We want to build a country of organizations" - a word of right he meant
wrong with. I say to my brothers, let us raise the banner of truth to establish right "We want to establish
the Group of organizations", as without it we will not able to put our feet on the true path.
- And in order for the process of settlement to be completed, we must plan and work from now to equip
and prepare ourselves, our brothers, our apparatuses, our sections and our committees in order to turn
into comprehensive organizations in a gradual and balanced way that is suitable with the need and the
reality. What encourages us to do that - in addition to the aforementioned -is that we possess "seeds" for
each organization from the organization we call for [See attachment number (1)].
- All we need is to tweak them, coordinate their work, collect their elements and merge their
efforts with others and then connect them with the comprehensive plan we seek.
For instance,
We have a seed for a "comprehensive media and art" organization: we own a print + advanced
typesetting machine + audio and visual center + art production office + magazines in Arabic and
Monitor, Social Sciences Magazines...] + art band + photographers + producers + programs anchors +
journalists + in addition to other media and art experiences". Another example:
We have a seed for a "comprehensive Dawa' educational" organization: We have the Daw'a section in
ISNA + Dr. Jamal Badawi Foundation + the center run by brother Hamed al-Ghazali + the Dawa' center
the Dawa' Committee and brother Shaker al-Sayyed are seeking to establish now + in addition to other
Daw'a efforts here and there...". And this applies to all the organizations we call on establishing.
- The big challenge that is ahead of us is how to turn these seeds or "scattered" elements into
comprehensive, stable, "settled" organizations that are connected with our Movement and which fly in
our orbit and take orders from our guidance. This does not prevent - but calls for - each central
organization to have its local branches but its connection with the Islamic center in the city is a must.
- What is needed is to seek to prepare the atmosphere and the means to achieve "the merger" so that the sections, the committees, the regions, the branches and the Usras are eventually the heart and the core of these organizations.
1- The Movement Department + The Secretariat Department
2- Education Department + Dawa'a Com.
3- Sisters Department
4- The Financial Department + Investment Committee + The Endowment
5- Youth Department + Youths Organizations Department
6- The Social Committee + Matrimony Committee + Mercy Foundation
7- The Security Committee
8- The Political Depart. + Palestine Com.
9- The Group's Court + The Legal Com.
10- Domestic Work Department
11- Our magazines + the print + our art band
12- The Studies Association + The Publication House + Dar al-Kitab
13- Scientific and Medial societies
14- The Organizational Conference
15- The Shura Council + Planning Com.
16- The Executive Office
17- The General Masul
18- The regions, branches & Uras

Five: Comprehensive Settlement Organization:
- We would then seek and struggle in order to make each one of these above-mentioned organizations a "comprehensive organization" throughout the days and the years, and as long as we are destined to be in this country. What is important is that we put the foundation and we will be followed by peoples and generations that would finish the march and the road but with a clearly-defined guidance.
And, in order for us to clarify what we mean with the comprehensive, specialized organization, we mention here the characteristics and traits of each organization of the "promising" organizations.

1- **From the Dawa' and educational aspect [The Dawa* and Educational Organization]:** to include:
- The Organization to spread the Dawa' (Central and local branches).
- An institute to graduate Callers and Educators.
- Scholars, Callers, Educators, Preachers and Program Anchors.
- Art and communication technology, Conveyance and Dawa'.

2 - Politically [The Political Organization]: to include:
- A central political party.
- Local political offices.
- Political symbols.
- Relationships and alliances.
- The American Organization for Islamic Political Action
- Advanced Information Centers....and things like that.

3- **Media [The Media and Art Organization]:** to include:
- A daily newspaper,
- Weekly, monthly and seasonal magazines.
- Radio stations.
- Television programs.
- Audio and visual centers.
- A magazine for the Muslim child.
- A magazine for the Muslim woman.
- A print and typesetting machines.
- A production office.
- A photography and recording studio
- Art bands for acting, chanting and theater.
- A marketing and art production office... and things like that.
4- **Economically [The Economic Organization]**: to include:

- An Islamic Central bank.
- Islamic endowments.
- Investment projects.
- An organization for interest-free loans.... and things like that.

5- **Scientifically and Professionally [The Scientific. Educational and Professional Organization]**: to include:

- Scientific research centers.
- Technical organizations and vocational training.
- An Islamic university.
- Islamic schools.
- A council for education and scientific research.
- Centers to train teachers.
- Scientific societies in schools.
- An office for academic guidance.
- A body for authorship and Islamic curricula.... and things like that.

6- **Culturally and Intellectually [The Cultural and Intellectual Organization]**: to include:

- A center for studies and research.
- Cultural and intellectual foundations such as [The Social Scientists Society - Scientists and Engineers Society....].
- An organization for Islamic thought and culture.
- A publication, translation and distribution house for Islamic books.
- An office for archiving, history and authentication
- The project to translate the Noble Quran, the Noble Sayings....and things like that.

7- **Socially [The Social-Charitable Organization]**: to include:

- Social clubs for the youths and the community's sons and daughters
- Local societies for social welfare and the services are tied to the Islamic centers
- The Islamic Organization to Combat the Social Ills of the U.S. Society
- Islamic houses project
- Matrimony and family cases office....and things like that.
8- **Youths [The Youth Organization]**: to include:
- Central and local youths foundations.
- Sports teams and clubs
- Scouting teams....and things like that.

9- **Women [The Women Organization]**: to include:
- Central and local women societies.
- Organizations of training, vocational and housekeeping.
- An organization to train female preachers.
- Islamic kindergartens...and things like that.

10- **Organizationally and Administratively [The Administrative and Organizational Organization]**: to include:
- An institute for training, growth, development and planning
- Prominent experts in this field
- Work systems, bylaws and charters fit for running the most complicated bodies and organizations
- A periodic magazine in Islamic development and administration.
- Owning camps and halls for the various activities.
- A data, polling and census bank.
- An advanced communication network.
- An advanced archive for our heritage and production....and things like that.

11- **Security [The Security Organization]**: to include:
- Clubs for training and learning self-defense techniques.
- A center which is concerned with the security issues [Technical, intellectual, technological and human]....and things like that.

12- **Legally [The Legal Organization]**: to include:
- A Central Jurisprudence Council.
- A Central Islamic Court.
- Muslim Attorneys Society.
The Islamic Foundation for Defense of Muslims' Rights...and things like that. And success is by God.
A list of our organizations and the organizations of our friends [Imagine if they all march according to one plan!!!]

1 - ISNA = ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA
2 - MSA = MUSLIM STUDENTS’ ASSOCIATION
3 - MCA = THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES ASSOCIATION
4 - AMSS = THE ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SOCIAL SCIENTISTS
5 - AMSE = THE ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS
6 - IMA = ISLAMIC MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

7 - ITC = ISLAMIC TEACHING CENTER
8 - NAIT = NORTH AMERICAN ISLAMIC TRUST
9 - FID = FOUNDATION FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
10 IHC = ISLAMIC HOUSING COOPERATIVE
11 ICD = ISLAMIC CENTERS DIVISION
12 ATP = AMERICAN TRUST PUBLICATIONS
13 AVC = AUDIO-VISUAL CENTER
14 IBS = ISLAMIC BOOK SERVICE
15 MBA = MUSLIM BUSINESSMEN ASSOCIATION
16 MYNA = MUSLIM YOUTH OF NORTH AMERICA
17 IFC = ISNA FIQH COMMITTEE
18 IPAC = ISNA POLITICAL AWARENESS COMMITTEE
19 IED = ISLAMIC EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
20 MAYA = MUSLIM ARAB YOUTH ASSOCIATION
21 MISG = MALASIAN [sic] ISLAMIC STUDY GROUP
22 IAP = ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE
23 UASR = UNITED ASSOCIATION FOR STUDIES AND RESEARCH
24 OLF = OCCUPIED LAND FUND
25 MIA = MERCY INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION
26 ISNA = ISLAMIC CIRCLE OF NORTH AMERICA
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Annex B: The Ikhwan in America (1981 speech by Zeid al-Noman)

Date/Time Recorded:
Tape Number/ID #: T13-T18 1 "Ikhwan in America. Zeid"

Ze = Zeid al-Noman
Um = Unidentified Male
UI – unintelligible

Side A:

Um:
I resort to God from the pelted Devil, In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Thanks be to God and prayers and peace be upon God's messenger, his family and his companions. Brothers, God's peace, mercy and blessings to you. Er ..., these special meetings in which the Ikhwans meet in organizational meetings there is a good opportunity to meet the Ikhwans, for their cooperation and an opportunity to exchange advice with each other and...[UI]. They are also an opportunity for the Muslim Ikhwans to meet in this Dawa'a and they are also a good opportunity for the brothers the Mads of this Dawa'a to meet their brothers in their locations and in their activities. And, ..., and today in our lecture, we meet with a Masul brother so that the Ikhwans can express what is in their hearts and so that you can benefit from the directions of the Masul brother and that's it. We just would like to remind you that ..., of course, the title of the lecture is "The Ikhwans in America" but the questions which will follow the lecture will not be limited to the subject presented by the brother but will include any general ..., any questions..., any question a brother wants to pose or present around the Dawa'a in America. We now meet brother Zeid al-Noman, Masul of the Executive Office, may God reward him all good.

Ze:
Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds, Prayers and peace be upon the master of the messengers, Mohamed Bin Abdullah and all of his family and companions. My brothers, God's willing, I will speak about ...er, our history. I will begin with a historical outlook ....er, about the history of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in North America. After that, I will go ahead and speak about the nature the Movement in North America and what are the difficulties which face work over here. I will then conclude the lecture, God's willing, ...[coughing]...I will then conclude the lecture, God's willing, by talking about priorities of work in north America as compiled by the Executive Office. The Movement was founded ...., the Movement was founded here with the founding of the general Islamic activism or it might have preceded it by a little bit.

At first, it was a gathering or a grouping for Islam activists without an organizational filiation with the Movement. So, the first generation of the Muslim Ikhwans in North America composed of a team which included he who was an Ikhwan in his country or he who was a member of The Worshipers of the Merciful Group or he who doesn't have a direction but who is active in Islamic activism. This was the first point or group which gave or planted the Muslim Brotherhood seed in America. After that, the Movement went through different organizational formats. One of the first organizational formats tried
here were the regional gatherings as each movement had ...., had its gathering with a leadership and the collection of these leadership formed the Group's leadership or what is called the Coordination Council. They were meeting and the resolutions of that Council were non-binding for its members. Of course, there were some countries ...., there were some countries which did not have a large gathering in north America, we can call them ....[UI] countries, individuals of this country would associate with the nearest movement to them. So, for instance, an Iraqi might have joined Jordan's Ikhwans and, for instance, a Libyan might associate with Egypt's Ikhwans and so forth.

