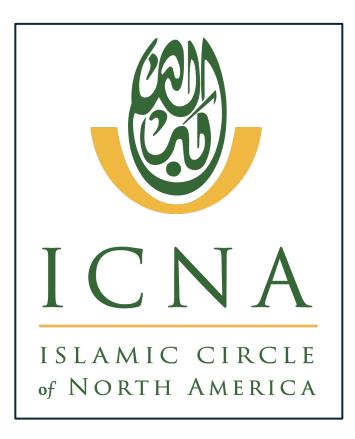


## The Investigative Project on Terrorism



An IPT Investigative Report on Jamaat-e-Islami Network's Support for Jihad and Islamism

www.investigativeproject.org

## IPT Investigative Report: Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA)

### **Table of Contents**

Executive Summary
Origins in and Ties to the Jamaat-e-Islami 15
Preaching a Global Caliphate and Islamic Shariah Law35
Promoting Radical Texts
Deception in the Name of Dawah44
Pro-Terrorism and Islamist Messaging48
Conventions Spewing Extremist Rhetoric59
Leadership's Glorification of Jihad and Islamism66
ICNA's Defense of Terrorists and Islamists74
Alms for Jihad79
The Turkey Connection85
The Grand Islamist Alliance89
Jamaat-e-Islami's Web of Terror96
Conclusion100

### **Executive Summary**

The Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA),<sup>1</sup> a leading "domestic affiliate" of the South Asian Sunni revivalist movement Jamaat-e-Islami (JI),<sup>2</sup> was established in 1968 and formally incorporated in 1987 in Jamaica, N.Y.<sup>3</sup> An introductory brochure states ICNA's goal is "[t]o achieve the pleasure of Allah through the establishment of the Islamic system in this land."<sup>4</sup>

ICNA's founding leadership has deep roots in the South Asian Islamist movement. This is showcased in a 2018 presentation by ICNA's former president, Muhammad Yunus, titled "Story of ICNA" in honor of the organization's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary.<sup>5</sup> Citing the "[n]eed to establish Islamic Movement oriented Jama'ah [Organization inspired by the Islamic Movement]," the presentation states that "**[b]rothers who were involved with the Islamic movement [in the Indian subcontinent] before migrating here [to the U.S.], felt a great need to establish an organization or Jama'ah" and believed "[i]t should have goals, objectives and methodology of true Islamic movement.**"<sup>6</sup> [emphasis added]

<sup>4</sup> "Islamic Circle of North America: An Introduction" (ICNA Brochure), <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/ICNA%20Brochure.pdf#page=2</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "About ICNA," <u>https://www.icna.org/about-icna/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "H. Res. 160 – Expressing concern about the threat posed to democracy and human rights by theocratic groups operating in South Asia," 116<sup>th</sup> Congress (2019-2020), Introduced in House – Foreign Affairs by Rep. Banks, Jim [R-IN-3], February 28, 2019, <u>https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-resolution/160/text?format=txt&q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22jim+banks%22%5D%7D</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "Islamic Circle of North America Certificate of Incorporation," November 1, 1987, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1039.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Slide 21, "Need to establish Islamic Movement oriented Jama'ah," in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

The JI was created in 1941 by Islamist ideologue Maulana Syed Abdul A'la Maududi (also spelled as Mawdudi) in Lahore, Pakistan, then part of British India.<sup>7</sup> In addition to advancing a rigid interpretation of Islam,<sup>8</sup> the Islamist movement has provided an ideological platform and recruiting base for terrorist groups in South Asia.<sup>9</sup>



Maulana Syed Abdul A'la Maududi

While less known than its ideological cousin, the Muslim Brotherhood,<sup>10</sup> the JI's support for a totalitarian ideology is no less concerning. Although the MB has a deeper foundation and wider network in North America, the JI has its own long and active presence, and the Islamist movements work in concert to advance their totalitarian ideology.<sup>11</sup>

JI founder Maududi preached, **"wherever you are, in whichever country you live, you must strive to change the wrong basis of government, and seize all powers to the rule and make laws from those who do not fear God.** You must also provide leadership to God's servants and **conduct the affairs of their government in accordance with God's law**, remaining fully conscious of living in God's presence and being accountable to Him in the Hereafter. **The name of this striving is Jihad."**<sup>12</sup> [emphasis added]

<sup>8</sup> "Article 4: The Mission," Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, <u>http://jamaat.org/en/dastoorOrManshoor\_detail.php?article\_id=57</u>

<sup>9</sup> "Hizbul Mujahideen: A profile," The *Times of India*, May 20, 2003, <u>https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/pakistan/Hizbul-Mujahideen-A-profile/articleshow/46956242.cms</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Nadeem F. Paracha, "Abdul Ala Maududi: an existentialist history," *Dawn*, January 1, 2015, <u>https://www.dawn.com/news/1154419</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> "The Muslim Brotherhood," The Investigative Project on Terrorism Dossier, <u>http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/135.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Abha Shankar, "Should the Muslim Brotherhood Debate Include Another Rogue Islamist Party?," *IPT News*, April 7, 2017, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/5982/should-the-muslim-brotherhood-debate-include</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi, *Let Us Be Muslims* (Khurram Murrad, ed., The Islamic Foundation, 1982, reprinted 2016), p. 290, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/ext/17047</u>

It is not surprising then that Maududi, who was on a personal visit to the U.S. at the time, was present at ICNA's inaugural public event held in 1974 at Columbia University.<sup>13</sup>

ICNA propagates an Islamist ideology and has worked with U.S.-designated terrorist groups through its Tarbiyah (Islamic education and training) programs targeting youth<sup>14</sup> and an extensive network of organizations that include proselytization projects (Why Islam and GainPeace) and charitable fronts (ICNA Relief and Helping Hand for Relief and Development).<sup>15</sup>

This report delves into ICNA's deep-rooted origins in, and entrenched ties to, the JI and the Muslim Brotherhood infrastructure in the United States. It describes how the organization grew in the late 1960s and early 70s from the Muslim Students Association of United States and Canada (MSA).

Set up as a Halqa Ahbabe Islami [Islamic Circle of Friends], an Urdu speaking group, ICNA's earlier avatar "worked in the shadow of the Muslim Students Association of USA and Canada (MSA) striving to recruit Islamic movement oriented Urdu speaking Muslims and to strengthen the Jama'at-e-Islami Pakistan," former ICNA president<sup>16</sup> and secretary general<sup>17</sup> Zaheer Uddin writes in the August 1999 issue of the organization's flagship publication, *The Message International*.<sup>18</sup> In its formative years, ICNA held its regional meetings within the fold of regional MSA conferences.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Dr. Talat Sultan, "Interview: From MSA to ICNA and ISNA," *The Message International*, February 16, 2016, <u>http://messageinternational.org/from-msa-to-icna-and-isna/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> "Hand Book Shows ICNA's True Goals," *IPT News*, December 6, 2010, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/2373/hand-book-shows-icna-true-goals</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Sam Westrop, "A South Asian Threat in America," *Morning Consult*, March 7, 2019, <u>https://morningconsult.com/opinions/a-south-asian-threat-in-america/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Slide 58, "1981," in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Zaheer Uddin, "ICNA: A Successful Journey And A Promising Road Ahead," *The Message International*, August 1999, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1028.pdf#page=2</u>