Following this stage, a new organizational format started to evolve which is the unified Movement. These ...., these groups of Ikhwans started to gather under one leadership. During this stage, the name of this gathering was not important but the affiliation with the Ikhwan's name was an affiliation due to the size of thought of this Movement and...er, or books and writings of this Movement which were available in the field. This was the reason for which the name "The Muslim Brotherhood" was adopted as a basis for this work. I mean, to the point that, at some point, there was an attempt to change the name of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement to The Islamic Movement and making it affiliated with a dissenting group in Iraq called the Islamic Movement. All of that, Ikhwans, was at the beginning of work when the Ikhwans who came to America, may God reward them all good, were seeking methods for activism. This was probably in mid-60's ...er, or even .....I mean, mid 60's, long time ago. As for recruitment in the ranks of this Movement, its main condition was that a brother ..... was that a brother must be active in the general activism in the MSA, a person who attends its general conferences or participating in its executive committees, whether local or central, and this was the Movement's condition in the 60's. We can then sum up the condition of the Movement in the 60's by saying that commitment to the Movement was a sentimental commitment, a grouping one, and general activism was the basis for that commitment. Also, in the beginning there were regional gatherings which turned into a unified Movement without an intellectual or organizational scale. And we said that recruitment used to take place in the following format: attending the MSA conferences and choosing active Arab elements and approaching them to join the Ikhwans. This was followed by visits to the local branches and, consequently, choosing active elements over there and approaching them to join the Ikhwans. As for the Ikhwan who came from their countries, they most probably joined the Movement specially if there were large numbers of the Ikhwan Movement who preceded them to America. Then, joining the Movement would be automatic; he would notify that he has arrived and, after that, he would join in the nearest opportunity.

Most of the Usras then were individual Usras. I mean, sometimes an Usra would be made up of three people and the distance between two of them is maybe 100 or 150 miles. They would meet once a month or once every six weeks. After that period, in the beginning of the 70's a new era started. We can call it the stage of codification. The people started to ..., they put together the first bylaws of theirs and they started after that to.... And, in doing this thing, there started to be an emphasis on the Ikhwan's formula for this Movement. Prior to this stage, young elements came to America, especially Gulf elements or Saudi elements which joined the ranks of the Movement regularly. This was the first true tremor for the Ikhwan's activism here in America as these brothers started to demand clearer Ikhwan formulas, clearer commitment and means or ones with a specific and not a general nature and that there are conditions to accept one into the ranks of this Dawa'a and to made work secret,....etc. This characteristic ....er, this current started to come to surface or this current started to be distinguished in Islamic activism during the ranks of the Movement to the point that The Shura Council appointed to it a brother who represents this direction even though he is not elected to that Council. If we examine the Group's conferences in this ..., in this time period, we would find that they were characterized with the following: First of all, in the past the Ikhwans' conferences used to be held in the same time as the MSA's
conferences, at the same time. They would either precede it with one day or come a day after them. After that they became separate from the MSA’s conferences and they lasted an entire week. Also, the leadership would be elected during these conferences. We notice that there used to be a family characteristic to these conferences, that a brother would attend and his wife and children even if his wife is not a Sister. Also, attending this ..., this meeting were some of those working in the Islamic field and, particularly, the brothers in the Halaqa, the Beloved Halaqa which is the Pakistani brothers’ Movement or the brothers who were members of the Islamic Group in Pakistan and came to America. This period continued until... until approximately the year ‘75 and after that the era of dedication for the general activism began. During this time period, leaders of the Group were dedicated to the general activism organizations which were in the formation phase which took a lot of their time and all of that was at the expense of the Movement and the special domestic activism. During this time period, there was a big desire to come to America to study and large delegations of youth come to the country, most of whom were committed to the Dawa’a in his native country. During the ..., during the same time, the Ikhwan’s foreign connections became strong and that was due to the fundraising campaigns which were launched by the Ikhwan’s ..., which made it possible for the Ikhwan in the leadership to meet leadership from the Orient. Therefore, membership here of the brothers who were members in their countries was easier, easier. Those people come to the Movement and found some organizational practices such as means and priorities which were different from the ones they were accustomed to in their countries. So, they started to inquire, “Where is the strictness in the conditions? And where are these conditions? Where is the secrecy, where is organizational connection and where are the educational programs? What are goals of the Group here? What are goals of ..., the goals of these programs?” All of these questions were resurfacing on the field anew. Therefore, regional organizational pockets started to form during this time period. Also, rumors and suspicious started to circulate among the ranks of the Group regarding individuals in the leadership,

So, the Movement then-current situation exploded during the camp of ‘77 and a new leadership came on board in ‘78 whose work was bitter as it was trying to purge the Group’s body from regional restrictions and gatherings or from the organizational pockets and tied its parts together but, during this time period, it was a non-harmonious leadership and going back and forth was evident in its positions. Despite that, it managed to place the Ikhwan in front of the true picture of their reality and to shake them deeply from the inside. Therefore, the conferences of ‘77, ‘78 and ‘79 used to end with tears and pain but, to say the truth, were very important for what happened after that. This time period was characterized by change; a change in Ikhwan who wanted to change the status quo and others who want to maintain the status quo. One of the things which were enacted is the attendance of the Sisters only to the Movement’s conferences, only the adherent Sisters and not the wives of the Ikhwan. Also, for the first time,...er, actual accountability of the leadership was enacted even though this accountability was unfair at times. In the past, leadership was seen as a group of infallible Ikhwan. Therefore, holding them accountable was rare or simple. Despite that, organizational pockets continued to constitute the biggest danger for the unity of the Group. But, this time period came to an end and the Group became more accepting of change, stability and moving forward. The elections of ‘79 came along and the Shura Council came in ‘80 and ‘81 and the road in front of it was paved and work began to unify the Group’s ranks, codification of work and pushing the Movement’s forward. For the first time then, we had a General Masul who was dedicated to the Group’s affairs alone and also the Shura Council started to play its true role which is planning and monitoring the executive leadership. The executive leadership was carrying its tasks through a Shura atmosphere and continuous contacts. Its meetings were held consistently on monthly basis. The mid-level leadership which was represented by the Masuls of the regions and the regions' councils play their natural role as well through applying the principle of de-centralization. Work started to be clearer and more programed. The current Shura Council came on
board to finish what its brother started on the span of past seven years to lead this Group to new
horizons, God's willing, keeping its eyes on huge goals among which is the settlement of this Group and
minding some of the regional experiences and the turns of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in north
America. This is a quick narration for the history of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America and, as
you notice, it is not old history, I mean, the Movement stared here in the 60's and we are now in the
80's. That means that the Movement's age is between 15 and 20 years only. Despite of that, the result
of the experience ..., the experience Movement went through, is large and it made it possible to short-
cut many years as a result of the fusion of different experiences which came from different
backgrounds. After that, we examine what ..., what is the nature of this Movement after it gained it and
what are the real reasons which made it go through the circumstances it went through. We say that,
first of all, the organizational base in North America is an organizational base with a dynamic
characteristic. This dynamics is at two levels: The first one is at the North America's level as the vast
majority of the Muslim Brotherhood here are students. Therefore, we find them very prone to change,
either for study reasons which is about two years for a brother and he changes his college, or, as far as
residence is concerned, the Ikhwans change their address almost every semester, or, as far as moving
outside of America, it is either a temporary departure and that usually happens during the summer
vacation or the Christmas vacation, or a departure to work in the Orient for a limited time period, or it is
a permanent departure which is when a brother ends his study or when an immigrants decides that it is
time to return to his native country. The base changes about 70% almost every five years. Then, this
dynamic nature had an impact on the course of work. Some of them were native effects. Some of these
effects is that this prevents long-term planning due to the lack of the long-term stability of the base.
Some of it is the difficulty of following up with the Ikhwans at the central level due to their constant
changes of either their addresses or their residences. Some of that is, sometimes, the sudden
disappearance of Ikhwans from the region or the city. Most likely this happens when the brother
decides to terminate his studies and he packs his stuff and leaves without notifying those in charge in
the first place. Another negative effect is that this characteristic prevents supposed growth and makes
the education of the individuals intermittent at times. As for the positive effects, they are: First, the
exchange of ideas between the regions because when the Ikhwans move from one region to another
they carry the experiences of this region to the other region.

This was one of the positive things of the dynamics of the base, also, the fact that it allowed new blood
to be present as far as planning and execution are considered along the years. Also, the lack of
formation of permanent isolated pockets because any organizational pocket might take some time ..., a
certain period of time and, after that, this pocket will disband either because the Ikhwans have departed
the country or moved to other places. Therefore, an organizational pocket will not last. And the other
characteristic of this Movement is that the base has low density. By "low density" I mean that there is no
large number of Ikhwans at one city. This, of course, has positive and negative effects. Among its
negative effects on the Movement is the difficulty of forming educational or organizational levels. When
a brother moves from one region or from one city to another, he might not find in the city he
transferred to the educational level he was in. Also, the other negative effect is the difficulty of contacts
and meetings. So, the method of contacts depended on was either the mail or the telephone. One of the
flaws of that is that accountability and guidance are scarce. Among the positive effects for the..., for the
..., the relative low density of the base is exerting the entire Ikhwan energy due to the lack of pressure
and restrictions placed on the brother. Finding out a brother's genuineness, he working brother from
the one who pretends to be a brother. When you place a brother in a position of responsibility in a..., in
an atmosphere which has less accountability, the good nature or a good brother can produce even if
there is no continuous direction or continuous accountability of his..., of his actions. Also, there was
another positive ...., another positive which is training a brother on how to deal with non-brothers and planting the first seed for that.

When a brother existed in a large Ikhwans gathering, his dealing will be with Ikhwans only. When a brother is alone or with a small Ikhwans' gathering, his dealing will be ..., especially with non-Ikhwan brothers, he will learn how to direct work through them, He will ...., he will learn how to deal with them, the dealing..., dealing with a non-Ikwan brother, as you know, is different from dealing with a brother, Also, there was a characteristic..., another characteristic for that Movement, which is the difference in tastes. Regardless of whether a brother is resident or temporary here, there are two kinds of Ikhwans who come to America: The first one found out about the call of the Ikhwans in North America and became regular in its ranks over here. Those brothers, even if they are residents, are the most Ikhwans who rush to defend and sacrifice for the sake of the Movement. Even if they are temporary, they will be, God's willing, new experiences and new blood in the movements of their countries. As for the third kind, they originally came as Ikhwans and they became regular Ikhwans here. I mean, we call them "Imported Ikhwans" and those people are statues. Some of them came to study only. Therefore, working among the ranks of the Group comes in the second, the third or the fourth place for them. Some of them came to study but know that this life is for the Group so that he could reap its hits in the afterlife, God's willing, and he places working in the ranks of the Group in the first place. Some of them came to study but see that working for the Group comes in two aspects: The first one, working among members of his homeland and after that comes general work in the ranks of the Group. Some of them came to study with a prior judgement about the Group over here regardless of it being right or wrong. Based on that, he makes a judgement and moves according to that. Some of them came for work and they place their work first before the Group. Some of them came for work and know that this life is a farm for the afterlife and he sacrifices what he has for the sake of. ...for the sake of this Dawa'a. These are the most important kinds of imported Ikhwans who come over here. Of course, every one of these kinds has its contribution, has its negative aspects and its positive aspects. Some of them were ...., were a cause for the delay of hindering the work of the Group and its forward moving. Some of them were a cause for the Group to move forward. God's willing, everyone works with an intention for which we ask Almighty God to reward him for. These are the three characteristics which describe the Ikhan Movement in North America. In reality, it has unique characteristics. I mean, except in America and Europe, we do not find unified movements which work in that way, to be able to or try to melt all of the Ikhwans' experiences in a one pot, try to group all the Ikhwans under ....er, under one umbrella. This experience had and still has many positive aspects for our Ikhwans, particularly Ikhwans of the Orient because it deepened the idea ..... of the Group's unity. Here in America we find the practical application for this... ..., for this idea which is the Group's unity in one movement. Also, the positive and negative aspects of this work reflect here and we can achieve through them ..., we can push these positive aspects forward and find solutions for these negative aspects and move through the negative aspects, God's willing, and turn them into positive aspects to benefit work. As for planning and the process of planning for the Group, it also went through historical phases. Some of them is the lack of clear plans neither for the Group or for general activism. I mean, the most important resolution the Group might have taken was who was going to be a member of the MSA 's executive committee. This was the most important resolution the Group could have taken during this phase. Then, the first Ikhwans' plan was the five-year plan the Ikhwans put together lasting from '75-'80. Its primary focus was general work and dedication to the general work organizations. After that the five-year plan for '81-'85 and its focus was self-structure and settlement of the Dawa'a. All of these are plans are..., I mean, the one which put them together was the Shura Council. In the years '80 and '81, we started to work on a new kind of plans which is planning at the regions' level. Therefore, planning became ...., planning
became prominent at the regions' level as a system for work and as a system for accountability. As for this year, thanks be to God, the executive office has put together an annual work program on whose basis, God's willing, the region or the regions will build their plans for the current year. The plan of the executive office will be implemented beginning May '82 and, of course, ends in April '83. When the executive office thought about putting this plan together, it really came in different stages such as gathering a group of Ikhwan who have experience and specialization in planning or management and they put together the first foundation or stone for this plan. It was then presented to the executive office after that and it compared it with the human potential in place and with the abilities of the Ikhwan in place and it chose from the bases which were put together by the first committee a group of goals which the executive office considered main goals which must be implemented during ..., during this year, and it made a second group of goals secondary goals which it will try to implement this year if time permits and then hoped that these secondary goals will gradually move from the category of secondary goals to the main goals category and get their full share of implementation. After that, these main goals were divided..., some of which we will see in a little bit, because they had a general nature. They were divided into periodical goals which we will try to implement this year, God's willing. The main goals which were approved by the executive office were five ..., which were put together by the executive office and which were then approved by the Shura Council were,