In 1977, the organization changed its name to Halqa Islami Shumali Amrika in Urdu and the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) in English.<sup>19</sup>

MSA is an influential North American Islamist student organization founded in 1963 by members of the Al- Ikhwan Al-Muslimeen (The Muslim Brotherhood) at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.<sup>20</sup>

Former ICNA President Mohammad Yunus<sup>21</sup> explains the organization's raison d'etre in the August 2000 issue of *The Message*:

**"Islamic Circle of North America is an Islamic Jamaah, i.e. an organization struggling towards Iqamat Deen [establishment of the Islamic system of life]** in this land since early 70's. It has been motivating Muslims to wake up to their obligations ... and not be lost in the race for just material gains in this land of plenty," Yunus writes.<sup>22</sup> [emphasis added] "Wherever [the] Islamic movement succeeds to establish true Islamic societies, they will form coalitions and alliances. This will lead to the **unity of the Ummah [Muslim community]** and step towards the **reestablishment of Khilafah [Caliphate]**," he adds.<sup>23</sup> [emphasis added]

"Jamaat-e-Islami and affiliated theocratic extremist groups pose an immediate and ongoing threat to stability and secular democracy in South Asia, leaving religious minorities at grave risk of continuing violence," says a recent resolution submitted by U.S. Rep. Jim Banks, R-Ind., before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> "Muslim Student Association," The Investigative Project on Terrorism Dossier, <u>http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/84.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> "Dr. Khurshid Khan, former ICNA President passes away," *ICNA Press* Release, February 22, 2019, <u>https://www.icna.org/dr-khurshid-khan-former-president-of-icna-passes-away/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Dr. Mohammad Yunus, "ICNA: An Islamic Jamaah And A Movement; Let's Join Hands to Establish Allah's Deen," *The Message International*, August 2000, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1030.pdf#page=1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ibid., <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1030.pdf#page=2</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> "H. Res. 160 – Expressing concern about the threat posed to democracy and human rights by theocratic groups operating in South Asia," 116<sup>th</sup> Congress (2019-2020), Introduced in House – Foreign Affairs by Rep. Banks, Jim

It specifically names ICNA and its charitable organizations, ICNA Relief<sup>25</sup> and Helping Hand for Relief and Development (HHRD),<sup>26</sup> as JI's "domestic affiliates" and calls on the United States Agency for International Development, the Department of State, the Department of Homeland Security and related agencies "to halt all partnerships and funding arrangements" with them.<sup>27</sup>

Another JI outpost named in the resolution is the New York-based Muslim Ummah of North America (MUNA) that has openly espoused support for the Islamist movement.<sup>28</sup> JI Bangladesh's former assistant secretary general, Muhammad Kamaruzzaman, was the guest of honor at a 2010 MUNA picnic.<sup>29</sup> In 2013, a Bangladeshi war crimes tribunal sentenced Kamaruzzaman to death for his role in the murder of at least 120 unarmed farmers during the country's 1971 liberation war against Pakistan.<sup>30</sup> The JI opposed Bangladeshi independence and cooperated with pro-Pakistan, anti-liberation forces during the war.<sup>31</sup>

JI leaders who engage in inflammatory rhetoric against the U.S. and the West,<sup>32</sup> and who speak in defense of terrorist groups,<sup>33</sup> have appeared as speakers at ICNA

[R-IN-3], February 28, 2019, <u>https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-</u>resolution/160/text?format=txt&q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22jim+banks%22%5D%7D

<sup>25</sup> "ICNA Relief Promotes Jihad Donations," *IPT News*, May 2, 2012, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/3562/icna-relief-promotes-jihad-donations</u>

<sup>26</sup> Sam Westrop, "American Islamist Charity Openly Partners with Designated Terrorists," *Rabwah Times*, January 4, 2018, <u>https://www.rabwah.net/american-islamist-charity-openly-partners-designated-terrorists%E2%80%A8/</u>

<sup>27</sup> "H. Res. 160 – Expressing concern about the threat posed to democracy and human rights by theocratic groups operating in South Asia," 116<sup>th</sup> Congress (2019-2020), Introduced in House – Foreign Affairs by Rep. Banks, Jim [R-IN-3], February 28, 2019, <u>https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-resolution/160/text?format=txt&q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22jim+banks%22%5D%7D</u>

<sup>28</sup> Martha Lee, "South Asian Islamists Gain Ground in Philadelphia," *Rabwah Times*, August 17, 2018, <u>https://www.meforum.org/islamist-watch/55300/south-asian-islamists-gain-ground-in-philadelphia</u>

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> "Bangladesh Islamist politician Kamaruzzaman hanged," *BBC News*, April 11, 2015, <u>https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-32263541</u>

<sup>31</sup> Shamsuddin Ahmed, "Jamaat-e-Islam and its anti-liberation role in 1971," *The Daily Star*, November 7, 2007, <u>https://www.thedailystar.net/news-detail-10538</u>

<sup>32</sup> "Pakistani Leaders: Hakimullah Mehsud Is A Martyr; Maulana Fazlullah: 'Even A Dog' Killed By The U.S. 'Is A Martyr'; Report: The 'Farm Where [Mehsud] Died...[Was] Just A Kilometer Away' From Pakistan Army

### IPT Investigative Report: Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA)

conventions. Yusuf Islahi, a leader of JI's Indian affiliate (JI Hind),<sup>34</sup> has spoken at ICNA events since at least 2000 and was a featured speaker at the organization's April 2019 convention in Washington, D.C.<sup>35</sup>

Islahi reportedly has blamed Jews for the 9/11 attacks, which he described as a fitting response to American arrogance.<sup>36</sup>

ICNA's bimonthly publication, *The Message International*,<sup>37</sup> has featured interviews with JI leaders in which they support the Islamist movement's goal to establish a

global caliphate<sup>38</sup> and commend ICNA's role in the "advancement of Islamic ideology."<sup>39</sup> Over the years, the publication has featured articles and editorials, including by ICNA members,



that exhort jihad in Kashmir and Palestine, defend terrorists and other radicals, attack U.S. and Western foreign policy, advocate on behalf of Islamists and Islamist movements, and engage in inflammatory rhetoric against Jews and Zionism. Although there has been a toning down in the magazine's pro-terrorist and Islamist

Headquarters," *The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) Special Dispatch No. 5516*, November 8, 2013, <u>https://www.memri.org/reports/pakistani-leaders-hakimullah-mehsud-martyr-maulana-fazlullah-even-dog-killed-us-martyr</u>

<sup>33</sup> "Osama Bin Laden lives in the heart of people-Syed Munawar Hasan," *Awaz Today* (undated video), <u>https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x1agndo</u>

<sup>34</sup> "Maulana Mohammad Yusuf Islahi, Member Markazi Majlis-e-Shoora," <u>http://jamaateislamihind.org/eng/advertisements/leaders/resumes/Maulana\_Mohammad\_Yusuf\_Islahi.html</u>