first of all: Strengthening the internal structure;
second, administrative discipline;
third, recruitment and
settlement of the Dawa'a;
four, energizing the organizations' work;
five, energizing political work fronts.

Also, it adopted eight of the secondary goals on top of which were: finance and investment;
second, foreign relations;
third, reviving women's activity;
four, political awareness to members of the Group;
five, securing the Group; s
ix, special activity;
seven, media;
eight, taking advantage of human potentials.

This is ..., these are the Group's main and the secondary goals for the next year of work, God's willing. Of course, along with these goals, we also had two things in front of us: The first thing is the reality of the Movement, and the second thing is what the Movement should be. The reality of the Movement is that it is a students' Movement. What the Movement should be is to become a Movement for the residents because, Ikhwan, one of the things which we suffer from is that it is possible that all the Ikhwan in one city might leave it or that the fundamental people the Movement relies on in this city might collectively leave and, thus, leaving a sort of a vacuum behind them; a vacuum in work and also a vacuum in planning. That means that the five-year plans will not be effective in this region due to the absence of the Ikhwan element from it. Therefore, we had to take two simultaneous moves and with two harmonious wings: The first one is the reality or now attempt to implement the needs of the reality which is what the students' movement needs and that we also work hard to settle the Dawa'a. By "settlement of the Dawa'a", the Muslim Brotherhood Dawa'a is meant. It is not meant to spread Islam as spread of Islam is a general thing and it is indeed a goal for each Muslim in general terms. The second thing is the settlement of the Dawa'a and finding permanent fundamentals in the cities where Ikhwan
now live in order to ...er, in order for them to be the meeting points for the coming brothers. This way, work at any cities is not going to be disturbed due to the collective absence of a group of the Ikhwans. In reality, the issue of settling the Dawa'a in the past was not favored by a group of the Ikhwan who used to be here six or seven years ago, specially the students among them. They believed that the idea of settling the Dawa'a in North America is a waste of time and this, of course, was due to their students' view of work. Now, thanks be to God, we find that this phenomenon started to change. This change came in stages ... we can..., it came in forms which we can feel through the reality of general work. The first change was moving the Ikhwans from working at the branches of the MSA and the [Arab Youth Muslim] Association as branches whose activities are based on universities where they go a university to hold their activity, to what is called at that time "The Muslim House". The Muslim House was based on them purchasing a house near the university with Ikhwans living in a part of it and the rest of it becomes a mosque and it would also be a nucleus for the activity. This was the first move the Ikhwans did. After that, the other move came where this Muslim House was not a goal by itself or it was no longer able to satisfy work as they started to move to somewhere else which are the Islamic centers. We notice that during the past two or three years that many of the students' gathering started to establish Islamic centers.

This was also another healthy move for settling the Dawa'a as the presence of an Islamic center means the presence of residents, means the existence of contacts between students and the residents, means recruitment of the residents and winning them to the ranks of the Dawa'a, means forming permanent foundations in these cities. Then, what we have now or what we feel now is that there a bigger and bigger acceptance than the Ikhwans' base for this change and we ask God the Almighty to help us so that we can finish this mission which is the settlement of Dawa'a and that, by that, we would have permanent foundations in America which can benefit Islamic work generally speaking and may God reward you all good.

Um: If possible, let the brothers collect the questions from the audience ... If possible, can you repeat to us the main goals and the secondary goals which were written by the Executive Office and which were approved by the Shura Council.

Ze: The main goals are five. They are: Strengthening the internal structure, administrative discipline, recruitment and settlement of the Dawa'a, energizing the organizations' work, energizing the political work fronts. As for the secondary goals, they are eight: first, financing and investment; second, foreign relations; third, reviving women's activity; four, political awareness to members of the Group; five, securing the Group; six, special activity; seven, media; eight, benefitting from human potentials. Um: There is a question: What is the degree of connection between the Ikhwan Group in America with the mother Group in Egypt?

[End of side A].

Side B:

Ze: ..,the dangers of these pockets are many; some of that is the fact that they hinder work, some of it is that they destabilize the ranks because the ranks then would be disconnected. Thanks be to God, we can currently say that there are no longer organizational pockets in the ranks of the Group. Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds, we were able to absorb these pockets during this past time. Organizational pockets most likely form due to a wrong idea adopted by some of the Ikhwans regarding
means of work over here or they could be due to regional gatherings. So, they could come due to any of these forms.

Um:
Er..., what is the relationship of the Islamic Group in Libya with the Ikhwan Group? Are they under the leadership of the Ikhwan Group or are they a separate group?

Ze: The Islamic Group ..., the Islamic Group in Libya is a front ..., a political action front. It is a political action front. Er ..., who is the brother who asked the question? I just want to know if he means the Group which issues Al-Muslim magazine. Yes? Yes. So, my brother, it is a front ..., it is a political front which was set up by the Libyan brothers in order to be able to move through it and issue Al-Muslim magazine. Yes, this front is overseen by brothers from the Ikhwans, They are, I mean, they're from Libya and their native country was Libya. They are associated with the Group and they're affiliated with the Group. And the Group directs the path of this group and this ..., or this front through the presence of the adherent Libyan brothers in the Movement and who work in this front. Um: Don't you see that the Movement's methods and programs in America should be different from the methods and programs in the Arab countries or from the Arab countries due to the change of the place and the available sources, the type of individuals and the maxim benefit from the means available in America? For instance, the cultural programs are very weak. Recruitment methods are limited and are being restricted.

Ze: By God, my brother, we really see that ..., that the methods ..., we really see that our methods and means are different from the Orient. We did not take or borrow a method or a means from the Orient unless it was compatible with the reality of the Islamic Movement over here. Our methods are always driven from the nature of the organizational base ..., from the nature of the...er, from the nature of the country which is America and also from the nature of the base from which we move, the people we move between are mostly highly-educated youth. They are college youth and they are also youth who are aware. They are more aware than the youth who are of the same stage or age in the Orient. The reason. ..., the reason of this awareness and maturity is their presence in America, not because they are in America, I mean, America has nothing to do with it but, because of their presence in America, they have no mother to wash their clothes or a father who gives them their allowance at the end of the month. They have to depend on themselves in balancing his household budget, for instance, purchase their own stuff, cook for themselves if they are single, to wash their clothes if they are single, all of these things. Also, they have to deal and interact with society directly. All of that, Ikhwans, without ....er, I mean, without family protection. I mean the family is not ..., without the family cover or armor which used to protect him in his country. All of these will bring about more awareness and maturity. This is the base which we move through. Therefore, our recruitment methods are different. Er ..., in reality, I don't know why the brother says that ...er, that our recruitment is weak while we are considered,..., even considered in the view of many of the Orient's movements to be an open movement and that we are a movement which is lax in conditions despite the fact that we don't think that we are lax in the conditions but, this is their view ...., their view of us. Er ...., we are experiencing a surge in recruitment. Let me take advantage of this opportunity and tell you what are...., or how the individuals are recruited so that the Ikhwans are up to speed. During one of its meeting, an Usra nominates a group of the Ikhwans or a group of Muslim youth who are present to become regular in the work or to become regular at the ranks of the Group. Through the Naqib, an Usra submits these names to the Masul of the region or the Masul of the district. After that, the Masul of the region contacts ..., he takes these names and contacts the coordinators of these countries ..., of that country. Meaning that a brother who is coming from Jordan, we would contact the Jordan's coordinators. We inquire about him and see if there
is any objection to bringing him on board. After that, he is to wait two weeks. If the coordinator does not rely during this time period, then the matter is discussed during the meeting of the region's council. I mean, the matter is up to the region itself as they are the ones who will decide. After that, a region is to decide if the brother is to become regular..., this brother to become regular at the Group's ranks or not according to the reasons and according to what it sees. I believe that, this way, we bypassed a lot of the central issues and bypassed many of the steps which were in place at some point in order to speed up the assimilation of the Ikhwans. What an Usra should do before that is ..., there are..., our methods are clear and known as there is an individual contact and after that come the open Usras or the open Halaqas and then, when the brother has completed the open Halaqas, he can then become regular....., if the Usra sees that, he can become regular at the General Movement. That if he is a new brother. Of course, if he is a regular brother in his country, of course, he would be coming with a letter or recommendation through the coordinator. He can become regular maybe in a period of three months at the most, he would become regular at the Usras. Yes, some special cases might happen whereby the Ikhwans are late for a reason or another. But, generally speaking, the matter does not take more than three months and the brother who just came or the imported brother will become regular, he will become regular at the Movement. Er ..., of course, we said that because the base from which we move is a mature base, we might at times jump through some of these circles. We might, for instance, jump through the open Usra and the Group is asked to make a brother regular right after the individual contact, for instance. Of course, a region then has the right to consider this..., to consider such jumps and whether they are proper or not. As for the educational programs, in reality the program which is in your hands ..... this program is the first section ..... this is a program for the open Usras. And the second section is the beginners' program. We are still putting programs together and the Education Office, may God reward them all good, are now working on the Workers' programs and the Naquibs' programs. God's willing, they will be in your hands during the summer's months if God makes it easy. Then ..., yes, an imported brother in particular, the one who has been in the Dawa'a for long, might find these programs are below ...., below his level because he might have taken them ten years ago. But, we tell him, "Brother, just to be reminded. It is good to be reminded. These are very good things to re-examine because they are fundamentals of the Dawa'a during this time period". God's willing, the moment the Workers' and the Naquibs' programs arrive, this crisis will be resolved.