<sup>35</sup> "Confirmed Speakers," 44th Annual ICNA-MAS Convention, April 19-21, 2019, Washington, DC, <u>https://icnaconvention.org/sh-yusuf-islahi/</u>

<sup>36</sup> Irfan Ahmad, "The Jewish Hand: The response of the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind," in Shoma Munshi and Peter van der Veer, eds., *Media, War and Terrorism: Responses from the Middle East and Asia* (Routledge, 2004), p. 137, <u>https://goo.gl/MXwbXK</u>

<sup>37</sup> "The Message International," <u>http://messageinternational.org/</u>

<sup>38</sup> Zaheer Uddin, "Face to Face: An Interview With Muhtram Qazi Husain Ahmad," *The Message International*, August 1999, pp. 41-43, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/935.pdf</u>

<sup>39</sup> Zaheer Uddin, "Face to Face: An Interview with Prof. Ghulam Azam," *The Message International*, September 1999, p. 41, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1041.pdf#page=2</u>

rhetoric in recent years, it continues to peddle anti-American propaganda and feed the Muslim victimhood narrative.<sup>40</sup>

ICNA's leadership has glorified jihad and martyrdom and advocated JI's Islamist ideology as a panacea to problems afflicting the global Muslim community. In 2016, ICNA's former vice president<sup>41</sup> and leader of its New York chapter, Ashrafuzzaman Khan, was tried in absentia by the Bangladeshi war crimes tribunal and sentenced to death.<sup>42</sup> Khan allegedly participated in the abduction and murder of 18 Bangladeshi intellectuals during the country's 1971 liberation war against Pakistan.<sup>43</sup> The fact that a former senior ICNA leader<sup>44</sup> was a top commander of Al-Badr, JI's militant offshoot,<sup>45</sup> only reaffirms the close ties ICNA shares with the Islamist movement.

A 2010 "Member's Hand Book" published by ICNA's Tarbiyah (Education & Training) Department defines the organization as "an Islamic Jama'ah, an organization struggling towards Iqamat-ad-Deen ["Establishment of the Religion"] in this land."<sup>46</sup> The handbook recognizes that achieving the end goal of an Islamic super state is a gradual process and involves several stages. A section called, "Levels of work by the Islamic Movement," lists five stages to attain a global Caliphate.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Leslie Schaffer, "Islamophobia and Exceptionalism," June 5, 2012, *The Message International*, <u>http://messageinternational.org/shariah-in-the-presidential-race/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> ICNA Archived Web Page, <u>http://web.archive.org/web/20060103083126/http://www.icna.com/ICNA/organize.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> "ICNA Leader Convicted in 1971 Bangladesh Massacres," *IPT News*, November 3, 2013, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/4204/icna-leader-convicted-in-1971-bangladesh-massacres</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ashrafuzzaman Khan, "Facts," Last Modified June 14, 2016, Trial International, <u>https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/ashrafuzzaman-khan/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> "ICNA Leader Convicted in 1971 Bangladesh Massacres," *IPT* News, November 3, 2013, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/4204/icna-leader-convicted-in-1971-bangladesh-massacres</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Ashrafuzzaman Khan, "Facts," Last Modified June 14, 2016, Trial International, <u>https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/ashrafuzzaman-khan/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> "Member's Hand Book," Published by ICNA's Sister's Wing, Tarbiyah Department, March 2010, p. 6, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf#page=6</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> "Hand Book Shows ICNA's True Goals," *IPT News*, December 6, 2010, pp. 9-10, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf#page=9</u>

In the early stages, members pass through the "Tarbiyah Process," an education consisting of radical literature promoting Islam in place of Western systems. At the "Societal Level," the handbook suggests "active taqwah [piety, fear of God] work to non-Muslims" that includes providing social services such as "helping the poor and needy, sick and disabled, old and down trodden, and disadvantaged in the society."48 In the next stage, called the "State Level," Islam gains traction in a larger segment of society and "a good part of the society's thinking individuals join the movement. The struggle then reaches the "Global Level."49

"Wherever the Islamic movement succeeds to establish true Islamic society, they will form coalitions and alliances. This will lead to the unity of the Ummah [Muslim nation] and towards the establishment of a Khilafah [Caliphate]," the book says.<sup>50</sup>

It is worth noting that the handbook and other extremist literature disappeared from ICNA's Young Muslims and ICNA Sisters web pages soon after the Investigative Project on Terrorism published a series of articles between 2010-2012 exposing their radical content.<sup>51</sup> The online course portal on the Young Muslims<sup>52</sup> & Young Muslims Sisters<sup>53</sup> websites is no longer accessible to non-members.<sup>54</sup>

One of the primary roles envisioned for ICNA by its founders is Dawah [Islamic proselytization]. In a 2016 interview with The Message International, ICNA founding President Talat Sultan explains the idea for the organization came from "the need for a grassroots dawah movement to invite non-Muslims to Islam and to educate

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> ICNA: An Islamic Jama'ah and Movement," chapter in "Member's Handbook," Published by ICNA's Sister's Wing, Tarbiyah Department, March 2010, p. 10,

https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf#page=10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> "Hand Book Shows ICNA's True Goals," *IPT News*, December 6, 2010, https://www.investigativeproject.org/2373/hand-book-shows-icna-true-goals

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> "Young Muslims," https://ymsite.com/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>" Young Muslims Sisters," <u>http://www.ymsisters.com/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> "Portal," Young Muslims Sisters, <u>http://www.ymsisters.com/members-portal;</u> "Portal," Young Muslims, https://ymsite.com/

Muslims about Islam as a way of life and daily dedication to Allah SWT.<sup>35</sup> This led to the formation of ICNA's predecessor organization, Halqa-e-Ahbab (Circle of Friends) in September 1968. Sultan was selected as its first president.<sup>56</sup>

Through its proselytization arms, Why Islam and GainPeace, ICNA seeks to promote dawah ostensibly "to provide accurate information about Islam," and in so doing, "dispel popular stereotypes and persistent misconceptions about Islam and Muslims."<sup>57</sup> However, the true goal as clearly laid out in the works of the head of its Dawah and Publication's wing, Shamim Siddiqi,<sup>58</sup> is "to make Allah's Deen dominant on this earth."<sup>59</sup>

Before coming to America, Siddiqi spent more than 20 years in JI's Pakistan branch, his online biography says.<sup>60</sup>