Um:
There is a group of questions almost all of which are about one subject which is a remark that some of the movements have not joined the Movement here in America such as the Saudis, just to cite one of their examples. So, ... I mean.

Ze:
In reality, it is the only movement, the Saudis. They have not joined. Only the imported brothers among them are not regulars. I mean, it means that there is a home product. I reality, our work among the Saudis is good in the areas where key congregate such as ..., such as southern California and such as ...., different regions where they congregate. Our work among them is good. As for the Saudi brothers who came originally as Ikhwans, they had a different point of view whereby they did not want to become regular at the Movement here. We do not agree with them on that but we also respect the decision they made and we ask Almighty God that we meet at the end. If we..., if all of us work to please Almighty God first and foremost, we will meet. And, if anyone among us is working for something within him or out of desire, we will not meet. We ask Almighty God to make both of us to work to please God and, God's willing, we will meet soon in a unified Movement.
Um
What is your opinion regarding the formation of one or multiple fronts for the Group without having the base which represents the Ikhwans, meaning distributing the efforts of the brothers who are the Group without a base in order to stay ahead of the events.

Ze:
By God, fronts are one method ..., one method for grouping and are one method to communicate the Ikwan's thought. They are one method to communicate the Ikhnan's point of view. A front is not formed until after a study and after an exhaustive study. I mean, the last front formed by the Group is the Islamic Association for Palestine. So, Ikhwans, this did not come out over night or it was not like the Ikhwans who are in charge went to sleep, dreamed about it and met the next day and decided to do it. Not at all, by God. This went through lengthy meetings and took long discussions. Many specialized auxiliary committees were formed which were examining this work, they were examining this work from different angles, from the angle of the benefit of such work, from the angle of, for instance, the human resources we have, from an angle of how this front would benefit us in communicating the brothers' point of view. Then, generally speaking, we don't work out of vacuum if that is what is meant. As for distributing the brothers' efforts, yes, in some of the regions where few Ikhwans exist, there will really be a heavy pressure on them because, in addition to that, they have to be members of the MSA, The [Muslim Arab Youth] Association and, if they're Palestinians for instance, they will have to be members in the Islamic Association for Palestine. Yes, it is correct, this would place additional burdens or weight on the brother. But, an active and a smart brother can benefit from the efforts of the Islamists who are around him, for instance. He can distribute some of these burdens in a way which does not let planning get out of the hands of the Group in the region. He can benefit from the resources around him because we, Ikhwans, cannot work with our resources alone and our number is limited, so, let every brother check the percentage of the Ikhwans against the number of existing Muslims and not the entire Muslims. But, let's say, the adherent Muslims who attend the Friday prayers, for instance. If you check the percentage, you won't find the Ikhwans percentage in those people more than 1% which is a tiny percentage, of course. It is possible, of course, that you think that this 1% cannot carry the entire work burden. But, if you manage to direct the resources which are available to it and when you can benefit from it, this burden will then become less.

Um:
In order to settle the Dawa'a, is there planning by you by asking that the brothers who have experience to remain here?

Ze:
My brother, one of the stage goals which were set regarding the settlement of the Dawa'a is encouraging the brothers who cannot return to their countries ..., they cannot return to their countries for either political, economic or whatever reasons to settle here in America. We encourage this phenomenon in this stage, that the Ikhwans who cannot return to their countries we encourage them to stay. We can provide him with all the available means or advice on how to remain in this...,in this country and to work as one of the goals of settling the Dawa'a or, excuse me, as one of the methods of settling the Dawa'a.

Um:
By "Securing the Group", do you mean military securing? And, if it is that, would you explain to us a little bit the means to achieve it.
Ze:
No. Military work is listed under "Special work". "Special work" means military work. "Securing the Group" is the Group's security, the Group's security against outside dangers. For instance, to monitor the suspicious movements on the..., which exist on the American front such as Zionism, Masonry ....etc. Monitoring the suspicious movements or the sides, the government bodies such as the CIA, FBI...etc, so that we find out if they are monitoring us, are we not being monitored, how can we get rid of them. That's what is meant by "Securing the Group".

Um:
There is a question which we will ask..., I mean, we will ask them individually as none of them relate to the other. The resources and freedoms which are available in North America are bigger than what is available in the Islamic world. Despite that, organizational work methods have not changed.

Ze:
By God, I believe that the methods are different. If the asking brother is from Iraq, he would know that it is impossible to have such a gathering in Iraq and this is one of the methods. If the asking brother is from Jordan, for instance, he would know that it is not possible to have military training in Jordan, for instance, while here in America, there is weapons training in many of the Ikhwans' camps. Er ...., if the brother is from Libya, he would know that the Islamic Movement has not been able to form due to the pressure which is on the ..., on the people, but it succeeded in growing in America. Our methods, Ikhwans, then are different then even though we might use the same concepts. I mean, we resort to secrecy but the secrecy at our end might take a position that is different from what is in the Orient, for instance. Secrecy over there might be absolute. It might be absolute even among the ranks of the Group. For instance, until now, most of the movements do not know who is the General Masul of the movement when he is among their ranks and neither do they know who are members of the executive office or who is the Masul of the Organization Office, who is the Masul of the Financial Office and so forth. Over here, the brothers know who are the Group's General Masul. Most of the Ikhwans know who is the Masul of the Organization Office. Most of the Naquibs know who are the members of the Executive Office and so on. This means that there is a change in the means. And so on, we can now ..., speak about the fronts, for instance. For instance, the brothers in Egypt don't have fronts in the same broad way we have in America and the fronts are one of the means and so on. Then, Ikhwans, our means are really different. They might carry the same name but the content is different.

Um:
There is a two-fold question: Why there was a difference in ..... or why did the Ikhwans disagree during their conferences in the 60's and also, why are women allowed to attend the conferences?

Ze:
Of course, during that time, this is regarding why were the wives of the Ikhwans in the 60's or even the beginning of the 70's to attend the Ikhwans' conferences? This is the input of the leadership. I mean, I don't want to say why and neither do I want to speak on their behalf. This was the input of the leadership then. And I really believe that this input was proper. I mean, Had I been at the same time in the same situation, I would have given the same input because the issue was an a issue of grouping, the issue was an issue of grouping. And the social aspect of the grouping issue is very important. We now ask why does this happen in the present time? Yes, during our conferences, the adherent Sisters attend. And we have a wing called The Muslim Sisters and we have a Masul for them in the Executive Office. My brothers, work cannot be done ...., the Ikhwans work cannot be successful unless the women's part of it
goes side by side. My brother, if you are married and your wife is not among of the Sisters, you should be the first one to understand this point. You would feel that there is a deficiency, there is a restriction on your work and your moving. Just because she is a Sister mean she will be informed of every big and small issue in the Movement? No. Because she is a Sister she can understand your feeling, she can make available to you the atmosphere for work. But, if she is not a Sister, you can try to come to the camp and [she is like], "How is it that you're going to leave me and go over there" ....etc. And she starts asking you, "How about the boy? What if he gets sick and how is going to come to take him to the doctor" and get you many excuses. Why? Because she does not understand the nature of your work and the nature of your movement. But, if she is a Sister, if she ..., and by God we have found these examples among the Sisters, that she had just gave birth, just delivered two or three days ago and her husband leaves her and attend Ikhwan camps. If he tells her, "I will stay to take care of you", she would tell him, "No". She does not accept. There is a difference, Ikhwan, between a brother who finds this atmosphere at work and a brother who finds the other atmosphere. As for the reasons for the problems which happened in the Ikhwan camps, it was because for the inclination for change or moving from a gathering to a formation and a selection, from a gathering of Islamists, kind people and stuff, Ok, let it be good and stuff, Ok, let's go, let's go, come over and let's get together, from a take-all movement to a precise and a harmonious movement. This, Ikhwan, are the reasons which made the conferences of the end of the 70's have a special characteristic, the ones which always ended with tears and pain. But, thanks be to Almighty God, their outcome ....er, their outcome is this camp and those Ikhwan.

Um:
One of the brothers is asking about what is meant with the Executive Office. But, I just wanted to explain to the brother that brother Munzir is not ...., is not the director of the Executive Office as he mentioned but he is the Masul of the Organization Office.

Ze:
My brother, the Executive office is the Group's Executive Leadership. The Executive Office is divided into offices. Through these offices, the affairs of the Group are run. Among them is the Organization Office,, the Organization Office which oversees the ...er, over the regions and the Usras of the Group. And among them is the Education Office which oversees the preparation of cultural programs for the Ikhwan or the educational [programs] for the Ikhwan and also prepares the training programs for the Ikhwan in the different fields and various specializations among which is the Political Office which submits political analysis to the Ikhwan and also the Sisters Office which runs and promotes the activity of the Sisters Division. Among them is, of course, the Secretariat General which is the Movement's Secretary. These are the executive offices which are available now. They are the Group's Executive Leadership. Ok, as for the Organizational Skeleton,,er, the Group's Organizational Skeleton begins first of all from the highest...., is the highest ..., the highest organization in the Group is the Organizational Conference. The Organizational Conference is a conference....., is a stemming from the Ikhwan bases; every Usra elects one or two according to its number. This brother represents the Usra in the Organizational Conference which is the highest body in the Ikhwan. After that, the Shura Council comes then the Executive Office. The Shura Council ,..., what did the brother ask ....? Er...., this is how it is. The Shura Council, of course, has many duties among which are... ..., just let me see the....., it is better that I read them from the bylaws which is better than reciting them from memory. Yes. Duties ...., Duties and responsibilities of the Shura Council: It has the duties of planning, charting the general policies and the programs which achieve the goals of the Group which are specified in the course, its resolutions are binding to the Group and only the General Organizational Conference can modify them or annul them which has the right to modify or annul resolutions of the Executive Office. It follows up on the
implementation of the Group's policies and programs, it directs them and it directs the Executive Office and it forms dedicated committees..., branching committees to assist in that. It oversees that and directs them in what ensures the implementation of the policies. It elects the Group's General Masul and the Executive Office and it has ..., it has the right to guide, hold accountable and ...[UI] and the General Masul is to be elected among the elected members of the Council only. These are the duties of the Executive Office ...er, the Shura Council. As for the duties of the Executive Office, it executes and follows up on the works of the Group and its different bodies according to the general policy and the resolutions ..., and the resolutions issued by the Shura Council. It has to follow up and guide the activities of the general work organization and to make sure they run according to the Group's plan with what achieves its goals. It submits a periodical report to the Shura Council about its work and the activity of. ..., the activity of the domestic bodies and the general organizations. The Office distributes its duties to its members according to the internal bylaws. The Sisters are to have a special office which is affiliated with the Group's bodies and a special bylaws approved by the Shura Council determine the method of its formation and its responsibilities. It then talks about the quorum and it talks about the office’s term which ends with the end of the Shura Council’s term. This the.... As for the specialized office, I believe it will take long if we wanted to explain the duty of each office.

Urn:
You mentioned that there is a weapons training at the Ikhwans' camps but I did not see that at all in the mid-southern region camps. So, would you explain to us the reasons?