ICNA has come to the defense of convicted Islamist terrorists. A report titled, "Inventing Terrorists: The Lawfare of Preemptive Prosecution" co-sponsored by ICNA's social justice arm, ICNA Social Justice (ICNASJ) and the Coalition for Civil Freedoms, defends convicted Islamist terrorists and downplays the role of Islamist ideology in the radicalization of American youth.<sup>61</sup> The report also criticizes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> "Interview: From MSA to ICNA and ISNA," The Message International, February 16, 2016, <u>http://messageinternational.org/from-msa-to-icna-and-isna/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> "Interview: From MSA to ICNA and ISNA," The Message International, February 16, 2016, <u>http://messageinternational.org/from-msa-to-icna-and-isna/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> "About Us," <u>https://www.whyislam.org/about/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> "Senior ICNA Activist-Scholar Shamim Siddiqi Passes Away," *ICNA Press Release*, November 21, 2018, <u>http://www.icna.org/senior-icna-activist-scholar-shamim-siddiqi-passes-away/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, *Methodology of Dawah Il Allah in American Perspective* (The Forum for Islamic work: December 1989), *Preface*, p. i., <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/bookspdf/MethodologyofDawah.pdf#page=11</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> "WELCOME TO A NEW WEBSITE FOR UNDERSTANDING ISLAM IN AMERICAN AND GLOBAL PERSEPCTIVE BY SHAMIM A. SIDDIQI," <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Stephen Downs, Esq. and Kathy Manley, Esq., "Inventing Terrorists: The Lawfare of Preemptive Prosecution," An Updated Version of the 2014 Study by Project SALAM and the Coalition of Civil Freedoms, Co-sponsored by ICNA Council for Social Justice, April 2019, <u>http://icnacsj.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Inventing-Terrorists-Report.pdf</u>

government sting operations as "entrapment plots" that often times target "mentally ill defendants."<sup>62</sup>

The report calls the conviction of a Texas-based Hamas charity and several of its senior leaders as "the most unfair prosecution under the material support law."<sup>63</sup> "[L]eaders of what had been the largest Muslim charity in the US were singled out and eventually convicted (after a second trial – the jury was deadlocked the first time) and essentially given life sentences for providing completely nonviolent and desperately needed charity to civilians in Gaza."<sup>64</sup>

The Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF) and five of its leaders were sentenced to long prison terms for funneling millions of dollars to the terrorist group Hamas.<sup>65</sup> "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," says a Department of Justice release announcing the sentence.<sup>66</sup>

ICNA, meanwhile, was quick to distance itself from five young American attendees at its Alexandria-based mosque, who traveled to Pakistan in 2009 with the sole purpose of killing American soldiers whom they saw as waging a war on Islam.<sup>67</sup> ICNA issued a declaration that offered no consideration of how the men were radicalized, merely

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 7, <u>http://icnacsj.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Inventing-Terrorists-Report.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 19, <u>http://icnacsj.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Inventing-Terrorists-Report.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ibid., <u>http://icnacsj.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Inventing-Terrorists-Report.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> "FEDERAL JUDGE HANDS DOWN SENTENCES IN HOLY LAND FOUNDATION (HLF) CASE," U.S. Department of Justice Press Release, May 27, 2009, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case\_docs/957.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> "ICNA's Search for Radicalism Should Start Within," *IPT News*, December 15, 2009, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/1577/icnas-search-for-radicalism-should-start-within</u>

saying, "Extremism has no place in Islam, and ICNA works tirelessly to oppose extremist and violent ideology."<sup>68</sup>

This concern is totally at variance with ICNA's position on a similar incident several years earlier, when the group honored a member who traveled across the world to wage jihad in Kashmir. ICNA's 1997 Southeastern Regional Convention feted Lawrence Nicholas Thomas (aka Jibril Abu- Adam), an American citizen and convert to Islam, who was killed while fighting alongside terrorists in Kashmir. Jibril had traveled to Pakistan and trained with Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), a U.S.-designated terrorist group that is believed to be behind the 2008 Mumbai terror attacks.<sup>69</sup>

ICNA's doublespeak is also evident from its selective condemnation of the bloodshed in Bangladesh. While the organization has issued strong words of condemnation over the executions of JI leaders convicted by a Bangladeshi war crimes tribunal, it chooses to stay silent when secular bloggers, gay rights activists, and other minorities are murdered in Bangladesh.<sup>70</sup>

ICNA charities, Helping Hand for Relief and Development (HHRD) and ICNA Relief, have ties to U.S.-designated Kashmiri jihadist groups, JI Pakistan and its affiliate chapter in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. Helping Hand regional partners, for example, have been found to have connections to U.S.-designated terrorist entities, including Falah-i-Insaniyat Foundation (FIF), Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) and its leader Syed Salahuddin.<sup>71</sup>

Despite ICNA's open propagation of JI's Islamist ideology in North America and ties to South Asian jihadists and radical extremists, U.S. government officials and agencies continue to engage the JI outpost and its affiliate organizations. For instance, in 2016 ICNA reportedly received a \$1.3 million grant from the Department

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> ICNA's Statement on the Detained American Muslims," *ICNA press release*, December 10, 2009, <u>https://www.icna.org/icnas-statement-on-the-detained-american-muslims/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Ama F. Shabazz, "Actions Speak Louder Than Words," *The Message International*, December 1997, p. 32, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/348.pdf#page=3</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Abha Shankar, "ICNA's Selective Condemnation Over Bangladesh Bloodshed," *IPT News*, May 13, 2016, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/5354/icna-selective-condemnation-over-bangladesh</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Sam Westrop, "American Islamist Charity Openly Partners with Designated Terrorists," *Rabwah Times*, January 4, 2018, <u>https://www.rabwah.net/american-islamist-charity-openly-partners-designated-terrorists%E2%80%A8/</u>

of Homeland Security<sup>72</sup> and more than \$10 million from the Federal Emergency Management Agency for disaster relief work in 2016 and 2018.<sup>73</sup> It received another \$25,000 in 2019 from New York City's Communities of Color Nonprofit Stabilization Fund.<sup>74</sup>



April 2018 - MD Gov. Larry Hogan presents Community Service Award to Helping Hand.

Helping Hand was presented with the United Maryland Muslim Council's Community Service Award by Maryland Governor Larry Hogan at an ICNA April 2018 event in Baltimore. The event was attended by senators, congressmen, and state and local government officials.<sup>75</sup>

This report aims to expose ICNA's support for Islamist ideology and close partnerships with the terror-tied Jamaat-e-Islami and its associate organizations. It attempts to uncover the JI affiliate's doublespeak and deceptive agenda. Instead of engaging in outreach and providing millions of taxpayer dollars in funding to ICNA and its affiliate groups, government and law enforcement agencies need to reach out to mainstream Muslim voices that more accurately represent the interests of the American Muslim community. The recent Banks resolution<sup>76</sup> calling for an end to all partnering and funding with ICNA and its charitable fronts is a step in the right direction.

<sup>74</sup> New York City Council Funded Disclosure 2019,

http://www.nyc.gov/html/citycouncil/downloads/excel/funded\_disclosure\_FY2019.xlsx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Sam Westrop, "Putting an End to Government Funding of Islamism," *National Review*, August 24, 2017, <a href="https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/08/us-government-funds-islamic-extremists/">https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/08/us-government-funds-islamic-extremists/</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Sam Westrop, "Research Has Uncovered \$41 Million of Taxpayer-Subsidized Islamism," *The Daily Wire*, May 1, 2019, <u>https://www.dailywire.com/news/46647/westrop-research-has-uncovered-41-million-taxpayer-sam-westrop</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> "HHRD Awarded by Maryland Gov. for MD Muslim Council," *ICNA Press Release*, April 24, 2018, <u>https://www.icna.org/helping-hand-awarded-for-community-service-by-maryland-muslim-council/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> "H. Res. 160 – Expressing concern about the threat posed to democracy and human rights by theocratic groups operating in South Asia," 116<sup>th</sup> Congress (2019-2020), Introduced in House – Foreign Affairs by Rep. Banks, Jim [R-IN-3], February 28, 2019, <u>https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-</u>resolution/160/text?format=txt&q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22jim+banks%22%5D%7D