Ze:
By God, the first thing is that you thank God and praise him because you found a camp to meet in. You know that, for instance, Oklahoma has become a blocked area for you. You cannot meet in it in the first place, right? Then, the nature... What? [Unintelligible talk from the audience] Yes, I’m sorry. I thought ..., Ok. My brothers, according to what we learned ..., to what I learned, in Oklahoma they started to be strict about letting Muslims use the camps. They would ask them, for instance, to submit their name and they would ask you to bring an ID or something to prove your name. I learned that they were going on a picnic recently, a trip, and the police came asking each person to give ..., to present a...,er, to show his ID or even his visa. These harassments exist then in the state of Oklahoma, for instance. And these are among the reasons which made our brothers in the reason to have their camp here in Missouri. Right, my brother? Then, the circumstances which a region goes through are the ones which determine. In some of the regions when they go to a camp, they take two things, they would request a camp which has a range, a shooting range and one which has a range to shoot, one which has a range which they use for shooting. You would find that in some of the camps. They would get an advance permit for that. I mean, I don't know the possibility of having these camps here and also whether the pressure which exists in Oklahoma ...., and whether they will have a weapons training in the other regions ...., these harassments might continue, I mean, become contagious to the other regions.

Urn:
Do you see that the latest events in Syria had an impact on the Group's policy in America and in particularly the political aspect? Between brackets, "To explain, showing flexibility in dealing with non-Muslim movements".

Ze:
Yes, there is no doubt that the Group here in America was impacted at all of its levels with Syria events. And ...., work, Ikhwans ...., I mean, what is happening in ...., or what happened in Syria...., Syria has become one of the priorities of Ikhwans' political activism in North America. I will speak about that in
details I believe in a lecture immediately following this one which will be about the Ikhwans of Syria and I believe that I will give the opportunity to the lecturing brother to reply to these questions. The asking brother should ask the other lecturing brother should he not find in the previous lecture what satisfies him or what replies to this question, God's willing.

Um:
Er..., there is a brother who is inquiring about the lack of brothers from Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco and even Yemen and a brother who is asking about ..., I mean, he wants information about the Ikhwans in Canada.

Ze:
The lack of Algerian or Tunisian Ikhwans is because their presence in America is scarce. My brothers, you know that Algeria and Tunisia have a French culture, the countries have a French culture. Therefore, most of its citizens prefer to go to France rather than come to America. In addition to the fact that the Islamic movement over there in the two countries is a budding movement. They're still new. Despite of that, it has been dealt a blow which it did not recover from yet. It did not talk even thought it was hit savagely and, of course, you know what happened in Tunisia. This is one of the reasons which makes the presence of the Tunisian brothers scarce among us. Of course, this does not mean that you should not work among good Tunisian congregation. You should work among them, form Usras, you should initiate individual contacts with them ....etc. As for Yemen, Ikhwans, it is a poor country. Yemen is a poor country. It cannot send exchange students to America and it cannot ...., I mean, as a government....., and, as individuals, they cannot send their sons at their expense. I mean, if you have $100 over there, you can live an entire year with it. You would live comfortably and you might be considered among the rich. Not among the rich but, I mean, the comfortable ones. Therefore, all of that makes the percentage of educated Yemenis small. This does not mean there is not a large Yemeni community. There is a very large Yemeni labor community in America. It is centered in two spots: the first one is what they call the San Joaquim Valley. It is an agricultural area in California and the other place is Detroit in the automobile factories. If there to take the Yemeni workers out of Detroit, the automobile industry would stop. According to what I found out from the Masul of the region Detroit is under, thanks be to God, we were able for the time to recruit three Yemeni workers and, God's willing, they will be a pillar for us to enter into that gathering.

Um:
There are four remaining questions but it seems that time is up even though we would have liked for you to answer all of them. Er..., we ask Almighty God to benefit us with what we heard and to increase our knowledge. May God reward you well. God's peace, mercy and blessings to you.

Ze:
Ikhwans, you posed questions and I now have questions. I would like to know -through raising of hands- about your receiving of the Group's periodicals. First of all, I will start with al-Bayan [The Declaration] periodical. It is a magazine which is published bi-monthly. How many brother saw the 4th issue? Let him raise his hand. Al-Bayan's 4th issue. There is hesitation. Ok. As far as the periodicals of the Education Office, the Darb al-Dowat [Path of the Callers], how many brothers saw it? Ok. Regarding the political statement sent by the Group about the Syria events and about the national coalition, how many brother received it? Read it, of course, and saw it. By God .... My brother, why are you ...,Where are you, my brother, may God keep you?

Um:
From Colorado.

Ze: Yes. You did not receive the statement? Who is your Naquib? Or are you the Naquib?

Urn: ....[UI].

Ze: Ok, our brothers, I would like to announce two things: Our periodicals, the periodicals which the Group sends in a regular way are two: The first one is al-Bayan bulletin and the second one is Darb al-Dowat. So, I hope that the Ikhwans ask their Naquibs every now and then about these periodicals whether they received them. Also, I ask the Naquibs to ask the Masul of the region every now and then whether if they received these periodicals because we don't this effort to be put and then they don't reach the bases which are supposed to be the ones who benefit from them. May God reward you well.

Unidentified noise for few seconds before recording stops.
Annex C: Summary of Reasons for Revocation –IRFAN or the INTERNATIONAL RELIEF FUND FOR THE AFFLICTED AND NEEDY (CANADA)

Effective Date: 2011-04-09

MISSISSAUGA ON

On the basis of our audit, we have concluded that IRFAN–Canada has: ceased to comply with the requirements of the Act for its continued registration; failed to comply with or contravened sections 230 to 231.5 of the Act; issued a receipt for a gift or donation otherwise than in accordance with the Act and the Regulations or that contains false information; and failed to file an information return as required under the Act-[o]ur analysis of the audit information has led the CRA to believe that IRFAN–Canada provides support to Hamas, a listed terrorist organization. Our findings indicate that IRFAN–Canada provided over $14.6 million in resources to operating partners that were run by officials of Hamas, openly supported and provided funding to Hamas, or have been listed by various jurisdictions because of their support for Hamas or other terrorist entities.

An explanation of Revoked for cause

Registration as a charity or Canadian amateur athletic association has been cancelled because the charity ceased to comply with the requirements for registration (other than failure to file). Generally, only the most severe cases of non-compliance, or cases where there is continuous non-compliance result in revocation for cause.

http://www.cra-arc.gc.ca/chrts-gvng/chrts/glssry-eng.html#revokedcause
Annex D: Summary of Reasons for Revocation - WORLD ASSEMBLY OF MUSLIM YOUTH (WAMY)

On the basis of our audit and of our review of the Organization's Registered Charity Information Returns for the years from 2005 to 2009, we have concluded that the Organization: failed to comply with or contravened subsection 230(2) of the Act; ceased to comply with the requirements of the Act for its continued registration; and failed to file an information return as required under the Act. Our analysis of the Organization's operations has led the CRA to believe that the Organization, which has been inactive since at least 2005, was established to support the goals and operations of its parent organization located in Saudi Arabia. Our analysis particularly noted that the Organization shared a common director, contact information, and a bank account with the Benevolence International Fund in Canada (BIF-Canada), and provided $50,246 to the Benevolence International Foundation in the United States (BIF-USA) in 2001. On November 21, 2002, BIF-Canada and BIF-USA were added to the Consolidated List of the United Nations Security Council's Al-Qaida and Taliban and Sanctions Committee.

An explanation of Revoked for cause

Registration as a charity or Canadian amateur athletic association has been cancelled because the charity ceased to comply with the requirements for registration (other than failure to file). Generally, only the most severe cases of non-compliance, or cases where there is continuous non-compliance result in revocation for cause.
Annex E: Summary of Reasons for Revocation - WORLD ISLAMIC CALL SOCIETY

On the basis of the Canada Revenue Agency audit, we have concluded that the World Islamic Call Society (Society) has ceased to comply with the requirements of the Act for its continued registration as it has failed to meet the definition of a charitable organization under the Act by failing to conduct any substantive charitable activity during the three years under audit. It has also provided a private benefit to a Director.

An explanation of Revoked

Registration as a charity has been cancelled and the privileges that go with it have been taken away. The organization can no longer issue official donation receipts and is no longer eligible to receive gifts from registered charities.

Registration as a charity or Canadian amateur athletic association is officially revoked when a notice is published in the Canada Gazette.

Registration may be revoked because the charity or Canadian amateur athletic association:

- chooses to give up its registration (voluntary revocation);
- does not file its annual return or does not file it on time (revocation for failure to file); or
- is found to be non-compliant with the requirements for registration under the Income Tax Act (revocation for cause).
Annex F: Summary of Reasons for Revocation - ISNA DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION

On the basis of our audit, we have concluded that the Organization has: ceased to comply with the requirements of the Act for its continued registration; failed to comply with or contravened any of sections 230 to 231.5 of the Act; issued a receipt for a gift or donation otherwise than in accordance with the Act and its Regulations; and failed to file an information return as required under the Act. Our analysis of the information obtained during the course of the audit has led the CRA to believe that the Organization had entered into a funding arrangement with the Kashmiri Canadian Council/Kashmiri Relief Fund of Canada (KCC/KRFC), non-qualified donees under the Act, with the ultimate goal of sending the raised funds to a Pakistan-based non-governmental organization named the Relief Organization for Kashmiri Muslims (ROKM) without maintaining direction and control. Under the arrangement, KCC/KRFC raised funds for relief work in Kashmir, and the Organization supplied official donation receipts to the donors and disbursed over $281,696 to ROKM, either directly, or via KCC/KRFC. Our research indicates that ROKM is the charitable arm of Jamaat-e-Islami, a political organization that actively contests the legitimacy of India's governance over the state of Jammu and Kashmir, including reportedly through the activities of its armed wing Hizbul Mujahideen. Hizbul Mujahideen is listed as a terrorist entity by the Council of the European Union and is declared a banned terrorist organization by the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act of 1967. Given the commonalities in directorship between ROKM and Jamaat-e-Islami, concerns exist that the Organization's resources may have been used to support the political efforts of Jamaat-e-Islami and/or its armed wing, Hizbul Mujahideen.

The 36 page letter can be seen in PDF format at:
Annex G: WAMY and the Muslim Brotherhood, Obituary of Kamal Helbawy

For 58 years, Kamal Helbawy has been a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, making him one of the oldest members of the Islamic movement. He joined the MB when he was 12 - in 1951 - and since then the Brotherhood, Islam and political Islam have been the centre of his life.

Helbawy has established several organisations, associations and research centres with a focus on Islam as a religion and as a political ideology. In the early 1970s, he took part in founding the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) in Saudi Arabia and served as its executive director until 1982.

Dr Helbawy was then in charge of Muslim Brotherhood activities in Afghanistan from the late 1980s until 1994. He then moved to the United Kingdom and has been based there ever since. Upon his arrival in London, he established the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) and the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB), which have helped establish him as one of the leaders of the Islamic community in the UK.

The last official position Helbawy had with the Brotherhood was as their official spokesman to the West, from 1995 to 1997. Since his resignation, Helbawy has focused on his research and proudly describes himself as a researcher.
Annex H: Muslim Brotherhood Guide Badwi, Published 30 Sept 2010 on Ikwan network

*The U.S. Is Now Experiencing the Beginning of Its End'; Improvement and Change in the Muslim World 'Can Only Be Attained Through Jihad and Sacrifice'

The Muslim and Arab Regimes "Are Disregarding Allah's Commandment to Wage Jihad"

"According to the Islamic shari'a that Allah [has bequeathed] to mankind, the status of the Muslims, compared to that of the infidel nations that arrogantly [disdain] his shari'a, is measured in a kind of scale, in which, when one side is in a state of superiority, the other is in a state of inferiority...

"Many Arab and Muslim regimes have not managed to build up their peoples, due to their weakness and their dependence [on the West], and in many cases they have begun to work against the interests of the [Muslim] nation... The lands of the Arabs and of Islam are now plagued with problems because [the Arabs] have lost their [strength of] will, leaving it to the Zionist enemies and their supporters. [The Arab and Muslim regimes] have forgotten, or are pretending to have forgotten, that the real enemy lying in wait for them is the Zionist entity. They are aiming their weapons against their own peoples, while avoiding any confrontation with these Zionists and achieving neither unity nor revival for their nations. Moreover, they are disregarding Allah's commandment to wage jihad for His sake with [their] money and [their] lives, so that Allah's word will reign supreme and the infidels' word will be inferior...

(Emphasis added)

"Today the Muslims desperately need a mentality of honor and means of power [that will enable them] to confront global Zionism. [This movement] knows nothing but the language of force, so [the Muslims] must meet iron with iron, and winds with [even more powerful] storms. They crucially need to understand that the improvement and change that the [Muslim] nation seeks can only be attained through jihad and sacrifice and by raising a jihadi generation that pursues death just as the enemies pursue life."

"Resistance Is the Only Solution against the Zio-American Arrogance and Tyranny"

"Resistance is the only solution. The stage of indirect negotiations [between the Palestinians and Israel] ended without the Palestinians gaining anything, and without the Palestinian negotiators taking a lesson from it. And now the PA, which has resumed its talks with the Zionists, is about to gasp out its last breaths at the table of direct negotiations. [At the same time], on the anniversary of the second intifada, the Palestinians are preparing the third intifada, and we see this people, in the West Bank and Gaza, seething [in anger] against the Zionists and their supporters, like a cauldron [of boiling water].

"The U.S. cannot impose an agreement upon the Palestinians, despite all the means and power at its disposal. [Today] it is withdrawing from Iraq, defeated and wounded, and it is also on the verge of withdrawing from Afghanistan. [All] its warplanes, missiles and modern military technology were defeated by the will of the peoples, as long as [these peoples] insisted on resistance – and the wars of Lebanon and Gaza, which were not so long ago, [are proof of this].
"Resistance is the only solution against the Zio-American arrogance and tyranny, and all we need is for the Arab and Muslim peoples to stand behind it and support it. The peoples know well who is [carrying out] resistance and who has sold out the [Palestinian] cause and bargained over it. We say to our brothers the mujahideen in Gaza: be patient, persist in [your jihad], and know that Allah is with you..."

The U.S. "Does Not Champion Moral and Human Values" and Therefore "Cannot Lead Humanity"

"The Soviet Union fell dramatically, but the factors that will lead to the collapse of the U.S. are much more powerful than those that led to the collapse of the Soviet empire – for a nation that does not champion moral and human values cannot lead humanity, and its wealth will not avail it once Allah has had His say, as happened with [powerful] nations in the past. The U.S. is now experiencing the beginning of its end, and is heading towards its demise...

"As for Zionism, [we] do not need more than the testimony of Professor Martin van Creveld, a history lecturer at the Hebrew University [of Jerusalem] and an expert on military strategy. In a press interview on March 8, 2002... he [was asked] what would be the fate of the Israeli army if it had to fight a regular army like that of Syria or Lebanon. He replied: 'I think that if a war like the 1973 war breaks out, most of the [Israeli] army will run for its life.' The Zionists' war against the weak has been going on for over 20 years, since the invasion of Lebanon, and the [Israeli] army has become a collection of weaklings and cowards.' [Van] Creveld added: 'At military funerals, we weep and wail, while the Palestinians demand revenge at their funerals.'"

"Islam Is Capable of Confronting Oppression and Tyranny... The Outcome of the Confrontation Has Been Predetermined by Allah"

"The Muslim nation has the means [to bring about] improvement and change... It knows the way, the methods, and the road signs, and it has a practical role model in Allah's Messenger, [the Prophet Muhammad]... who clarified how to implement the values of the [Koran] and the Sunna at every time and in every place. In addition, we have the histories of the ancient prophets, and of the rise and fall of [previous] nations...

"Allah said: 'The hosts will all be routed and will turn and flee [Koran 54:45].' This verse is a promise to the believers that they shall defeat their enemies, and [that the enemies] shall withdraw. The Companions of the Prophet received this Koranic promise in Mecca, when they were weak... and a little more than nine years after the Hijra, Allah fulfilled his promise in the Battle of Badr... Can we compare that to what happened in Gaza?

"Today we see how much the [Muslim] nation needs unity... O Muslim nation, unite! O sons of Palestine, unite, all of you, in the face of the enemies who scheme against you, and know that Allah is the best of schemers, and that though Him you shall triumph. [Know that] Islam is capable of confronting oppression and tyranny, and that the outcome of the confrontation has been predetermined by Allah."
Annex I: Holy Land Foundation Trial FBI Press Release

Federal Judge Hands Downs Sentences in Holy Land Foundation Case
Holy Land Foundation and Leaders Convicted on Providing Material Support to Hamas Terrorist Organization
U.S. Attorney’s Office May 27, 2009

WASHINGTON—Today, in federal court in Dallas, U.S. District Judge Jorge A. Solis sentenced the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF) and five of its leaders following their convictions by a federal jury in November 2008 on charges of providing material support to Hamas, a designated foreign terrorist organization, announced acting U.S. Attorney James T. Jacks of the Northern District of Texas, and David Kris, Assistant Attorney General for National Security. All defendants are presently in federal custody.

“Today’s sentences mark the culmination of many years of painstaking investigative and prosecutorial work at the federal, state and local levels. All those involved in this landmark case deserve our thanks,” said David Kris, Assistant Attorney General for National Security. “These sentences should serve as a strong warning to anyone who knowingly provides financial support to terrorists under the guise of humanitarian relief.”

HLF was incorporated by Shukri Abu Baker, Mohammad El-Mezain, and Ghassan Elashi. Mufid Abdulqader and Abdulrahman Odeh worked as fundraisers. Together, with others, they provided material support to the Hamas movement.

Shukri Abu Baker, 50, of Garland, Texas, was sentenced to a total of 65 years in prison. He was convicted of 10 counts of conspiracy to provide, and the provision of, material support to a designated foreign terrorist organization; 11 counts of conspiracy to provide, and the provision of, funds, goods and services to a Specially Designated Terrorist; 10 counts of conspiracy to commit, and the commission of, money laundering; one count of conspiracy to impede and impair the Internal Revenue Service (IRS); and one count of filing a false tax return.

Mohammad El-Mezain, 55, of San Diego, California, was sentenced to the statutory maximum of 15 years in prison. He was convicted on one count of conspiracy to provide material support to a designated foreign terrorist organization.

Ghassan Elashi, 55, of Richardson, Texas, was sentenced to a total of 65 years in prison. He was convicted on the same counts as Abu Baker, and one additional count of filing a false tax return.

Mufid Abdulqader, 49, of Richardson, Texas, was sentenced to a total of 20 years in prison. He was convicted on one count of conspiracy to provide material support to a designated foreign terrorist organization, one count of conspiracy to provide goods, funds, and services to a specially designated terrorist, and one count of conspiracy to commit money laundering.

Abdulrahman Odeh, 49, of Patterson, New Jersey, was sentenced to 15 years in prison. He was convicted on the same counts as Abdulqader.

HLF, now defunct, was convicted on 10 counts of conspiracy to provide, and the provision of, material support to a designated foreign terrorist organization; 11 counts of conspiracy to provide, and the provision of, funds, goods, and services to a Specially Designated Terrorist.

provision of, funds, goods and services to a Specially Designated Terrorist; and 10 counts of conspiracy to commit, and the commission of, money laundering.

The Court reaffirmed the jury’s $12.4 million money judgment against all the defendants, with the exception of El Mezain, who was not convicted of money laundering.

From its inception, HLF existed to support Hamas. Before HLF was designed as a Specially Designated Terrorist by the Treasury Department and shut down in December 2001, it was the largest U.S. Muslim charity. It was based in Richardson, Texas, a Dallas suburb. The “material support statute,” as it is commonly referred to, was enacted in 1996 as part of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act. That statute recognizes that money is fungible, and that money in the hands of a terrorist organization—even if for so-called charitable purposes—supports that organization’s overall terrorist objectives.

The government presented evidence at trial that, as the U.S. began to scrutinize individuals and entities in the U.S. who were raising funds for terrorist groups in the mid-1990s, the HLF intentionally hid its financial support for Hamas behind the guise of charitable donations. HLF and these five defendants provided approximately $12.4 million in support to Hamas and its goal of creating an Islamic Palestinian state by eliminating the State of Israel through violent jihad.

The government’s case included testimony that in the early 1990’s, Hamas’ parent organization, the Muslim Brotherhood, planned to establish a network of organizations in the U.S. to spread a militant Islamist message and raise money for Hamas. The government’s case also included testimony about Hamas material found in zakat committees. The defendants sent HLF-raised funds to Hamas-controlled zakat committees and charitable societies in the West Bank and Gaza. Zakat is an Arabic word referring to the religious obligation to give alms.

HLF became the chief fundraising arm for the Palestine Committee in the U.S. created by the Muslim Brotherhood to support Hamas. According to a wiretap of a 1993 Palestine Committee meeting in Philadelphia, former HLF President and CEO Shukri Abu Baker, spoke about playing down their Hamas ties in order to keep raising money in the U.S. Another wiretapped phone call included Abdulrahman Odeh, HLF’s New Jersey representative, referring to a suicide bombing as “a beautiful operation.”

The government also presented evidence that several HLF defendants have family members who are Hamas leaders, including Hamas’ political chief, Mousa Abu Marzook, who is married to a cousin of Ghassan Elashi, HLF’s former Chairman of the Board. Ghassan Elashi, who also served as the vice-president of marketing for Infocom Corporation, is currently serving an 80-month sentence following his conviction on several charges related to export violations. Mohammed El-Mezain was HLF’s Director of Endowments and Mufid Abdulqater was a major HLF fundraiser. Two named defendants, Akram Mishal and Haitham Maghawri are fugitives.

The defendants provided financial support to the families of Hamas martyrs, detainees, and activists knowing and intending that such assistance would support the Hamas terrorist organization. Since 1995, when it first became illegal to provide financial support to Hamas, HLF provided approximately $12.4 million in funding to Hamas through various Hamas-affiliated committees and organizations located in Palestinian-controlled areas and elsewhere.

During trial, the government also presented evidence that HLF was so concerned about investigators uncovering the group’s intentions that they kept a manual entitled “The Foundation’s Policies and
Procedures.” HLF followed various security procedures outlined in the manual to include hiring a security company to search the HLF for listening devices, ordering defendant Haitham Maghawri, a fugitive, to take training on advanced methods in detecting wiretaps, shredding documents after board meetings, and maintaining incriminating documents in off-site locations.

The case was investigated by the Joint Terrorism Task Force, involving agents from federal, state, and local agencies including: FBI, IRS - Criminal Investigation, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Department of State, U.S. Secret Service, U.S. Army Criminal Investigation Division, the Texas Department of Public Safety, and the Dallas, Plano, Garland and Richardson, Texas, Police Departments. In addition, the Department of Justice Criminal Division’s Asset Forfeiture and Money Laundering Section provided assistance.