#### Origins in and Ties to the Jamaat-e-Islami

The Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) was established in 1968 by a group of Muslims who "met to shape an Islamic movement embracing Muslims drawn from diverse ethnic and social backgrounds."<sup>77</sup> In its formative years, the organization "confined itself as the Halqa Ahbabe Islami [Islamic Circle of Friends], an Urdu speaking group" that "**worked in the shadow of the Muslim Students Association of USA and Canada (MSA) striving to recruit Islamic movement oriented Urdu speaking Muslims and to strengthen the Jama'at-e-Islami Pakistan.**"<sup>78</sup> [emphasis added] In 1977, the organization changed its name to Halqa Islami Shumali Amrika in Urdu and the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) in English and "[i]t was declared that it will be an Islamic movement of this land and would be part of the global Islamic movement."<sup>79</sup> ICNA was officially incorporated on November 1, 1987 in Jamaica, N.Y. <sup>80</sup>



The Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) was created in 1941 by Islamist ideologue Maulana Syed Abdul Ala Maududi (also spelled as Mawdudi) in Lahore, Pakistan, then part of British India.<sup>81</sup> In addition to advancing a rigid interpretation of Islam,<sup>82</sup> the

Flag of Jamaat-e-Islami

Islamist movement has provided an ideological platform and recruiting base for terrorist groups in South Asia.<sup>83</sup> Maududi, who was on a personal visit to the U.S. at

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Zaheer Uddin, "ICNA: A Successful Journey And A Promising Road Ahead," *The Message International*, August 1999, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1028.pdf#page=2</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> "Islamic Circle of North America Certificate of Incorporation," November 1, 1987, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1039.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Nadeem F. Paracha, "Abdul Ala Maududi: an existentialist history," *Dawn*, January 1, 2015, <u>https://www.dawn.com/news/1154419</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> "Article 4: The Mission," Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, <u>http://jamaat.org/en/dastoorOrManshoor\_detail.php?article\_id=57</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> "Hizbul Mujahideen: A Profile," *Times of India*, May 20, 2003, <u>https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/pakistan/Hizbul-Mujahideen-A-profile/articleshow/46956242.cms</u>

### IPT Investigative Report: Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA)

the time, was present at ICNA's first public event held in 1974 at Columbia University.<sup>84</sup>

While lesser known than its ideological cousin, the Muslim Brotherhood,<sup>85</sup> the JI's support for a totalitarian ideology is no less concerning. Like the Muslim Brotherhood, the JI has an active presence in the U.S. and the West and the Islamist movements work together to advance their totalitarian ideology.<sup>86</sup> As Larry A. Poston, a theologian from Nyack College explains in his 1991 essay, "Da'wa in the West":

"The missionaries philosophies of [Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan] al-Banna and Mawdudi have entered the North American continent by at least three different routes ...The second avenue has been the Muslim Student Association, undoubtedly the most activist of the da'wa [Islamic proselytization] organizations in America. Many of the founding members of this agency were members of or had connections to one or the other of the two organizations in question [the Muslim Brotherhood or Jamaat-e-Islami] and it was through these persons that the ideologies of al-Banna and Mawdudi were integrated into the goals and philosophies of the ... [MSA]."<sup>87</sup>

The Muslim Student Association (MSA) is the most visible and influential Islamist student organization in North America. Through conferences and events, publications, websites and other activities, MSA disseminates and promotes an Islamist ideology inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>88</sup>

Evidence showcasing ICNA's origins in the JI and close ties to the Islamist movement is listed below:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> "Interview: From MSA to ICNA and ISNA," *The Message International*, February 16, 2016, <u>http://messageinternational.org/from-msa-to-icna-and-isna/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> "The Muslim Brotherhood," The Investigative Project on Terrorism Dossier, http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/135.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Abha Shankar, "Should the Muslim Brotherhood Debate Include Another Rogue Islamist Party?," *IPT News*, April 7, 2017, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/5982/should-the-muslim-brotherhood-debate-include</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Larry A. Poston, "Da'wa in the West," *The Muslims of America*, ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 121,129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> "Muslim Students Association," The Investigative Project on Terrorism Dossier, <u>http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/84.pdf</u>

 An introductory pamphlet published and distributed by ICNA declares its goal is "[t]o achieve the pleasure of Allah through the establishment

What is the goal of I.C.N.A.? To achieve the pleasure of Allah through the establishment of the Islamic system in this land.

of the Islamic system in this land."<sup>89</sup> It also describes ICNA as "an Islamic Jama'ah (organized group) and movement."<sup>90</sup> [emphasis added] This is reinforced in ICNA's Charter and By-Laws, which say the organization's goal "shall be to seek the pleasure of Allah (SWT) through the struggle of Iqamat-ud-Deen (establishment of the Islamic system of life) as spelled out in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad (SAW)."<sup>91</sup> [emphasis added]

This is consistent with JI founder Maududi's preaching, **"wherever you are, in whichever country you live, you must strive to change the wrong basis of government, and seize all powers to the rule and make laws from those who do not fear God.** You must also provide leadership to God's servants and conduct the affairs of their government in accordance with God's law, remaining fully conscious of living in God's presence and being accountable to Him in the Hereafter. The name of this striving is **Jihad."**<sup>92</sup> [emphasis added]

• An August 1999 article by Zaheer Uddin, ICNA's then-Secretary General and editor-in-chief of its flagship publication, *The Message International*, lists ICNA's achievements:

# "-The successful introduction of the concept of Iqamat ad-deen in North America.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> "Islamic Circle of North America: An Introduction" (ICNA Brochure), <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/ICNA%20Brochure.pdf#page=2</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> "The Charter And By-Laws," Islamic Circle of North America, March 1994, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1032.pdf#page=4</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi, *Let Us Be Muslims* (Khurram Murrad, ed., The Islamic Foundation, 1982, reprinted 2016), p. 290, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/ext/17047</u>

#### -Pioneering in planting the seeds of the Islamic Movement in this continent, and introducing the model of Syed Maudoodi's Islamic Movement.

-Assembling and training of a team of nonsectarian and dedicated Islamic workers who are striving and spreading the message of Allah in North America."<sup>93</sup> [emphasis added]

• In *The Message's* January 2000 issue, former ICNA President Anis Ahmad praises Maududi for pioneering a movement that offered "an ideological alternative to the modern world":<sup>94</sup>

"The crisis the ummah [world Muslim community] faced in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was encountered in a profound manner by the great exegete Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi (1903-1979). He pioneered a movement ijtihad [independent reasoning] at the level of thought and institution building and offered an ideological alternative to the modern world."<sup>95</sup>

He touts the primacy of Maududi's "Islamic ideological framework" over capitalist and Marxist ideologies: "While offering a critique of the European ideologies Sayyid Mawdudi, also offered at a positive level an alternative Islamic ideological framework."<sup>96</sup>

Ahmad adds: "Meeting the challenges of modernity, perhaps no other Muslim intellectual in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century offered such elaborate ideas on political, economic and social dimensions of Islam as we find its [sic] in the writings of Sayyid Mawdudi."<sup>97</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Zaheer Uddin, "ICNA: A Successful Journey And A Promising Road Ahead," *The Message International*, August 1999, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1028.pdf#page=2</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Prof. Anis Ahmad, "Great Muslims of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi," *The Message International*, January 2000, pp. 17-18, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1033.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Ibid., p. 17, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1033.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Ibid., p.18, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1033.pdf#page=2</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Ibid.

Ahmad argues that JI is not a "fundamentalist" movement. "Islam essentially is a movement of social change and realization of social justice for the whole of mankind. It is not a backwards looking movement. Qur'an and the sunnah provide guiding light for the structuring of future through the system of Shariah Islamic thought, and Islamic state. Therefore, movements for islah [reform] and ijtihad [independent reasoning] due to their concern for future role of Islam, substantially, cannot be categorized as backward looking or fundamentalist."<sup>98</sup>

• In an article published in 2000 titled, "ICNA: An Islamic Jamaah And a Movement," former ICNA president Mohammad Yunus<sup>99</sup> describes the organization as "an Islamic Jamaah, i.e. an organization struggling towards Iqamat Deen (establishing an Islamic system of life) in this land since the early '70s. It has been motivating Muslims to wake up to their obligations ... and not be lost in the race for just material gains in this land of plenty."<sup>100</sup>

"On the one hand they are to protect their Islamic identity and those of their children and on the other hand they are to take the message of Allah to their fellow Americans and the Canadians. They have the unique opportunity to achieve both these objectives through an organized struggle through [a] national Islamic movement like ICNA," he adds.<sup>101</sup>

In response to the question, "What is an Islamic Movement?," Yunus writes: "Islamic movement is the term used for that organized and collective effort waged to establish Al Islam in its complete form in all aspects of life ... **It is our obligation as Muslims to engage in the same noble cause here in North America.**"<sup>102</sup> [emphasis added]

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Islamic Circle of North America By Laws, Adopted Sept. 6, 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Dr. Mohammad Yunus, "ICNA: An Islamic Jamaah And A Movement; Let's Join Hands to Establish Allah's Deen," *The Message International*, August 2000, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1030.pdf</u>

He delineates two stages under "ICNA's Development and Progress":

- "1971-1977-Halqah Ahbabe Islami [Islamic Circle of Friends]. Workers
  of the Islamic movement from Indo-Pakistan-Bangladesh
  subcontinent established this Jamaah in early 1971. At that
  time, its objectives were limited. It was taking its message in Urdu
  language to immigrants of that background. Work was limited to few
  cities. Bylaws of the organization were not that explicit."
- 2. "1977 to today, Islamic Circle of North America. Objective of this movement was redefined. It was declared by the resolution of its members, that this movement is to work to do Iqamat Deen in North America. New detailed constitution was published. English was adapted as the medium of communication. ICNA established its own forums for the Da'wah work at the local, regional and national level. We established vital institutions at the national level for the support of its Da'wah activities."<sup>103</sup> [emphasis added]

Yunus reiterates JI's "Strategy for Islamic Revolution" in a five-point plan detailing "Levels of work by the Islamic movement":

- "Individual Level" where the individual starts with reforming himself through the study of the Qu'ran and Sunnah , the Islamic Fiqh [Jurisprudence], history, laws and the Arabic language. The acquired knowledge must then "be translated into day to day life."<sup>104</sup>
- "Reform one's family" where "[o]ne has the responsibility to impart Islamic knowledge and then build Islamic character in family members."<sup>105</sup>
- 3. "Reform the society" that "requires active work of Da'wah to the non-Muslims through all the lawful means at our disposal." The "Islamic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Ibid.

movement also addresses the issues of the society and offers solutions in the light of Allah's guidance" at this stage.<sup>106</sup>

- 4. "Towards an Islamic state and society" where "A good part of the society's thinking individuals join the movement" and "this truth [Islam] is introduced to a large part of society."<sup>107</sup>
- 5. "Establish unified Muslim Ummah [Community] and Khilafah [Caliphate]." At this final level, the Islamic movement "succeeds to establish true Islamic societies" and "will form coalitions and alliances" that will "lead to the unity of the Ummah and step towards the re-establishment of Khilafah [Caliphate]."<sup>108</sup> [emphasis added]
- Another *Message International* article penned by JI Pakistan's deputy leader, Prof. Khurshid Ahmad,<sup>109</sup> describes the Islamist movement as one of "the foremost movements for Islamic revival in the contemporary world."<sup>110</sup> [emphasis added]

JI's objective is "**[t]o seek the good pleasure of Allah by striving to establish the Islamic order in its entirety** – *iqama al-din*," Ahmad says.<sup>111</sup> [emphasis added]

It lays out JI's four-point "Strategy for Islamic Revolution":

The first "element" of this program involves bringing about an **"intellectual revolution"** through "a clear exposition of the teachings of Islam in a simple, forthright and clear manner, which is shorn of verbosity

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 34

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> "Prof Khurshid Ahmed Deputy Ameer," Jamaat-e-Islami, Pakistan, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20180215083738/http:/jamaat.org/en/profile.php?id=45</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Prof. Khurshid Ahmad, "Jama'at-e-Islami," *The Message International*, January 2000, p. 33, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1034.pdf</u>

and free from all unhealthy accretions clustered around it over the years ... The most distinct feature of this intellectual effort is to present Islam as a complete way of life and as an alternative civilization."<sup>112</sup> [emphasis added]

The second "element" focuses on outreach "to all those persons who are disposed to righteousness, and are inclined to work for the establishment and enthronement of righteousness in human life ... It is only after a group of people, combining true Islamic vision and Islamic character side by side with intellectual competence and with the skills needed to run the affairs of this world, emerges on the stage of human history, pools its strength and resources, and strives in a systematic manner that the way would be paved for an Islamic Order to be established."<sup>113</sup> [emphasis added]

The third part "consists of striving to bring about societal change" and "the objective is to foster the religious, moral, social and material welfare of the people and to move towards creating the social conditions which are conducive to the total transformation of human life."<sup>114</sup> [emphasis added]

The last and final section of the program "**envisages change of leadership**" that "includes intellectual leadership, social, economic and cultural leadership, and ultimately also political leadership." Once a properly educated Islamic political leadership is in place the state becomes "**an indispensable means for establishing the order envisaged by** Islam ... The leadership in its walks of life should be imbued with this idealism ... A truly Islamic society and state is considered inconceivable unless its affairs are directed by people of clear

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., pp. 34-35

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 35

**Islamic vision and commitment, and upright character and competence.**"<sup>115</sup> [emphasis added]

• In 1988, ICNA's then-national treasurer and director of dawah [Islamic proselytizing] and publications Shamim A. Siddiqi<sup>116</sup> published a "Manifesto of the Islamic Movement of America" on his website. It details "The guiding principles of the Islamic government of America."<sup>117</sup> Article 1 of the manifesto states:

"When the Islamic Movement of America comes to power, it will make:

- a) The Quran and Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as the only source of law;
- b) Bring all the existing laws of the country, states in conformity with the Quran and Sunnah;
- c) A high power commission, consisting of Ulama, scholars of different faculties of arts and sciences and the best available legal brains, well versed in Shariah (Islamic laws) who will constitute a Body of Consultants to advise the President (head of state), the Congress, and the Senate in their efforts to enforce the Deen of Allah as the law of the land and the Code of conduct."<sup>118</sup> [emphasis added]
- In a 2005 report on lCNA's 30<sup>th</sup> annual convention, Siddiqi describes the organization as an "Islamic Movement" that seeks "to get the Deen [Religion]

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 35

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> "Senior ICNA Activist-Scholar Shamim Siddiqi Passes Away," *ICNA Press Release*, November 21, 2018, <u>http://www.icna.org/senior-icna-activist-scholar-shamim-siddiqi-passes-away/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> "MANIFESTO OF THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF AMERICA (Based on Surah Bani Israel: Verses 23-39)," <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/</u> (PDF posted here: https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1045.pdf#page=2)

of Allah's introduced and spread" in the U.S. "as a political entity and life pattern":<sup>119</sup>

"ICNA was originally constituted as 'Halaqua-e-Ahbab-e-Islami' [sic] about 35 years ago. Later on, it was transformed into 'Islamic Circle of North America' as an Islamic Movement, a positive step to get the Deen of Allah's introduced and spread in this country [USA] in a continuous process till the people of the land feel about it as the echo of their hearts and minds. They come forward on their own accord to accept Islam as a system of life to give redress to their age old sociocultural-family problems. It may convince them to accept Islam ultimately as a political entity and life pattern. ICNA has to go a long way to attain that momentum through its Dawah efforts and different meet-the-people campaigns at grass toot [sic] level. That needs proper planning, a comprehensive Dawah program, and an effective team of Da'ees who possesses a trustworthy character and knows this country. its people and their problems better than a Congressman or a Senator. Also it is equally important that ICNA, as an Islamic Movement, should issue often and on policy statements on different issues confronting this country to enlighten the people of the land and their policy makers what benedictions and 'Khair' [good] Islam holds for them and for humanity at large, if they think, live and behave Islamically."<sup>120</sup> [emphasis added]

 A copy of JI Pakistan's 2018 election manifesto is posted on Siddiqi's website, <u>www.dawahinamericas.com/</u>. The manifesto seeks to achieve the Islamist party's "Ideological Agenda in transforming the country [Pakistan] into an Ideal Islamic State and Will Equally BRING all the existing laws of the State in conformity with the Qur'an and Sunnah."<sup>121</sup> [emphasis added]

120 Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, "30<sup>th</sup> Convention of ICNA," <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/30th%20CONVENTION%20OF%20ICNA.htm</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, "JIP MANIFESTO FOR ELECTIONS—2018," http://www.dawahinamericas.com/JIPELECTIONMANIFESTO2018.htm

In a 2018 presentation titled "Story of ICNA" commemorating its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, Yunus showcases the organization's deep roots and ties to the Islamist movement.<sup>122</sup> Citing the "[n]eed to establish Islamic Movement oriented Jamaa'h," the presentation states that "[b]rothers who were involved with the Islamic movement [in the Indian subcontinent] before migrating here [to the U.S.], felt a great need to establish an organization or Jama'ah" and believed [i]t should have goals, objectives and methodology of true Islamic movement."<sup>123</sup> [emphasis added]

At the September 1967 MSA convention, "a meeting of selected movement oriented Indo-Pak brothers" was called and "[a]n Ad-hoc Committee was elected in the meeting to convene a foundational group." **Maududi's son**, **Ahmed Farooq Maududi was elected the committee's secretary.**<sup>124</sup> ICNA's forerunner, the Islamic League of North America (ILNA), was created in June 1968 but later disbanded "[d]ue to concerns about ILNA hurting MSA."<sup>125</sup>

**Maududi spoke at the first public meeting of Halqa Ahbab Islami** (ICNA's former name) at Columbia University in 1975. "This was the only public address Sayyid Mawdudi had in the US" where "[h]e advised Muslims that they are living in place of dawah" and "[t]hey must learn and practice Islm [sic] and raise good Muslim families." "They should develop contacts with fellow Americans, share teachings of Islam and find

<sup>124</sup> Slide 26, "September, [sic] 1967 – MSA Convention," in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

<sup>125</sup> Slides 27&28 in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Slide 21, "Need to establish Islamic Movement oriented Jama'ah," in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

**righteous people to carry the Islamic message,**" the presentation cited Maududi saying.<sup>126</sup> [emphasis added]

Among the "salient features of this 2<sup>nd</sup> phase of work" starting in 1977, the presentation noted: "Emphasis on discipline and Tarbiyah," "**Assisting Islamic Movement in Pakistan, Bangladesh and India**" and "**Assisting Islamic Party of America to promote Dawah among non-Muslims and to explore possible merger to generate a full-fledged Islamic Movement in America.**"<sup>127</sup> [emphasis added]

In 1979, ICNA hosted its 4th annual convention that featured senior JI Pakistan leaders Prof. Khurshid Ahmad<sup>128</sup> and Qazi Hussein Ahmed.<sup>129</sup> Also the same year, Maududi visited the United States for the second time for medical treatment. He stayed with his son and ICNA official Ahmed Farooq Maududi<sup>130</sup> in Buffalo, N.Y., where he succumbed to his illness.<sup>131</sup> ICNA's magazine *Tahreek*, the forerunner

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Slide 37, "1975 – Seyyid Mawdudi addresses Muslims at Columbia University NY," in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Slide 40, "Some salient features of this 2<sup>nd</sup> phase of work," in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> "Prof Khurshid Ahmed Deputy Ameer," Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20180815124016/http://jamaat.org/en/profile.php?id=45</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Slide 48, "1979" in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Slide 26, "September, [sic] 1967 – MSA Convention," in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Slide 48, "1979" in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

# to *The Message International*, published a special issue in **Maududi's memory.**<sup>132</sup> [emphasis added]

- JI leaders who engage in inflammatory rhetoric against the U.S. and the West and defend terrorist groups have appeared as speakers at ICNA conventions.
  - Yusuf Islahi,<sup>133</sup> a leader of JI's Indian affiliate (JI Hind), spoke at ICNA events since at least 2000 and was a speaker at the 2019 convention in Washington, D.C.<sup>134</sup> Islahi, a chief patron<sup>135</sup> of ICNA's dawah, or proselytizing project, Why Islam,<sup>136</sup> criticized the Western interest-based economic system. "A society where interest is accepted and becomes widespread is disliked to such an extent that both Allah and His Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, are at war with them," Islahi said in a 2009 interview.<sup>137</sup>

At a 2001 JI Hind event hosted in the Indian city of Aligarh, Islahi reportedly blamed Jews for the 9/11 attacks, which he described as a fitting response to American arrogance: "[T]he September 11 event is a wellplanned conspiracy to defame Islam. Muslims are being blamed for it without any evidence. Everyone knows who is the real culprit, Jews....The United States has unjustly and arrogantly ruled the world for too long.