The case was prosecuted by James T. Jacks, acting U.S. Attorney; Barry Jonas, Trial Attorney for the Department of Justice Counter-terrorism Section; and Elizabeth J. Shapiro, Deputy Director, Federal Programs Branch, Department of Justice, serving as a Special Assistant U.S. Attorney.
Annex J: MSA: 1993 list compiled by Wael Haddara


(Message /tmp:26)
Received: from ATHENA-AS-WELL.MIT.EDU by po7.MIT.EDU (5.61/4.7) id AA09338; Mon, 11 Jan 93 18:42:51 EST
Received: from QUCDN.QueensU.CA by Athena.MIT.EDU with SMTP
   id AA03784; Mon, 11 Jan 93 18:42:00 EST
Received: from eleceng.ee.queensu.ca by QUCDN.QueensU.CA (IBM VM SMTP V2R2)
   with TCP; Mon, 11 Jan 93 18:35:54 EST
Received: by eleceng.ee.queensu.ca (4.1/SMI-4.1)
   id AA00453; Mon, 11 Jan 93 18:33:02 EST
Sender: msa-request@eleceng.ee.queensu.ca
Reply-To: HADDARA@SSCvax.CIS.McMaster.CA
Date: 11 Jan 1993 18:37:55 -0400 (EDT)
From: Abu-I-'Ataheya <HADDARA@SSCvax.CIS.McMaster.CA>
Subject: The Database of MSAs
Message-Id: <01GTEHT6NYA8ZE3GN@SSCVAX.CIS.MCMASTER.CA>
To: msa@eleceng.ee.queensu.ca

Number: msa/11Jan93/1177
Bismillahirrahmanirrahim

Assalamu alaikum,
   Please find below a list of MSAs that I have been collecting
since last summer. The list is not too bad in terms of numbers. However,
quite a LARGE number of MSAs remain to send their information. So if
you do not find your MSA’s information below, please mail me at

   haddara@mcmaster.ca

with the following information:

   Institution : Name of University/College
   Address    : Snail Mail address
   Contact Person : Person in Charge of Mail/communication
   Phone # : of MSA or person above
   E-mail : E-mail address of MSA or person(s) above
   Current until : When is this info useless ??

   Please retain the above format since it simplifies things for me
a lot. If anybody wants to get copies of the list as it is updated,
please send me your address and I will put you on a list ....
Wa jazakumullahu khairan,

Wassalam
Wael

DATABASE OF MSAs

I. CANADA (West to East)

i) British Columbia

ii) Alberta

* Institution: University of Alberta
Address: M.S.A. University of Alberta
P.O.Box 55 SUB
Contact Person: Ashraf Ghanem
Phone #: Home:(403)432-1842
Office:(403)492-0250
E-mail: gsd4@mts.ucs.ualberta.ca
Current until: August, 1993

* Institution: University of Calgary
Address: Box 31, 251 MacEwan Students Centre,
University of Calgary
Calgary, AB, T2N 1N4
Contact Person: Nafees Shams (President)
Phone Number (403) 295 1590
E-mail: boulfel@enel.ucalgary.ca (until December 1992)

iii) Saskatchewan

* Institution: U. of Saskatchewan
Address: M. Abd-El-Barr
Dept. of comp. Science
U. of S.
Saskatoon, Sask 5N 0W0
Contact Person: M. Abd-El-Barr
Phone #: (306) 966-8646
Email: mostafa@skorpio.usask.ca

iv) Manitoba

v) Ontario
* Institution: McMaster University  
Address: Box 181, Gilmore Hall, McMaster University  
Hamilton, Ontario. Canada L8S 1C0  
Contact Person: Bassem Masri  
Phone Number: (416) 525-3694 or (416) 522-3118  
E-mail: Haddara@mcmaster.ca or 9018765@mcmaster.ca  
Current Until: April '93

* Institution: University of Toronto  
Address: 33 St. George Street  
Toronto, ON  
M5S 2E3  
Contact Person: Nouman Ashraf (416) 507 1247  
E-mail: utmsa@utcs.utoronto.ca <UofT MSA>  
obaid@ecf.toronto.edu <Kamal Syed>  
saghir@eevg.toronto.edu <Mazen Saghir>

* Institution: Queen's University MSA  
Address: QUMSA c/o International Centre, J.D.U.C,  
Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., K7L 3N9  
Contact Person: Aalim Zakee Fevens  
Phone Number: (613) 542-1839  
E-mail: fevenst@qucdn.queensu.ca  
Current until: August 1993

* Institution: University of Waterloo  
Address: Muslim Students Association  
c/o Federation of Students  
University of Waterloo  
Waterloo, Ontario, N2L 3G1  
Contact: Khalid Syed (now until end of August)  
Phone No.: (519) 725 0118 home  
(519) 885 1211 x6296 lab  
E-mail: ssyed@watserv1.uwaterloo.ca  
alvahdah@chemical.watstar.uwaterloo.ca

* Institution: York University  
Address: Muslim Student Federation  
Scott Religious Center - Room 210  
York University  
North York, Ontario

vi) Quebec

* Institution: AEMUMEA, Association des Etudiant(e) Musulman(e)s de l'Universite de Montreal & Ecoles Affiliees  
Address: 6650 Darlington #210, Montreal,  
Quebec, Canada H3S 2J5
vii) Nova Scotia

viii) New Brunswick

ix) Prince Edward Island

x) Newfoundland

* Institution: Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN)
  Address: Zan Saleemi
  c/o Naser Abdel-Rahim, Box 60
  Faculty of Engineering, MUN
  St. John's, NFLD, Canada
  A1B 3X5
  Contact Person: same as above
  Phone Number: (709)-737-3510
  E-mail: msamun@kean.ucs.mun.ca or
         msamun@morgan.ucs.mun.ca
  Current Until: Don't know!!

II. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (In Alphabetical Order by State Name)

***** Arizona

* Institution: Northern Arizona University
  Address: 240 West Saunders #165, Flagstaff, AZ 86001, USA
  Contact Person: Taufik
  Phone Number: 602-774-8260
  E-mail: mrt@ghost.cse.nau.edu
  Current Until: Mei 1993

***** California

* Institution: University of California at Berkeley
  Address: MSA, 300 Eshleman Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720

  Contact: Munes Tomeh
  Phone: (510) 848-9203
  Email: tomeh@ocf.berkeley.edu

* Institution: Stanford University
  Address: P.O. BOX 2067, Stanford University,
          Stanford, CA 94309, USA
Contact Person: Walid J. Azzam
Phone Number: 415-497-7065
E-mail: azzam@bigbang.stanford.edu
Current Until: June 1993

***** Illinois

* Institution: University of Chicago - MSA
  Box 46 - Ida Noyes Hall, U. of Chicago
  Chicago, IL 60603
  Contact Persons: Husain Sattar or Mukarram Ali Khan
  Phone Number: (312) 702-4648 (Br. M.A. Khan)
  Email: mak1@ellis.uchicago.edu or sat5@midway.uchicago.edu
  Current Until: June 1993

***** Indiana

* Institution: PURDUE University
  Address: 1022 First Street
  West Lafayette Indiana 47096
  Phone Number: 317-743-8650
  Contact person: Mir Muhammad Atiqullah, Current President
  The Above address is permanent as it is a Masjid, the same
  with the Phone number.

* Institution: Wabash College
  Address: Sami Siddiqui
  Wolcott 202
  Crawfordsville, IN 47933
  Phone Number: ********
  Contact Person: Sami Siddiqui
  Current Until: ?
  #### Wabash College is one of only 2 All-Male Colleges in the US

***** Massachusetts

* Institution: Massachusetts Institute of technology
  Address: 305 Memorial Drive,
  Cambridge, MA 02139
  USA
  Contact Persons: Adnan Lawai
  Suheil Laher
  Phone Number: (617) 258-9755 (MSA telephone with answering
  machine)
  Email: ahlawai@ATHENA.MIT.EDU
  suheil@ATHENA.MIT.EDU
  MITMSA@ATHENA.MIT.EDU
  the last one is the mailing list for the MITMSA
Current until: 31 May 1993

* Institution: Northeastern University  
Address: Northeastern University Islamic Society, Ell building  
Northeastern University, Boston, MA 02115  
Contact Person: Sameh Eldifrawy  
Phone number: 617-661-4270  
E-mail: Sameh@northeastern.edu, Nadeem@meceng.coe.northeastern.edu  
Current Until: spring 1993

* Institution: University of Massachusetts at Amherst  
Address: H-14 North Village Amherst MA 01002  
Contact Person: Syed Khaleel Ahmed/Zafar Hasan  
Phone number: 413-546-0449  
E-mail: ahmed@despot.ecs.umass.edu/hasan@risky.ecs.umass.edu  
Current Until: further notice.

* Institution: Wellesley College  
Address: Al-Muslimat Schneider Center, Student Organizations  
Wellesley College  
106 Central St.  
Wellesley, MA 02181  
Contact Person: Salma Kazmi  
Phone #: 617-283-7070  
email: skazmi@lucy.wellesley.edu  
Current until: May, 1993

***** Michigan

* Institution: Michigan Technological University  
Address: c/o Sohail Islam  
2103 G, Woodmar Drive  
Houghton, MI 49931  
Contact Person: Sohail Islam (President)  
Phone number: (906) 482 0218  
E-mail: masami@cs.mtu.edu  
Current Until: At least 2 years

 Valid Until

-----------

* Institution: Michigan State University  
Address: The Muslim Student Association  
The Islamic Center  
920 South Harrison Road  
East Lansing, MI 48823  
Contact Person: Br. Naji Al-Arfaj (MSA President) 05/30/93
Br. Ghazi Mustafa (Secretary) XXXX
Phone Number: (517) 351-4309 XXXX
E-mail: tout@frith.msu.edu 12/31/93
khall@frith.msu.edu (President) XXXX
azim@cad1.cl.msu.edu (Vice Pres) XXXX

*: Valid always or unknown.

***** Montana

* Institution: Montana State University
  Address: Ramazan Kahraman
  Muslim Student Association
  107-D Julia Martin Drive
  Bozeman, MT 59717
  Phone Number: (406) 587-8944 / (406) 994-2221 <--SCHOOL NO.
  E-mail: "icmgr047@mtsunix1.bitnet"

***** New York

* Institution: Cornell University
  Address: Muslim Educational and Cultural Association
  Annabel Taylor Hall
  Cornell University
  Ithaca NY 14850
  Contact Person: Zulfiqar (president of MECA)
  E-Mail: TWV@vax5.cit.cornell.edu--Mirza Z Baig
  Current Until: May 1993
  Comments: Over 100 members of MECA, approximately 250 Muslims
  at Cornell

***** North Carolina

* Institution: North Carolina State University
  Address: MSA/Waeil M. Ashmawi
  Islamic Center of Raleigh
  3020 Ligon Street
  Raleigh, NC 27607
  Contact Person: Waeil M. Ashmawi
  Phone Number: (919) 859-2913
  E-mail: w mashmaw@eos.ncsu.edu
  Current until: 1yrs

* Institution: University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill
  Address: Carolina Union, Box 33,
  Chapel Hill, NC 27514, USA
  Contact Person: Mr. Hatim Mukhtar
  Phone number: (919) 942-3925
***** Ohio

* Institution: Ohio University
  Address: 13 Stewart Street, Athens, Ohio 45701
  Contact Person: Ziad Akir
  Phone Number: (614) 592-1331 or (614) 594-3890 - Islamic Center
  E-mail: akir@bobcat.ohiou.edu
  Current Until: always available.

* Institution: University of Cincinnati
  Address: U. of Cin., MSA 206 TUC (ML 136), Cincinnati, OH 45221
  Contact Person: Sayeed Jaweed
  Phone Number: (513)-961-3605
  E-mail: sjaweed@spanky.ece.uc.edu
  Current until: June 1993

* Institution: Ohio State University
  Address: Omar Ibn El Khattab Mosque
  580 Riverview Drive
  Columbus, OH 43202
  Phone : (614) 262-1310
  Email : msaosu@magnus.acs.ohio-state.edu
  President : Ibrahim Al-Hadban (Until April 93).
  Contact : Rached Zantout (above email).

* Institution: Bowling Green State University
  Address: for the moment
  MSA c/o Sameera Ahmed
  1535 Cobblestone Ln.
  Bowling Green, Oh 43402
  Contact Person: Sameera Ahmed
  Phone number :(419) 352-0091
  E-mail : sa2001@andy.bgsu.edu
  Current Until : unknown

***** Pennsylvania

* Institution: Carnegie Mellon Univ.
  Address: 5000 Forbes Ave, Pittsburgh, PA 15213.
  Contacts: Azleena Salleh, Gamil Serag-Eldin
  Phone #:s: (412)621-0693 (azleena), (412)681-5242 (gamil)
  E-mail : as5h+@andrew.cmu.edu
  Current until : ?
* Institution: University of Pennsylvania
  Address: Muslim Student Association
  Room 246 Houston Hall
  3417 Spruce Street
  Philadelphia, PA 19104
  Phone Number: (215) 898-0605 (MSA)
  Contact Person: Ahmad Ghannam
  E-mail: I'll inshaAllah forward the message if you send me mail at zaffar@pender.ee.upenn.edu
  Current until: further notice.

***** Tennessee

* Institution: Vanderbilt University
  Address: p.o. box 301 station B Nashville, TN 37235
  Contact Person: Zafar Manejwala
  Phone number: (615) 421-8239
  E-mail: MANEJWZA@ctrvax.Vanderbilt.edu
  Current Until: May 1 1993

***** Texas

* Institution: University of Texas at Arlington
  Address: Box 194141
  Univ. Texas at Arlington
  Arlington, TX 76019
  Contact Person: Yaser Ibrahim
  Phone Number: H. (817) 274-1903, W. (817) 794-5661
  E-mail: ibrahim@eenovell1.uta.edu
  Current until: Dec 93

***** Washington

* Institution: Washington State University
  Address: Muslim Student Association
  NE1155 Stadium Way, Pullman WA 99163
  Phone Number: (509) 334-7600
  Contact Person: Kamal Khalil
  E-mail: nshaikh@eecs.wsu.edu or kkhalil@eecs.wsu.edu
  Current until: January 1994

* Institution: University of Washington
  Address: MSA, HUB Room 207, box 128, FK-10
  University of Washington
  Seattle, WA 98195
  Contact Person: Badr Al-Badr
  Phone Number: (206) 543-2111
  E-mail: badr@cs.washington.edu
  Current until: 2yrs
* Institution: Washington University, St. Louis, MO, USA
Address: Islamic Students Society
Washington University
6515 Wydown Boulevard
Box 1128
St. Louis, MO 63105
Contact Person: Ahmed Abedin (acting president)
Mughees A. Minhas (president)
Irfan Pyarali (vice pres.)
G. Hussain Chinoy (mail mole)
Phone number: G. Hussain Chinoy 314/935.2927
E-mail: (by email checking frequency)
G. Hussain Chinoy hussain@artsci.wustl.edu
Ahmed Abedin aabedin@artsci.wustl.edu
Mughees A. Minhas mam3@cec1.wustl.edu
Irfan Pyarali ip1@cec1.wustl.edu
Current Until: GHC's phone # will change 01/93
MA Minhas' email address may change 01/93

***** West Virginia
* Institution: Marshall University MSA
Address: c/o International Students Office
Prichard Hall 119
Marshall University
Huntington, WV 25755
Contact Person: Mariam Bashar, Majed Khadr
Phone: for Mariam- (304) 696-4009
for Dr. Khadr (304) 696-2320
E-mail: for Mariam yea027@Marshall.wvnet.edu
for Dr. Khadr LIB014@Marshall.wvnet.edu
Current until: All current indefinitely except for the first phone number

***** Wisconsin
* Institution: University of Wisconsin-Madison
Address: 21 N. Orchard St. Madison, WI 53706
Contact person (with e-mail): Abdullah Yuksel
Phone Number: (608) 257-9851
E-mail: ABYOZDEN@macc.wisc.edu
Current until: October 1992

III. THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND (In Alphabetical Order by Universities)
* Institution: Anglia Polytechnic
Address: Computer Services, Victoria Rd South, Chelmsford,
ESSEX, UK
Contact Person: Ansar A Kayani
Phone Number: (0245) 493131 x3250
E-mail (if available) alkayani@uk.ac.anglia.v-e
Current until: ?

* Institution: Cambridge University
  Address: Churchill College
  Contact person: Ridzuan A Rahim
  Phone number: 0223 467483
  E-mail: rar13@uk.ac.cam.phx
  Current until: September 1994

* Institution: King's College London, University of London
  Address: Dept of Elec Eng., Strand, London WC2R 2LS
  Contact Person: Maaruf Ali
  Phone Number: 011-44-71-836-5454 Ext.3583
  E-mail: m.ali@oak.cc.kcl.ac.uk (janet)

* Institution: University Of Sheffield,
  Address: Dpt of Electronics and Electrical Eng.
    Mappin Street
    Sheffield S1
    England.
  Contact Address: Abdul Razak
  Phone: 742 768555 Ext 5183
  Current until: Sep 1993

IV. AUSTRALIA
* Institution: The university of Western Australia
  Address: Dept of Maths, Crawley, W. Australia 6009
  Contact Person: Nazim Khan
  Phone Number: (9) 380 2780
  E-mail (if available): nazim@maths.uwa.au.oz
  Current until: December 1991

V. JAPAN
* University: Tohoku University
  Address: ICCS, Makuda aparto-101, Kitame machi - 2 - 16
    Sendai- 980, Japan.
  Contact Person: Mohamed Noboru Sato (President)
  E-mail address: anzar@hashi1.civil.tohoku.ac.jp
  Current until: March 1993
  (This is myself and I can pass any information to
   the committee).
  Valid until: Except the e-mail address others are going to last longer.

HADDARA@SSCvax.CIS.McMaster.CA
Annex K: 1991 Email showing Wael Haddara as the contact point for the MSA

Xref: utzoo soc.religion.islam:1010 soc.culture.asean:4038
Path: utzoo!utgpu!news-server.csri.toronto.edu!cs.utexas.edu!swrinde!mips!samsung!crackers!m2c!wpi.WPI.EDU!zahle.wpi.edu!shari
From: kisworo@cutmcvax.cutmcvax.cs.curtin.edu.au (Marsudi Kisworo)
Newsgroups: soc.religion.islam,soc.culture.islam,soc.culture.asean
Subject: Muslim Students Association
Summary: Compilation of MSA addresses
Keywords: MSA, address list
Message-ID: <1991Apr15.191742.9008@wpi.WPI.EDU>
Date: 15 Apr 91 19:17:42 GMT
Sender: news@wpi.WPI.EDU (News)
Organization: Curtin University of Technology, Computing Science
Lines: 135
Approved: shari@zahle.wpi.edu
Originator: shari@zahle.wpi.edu
Nntp-Posting-Host: zahle.wpi.edu

Assalamu'alaikum wr. wb.

Dear brother muslims,
Following is the compilation of MSA addresses that I have got from my previous posting requesting MSA address worldwide. Pls feel free to e-mail me updates/additions if neccessary. I will post the next updated versions as soon as I have got enough updates. Insya Allah.
For those interested, we have an Indonesian Muslim mailing list with worldwide distribution.
Happy Ied al Fitr. May Allah accepts your amal and ibadah.

Marsudi Kisworo

***************************************************************************
1.
Name: Queen's University Muslim Students Association
Post-Mail Address: International Centre
John Deutch University Centre
Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario
CANADA
K7L 3N6 E
Contact Person: Aalim Zakee Fevens
E-mail Address: fevens@qucdnast.queensu.ca

2.
Name: Muslim Student Association
Address: Worcester Polytechnic Institue
Massachusetts, USA

Contact person: rqureshi@wpi.wpi.edu

3. Name: Muslim Students' Assoc.
Address: University of Manitoba
         Univ. Center, P.O. Box 76
         Winnipeg, Manitoba
         CANADA R3T 2N2
Contact person: shamma@ccu.UManitoba.CA

4. Name: Muslim Student Association
Address: University of Illinois at Chicago
Contact person: Abu al Qasim
E-mail: U36627@UICVM.uic.edu

5. Name: Muslim Student Association
Address: Georgia Institute of Technology
Contact Person: Ayman Hossam Fadel
E-mail: gt8145a@prism.gatech.edu

6. Name: Monash University Islamic Society
Address: Wellington Rd,
         Clayton, Vic. 3168
         Australia
Contact Person: Khairul Alam Zaini (President)
               Dien Rice (Secretary)
E-mail: ecn773n@vx14.cc.monash.edu.au

7. Name: Muslim Student Association
Address: Ohio State University Chapter
         Omar Ibn El Khattab Mosque
         580 Riverview Dr.
         Columbus, OH 43212
Contact Person: }
E-mail:

8. Name: Muslim Student Association
Address: University of Florida Chapter
         1010 W. University Ave.
         Gainesville, Fl. 32601
Contact Person: }
E-mail:

9. Name: Muslim Student Association of Memorial University
Address: Muslim Student Association
         13 Jasper St.
St. John's, NF  
Canada A1A 4B4  

Contact Person: **Wael Haddara**  
E-mail: whaddara@kean.ucs.mun.ca@ugw.utcs.utoronto.ca

10.  
Name: **MSA of Iowa State University & Ames**  
Address: Darul Argum  
1221 Michigan Avenue  
Iowa 50010  

Contact Person:  
E-mail: sam@iastate.edu

11.  
Name: **MSA**  
Address: 4646 Cass Ave.  
Detroit, MI 48201  

Contact person: Dr. Ramzi Mohammed (President)  
Tahir N. Khan (Social Secretary)  
E-mail address: tkn@cs.wayne.edu

12.  
Name: **Muslim Students' Association**  
Address: Hendricks Chapel,  
Syracuse University  
Syracuse NY 13244 USA  

Contact person: Muhammad Harairi (President)  
Office Telephone: (315)443-1427  

Islamic Counselor(for students)  

Ahmed Nezar Kobeisy  
c/o Islamic Society of Central New York  
925 Comstock Ave  
Syracuse NY 13210  
Tel(315)471-3645  
Junaid Zubairi  
E-mail: jzubairi@rodan.acs.syr.edu

13.  
Name: **Muslim Students Assoc. of Curtin Univ.**  
Address: Curtin University of Technology  
Kent St, Bentley 6102  
Western Australia  

Contact person: Jamaluddin al Masri (president)  
Marsudi Kisworo  
E-mail: kisworo@cutmcvax.cs.curtin.edu.au
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