<sup>135</sup> "Maulana Yusuf Islahi address to ICNA volunteers at 877 WhyIslam Center on Somerset NJ," Yusuf Islahi Lectures, Published in April 3, 2016, <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LlHRqiVmutU</u>

<sup>136</sup> "About Us," <u>https://www.whyislam.org/about/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Slide 48, "1979" in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> "Maulana Mohammad Yusuf Islahi," <u>http://jamaateislamihind.org/eng/advertisements/leaders/resumes/Maulana\_Mohammad\_Yusuf\_Islahi.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> "Confirmed Speakers," 44th Annual ICNA-MAS Convention, April 19-21, 2019, Washington, DC, <u>https://icnaconvention.org/sh-yusuf-islahi/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Sana Khan, "East Meets West: Enlightening Moment With Shaykh Yusuf Islahi," *Farhat Hashmi* (n.d.), <u>https://www.farhathashmi.com/articles-section/women-and-family/east-meets-west/</u>

Allah has destroyed that arrogance on September 11. God willing, this will also inaugurate the age of Islam the world over."<sup>138</sup>

 Former JI leader Qazi Hussein Ahmed spoke at ICNA's 1999 convention in Baltimore.<sup>139</sup> He also appeared at ICNA's 4th annual convention in 1979.<sup>140</sup> In a 1999 interview with The Message's editor-in-chief and then-Secretary General of ICNA Zaheer Uddin, Ahmed elaborated on the role Islamist movements such as the JI and MB play in creating an Islamic state.

"The Islamic movements through out (sic) the world under the guidance of **Maulana Syed Abdul A'la Maudoodi (r)** and **Shaheed Hasan al-Banna (r)** and many other prominent Muslim leaders and scholars and Mujahideen have adopted the same attitude and the same process which was evolved by the Prophet of Allah. Call the people towards Allah and to train and purify them, organize them into Jama'ah and work for the service of mankind. In this process we will create an Islamic society, an Islamic government and an Islamic state," Ahmed said.<sup>141</sup> [emphasis added]

Ahmed called on the Afghan mujahideen and Taliban to "enter into some type of cooperation with each other" to counter efforts by the West to sow disunity between them:

"Zaheer Uddin: You have been very close to the Afghan *Jihad* movement. You have close contacts with the current Afghan leadership of Taliban. How do you see the future of Afghanistan, and the future of Islam in Afghanistan?"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Irfan Ahmad, "The Jewish Hand: The response of the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind," in Shoma Munshi and Peter van der Veer, eds, *Media, War and Terrorism: Responses from the Middle East and Asia* (Routledge, July 31, 2004), p. 137, <u>https://goo.gl/MXwbXK</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> ICNA Convention, Baltimore Convention Center, Baltimore, Maryland, July 2-4, 1999, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/936.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Slide 48, "1979" in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Zaheer Uddin, "Face to Face: An Interview With Muhtram Qazi Husain Ahmad," *The Message*, August 1999, pp. 41-43, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/935.pdf</u>

Qazi Hussein Ahmed: "Mujahideen leaders must enter into dialogue with Taliban.... I had advised Taliban to accept Mujahideen as their brothers and consult with them. I advised the Mujahideen to accept Taliban to enter into some type of cooperation with each other. Otherwise the secular forces will keep them in turmoil.... **The West has given a bad name to the Mujahideen and now to Taliban. They are working against both of them. Therefore they must form unity between their own. They must be aware of the coming threat.**"<sup>142</sup> [emphasis added]

Ahmed also spoke at ICNA's 25<sup>th</sup> annual convention in Baltimore in July 2000.<sup>143</sup> In a speech titled, "The Importance of Morality in Politics," Ahmad faulted the United States for not being a "moral power."

"They [United States] are the most wealthy, the most powerful nation, but only wealth and power is not sufficient. **They cannot become the world power and they cannot be the world system unless they [have] moral authority.** Moral authority is essential. Nobody and no power can become great without ... moral power." [emphasis added] He also urged American Muslims to unite in a single government with Muslims all over the world: "Now, **this is the duty of the American Muslims, the Muslims living here, they have got a message. The Muslims everywhere are with a message.... We have got a universal message and we are a universal government.**"<sup>144</sup> [emphasis added]

This was Ahmed's last appearance at an ICNA convention.

Canadian authorities denied Ahmed's visa<sup>145</sup> after a Canadian NGO complained about the JI leader to authorities.<sup>146</sup> "Our research suggests that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 41

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> "The Moral Dimensions of Islam," 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention of the Islamic Circle of North America, Baltimore Convention Center, Baltimore, Maryland, June 30-July 2, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> "The Moral Dimensions of Islam," 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention of the Islamic Circle of North America, Baltimore Convention Center, Baltimore, Maryland, June 30-July 2, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> "Canada Denies Visa for Leader of Jamaat-e-Islam to Attend ISNA Conference," *The Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch*, June 22, 2008, <u>https://www.globalmbwatch.com/2008/06/22/canada-denies-visa-for-leader-of-jamaat-e-islam-to-attend-isna-conference/</u>

Qazi Hussain Ahmad is the name of a notorious Pakistani Islamist banned in 2007 from entering Egypt, and in 2004 from entering over 25 European countries for reasons of National Security," Canadian Coalition for Democracies President Alastair Gordon said in a news release.<sup>147</sup> Ahmed was scheduled to speak at the Islamic Society of North America Canada (ISNA Canada)'s 2008 convention in Mississauga, Ontario.<sup>148</sup>

ISNA is one of the largest and most influential Muslim Brotherhood front groups in the United States. Its annual conferences that draw tens of thousands of people have featured rhetoric in support of terrorists and other radicalism.<sup>149</sup>

In addition to speaking at the 2000 ICNA convention, Ahmed addressed Muslim Americans at the terror-tied Dar al-Hijrah mosque<sup>150</sup> in northern Virginia. Talking about challenges faced by Muslims in Chechnya, Kashmir, Palestine, and Bosnia, Ahmed suggested American Muslims, especially those living in the capital city of Washington, D.C., should serve as the voice for Muslims around the world. "We must present our case in a rational way … We must not paint ourselves by our own aims as extremists who talk illogically. We must take pains to present our case in the right manner," Ahmed reportedly said.<sup>151</sup> "We do not have any geographical

<sup>146</sup> "CCD urges immediate action on eligibility of Qazi Hussain Ahmad to enter Canada," *Canadian Coalition of Democracies Press Release*, May 22, 2008,

https://web.archive.org/web/20080626185431/http://canadiancoalition.com/forum/messages/30658.shtml

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Program flier for "The 34<sup>th</sup> ISNA Canada Annual Convention," May 24-25, 2008, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20090116125953/http://bp2.blogger.com/\_2B8hNLTjAH0/SDXUV4hwHbI/AAAAAAAAAAAAk/wGSRiST7y54/s1600-h/isna\_brother\_qazi\_hussain\_ahmad.jpg</u>

<sup>149</sup> "Islamic Society of North America: An IPT Investigative Report," <u>http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/275.pdf</u>

<sup>150</sup> "Dar al-Hijrah Mosque," Falls Church, VA, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/mosques/417/dar-al-hijrah-mosque</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Jamshed Bokhari, "Jamaat-I-Islami Amir Qazi Hussain Ahmad Speaks To American Muslims," *Islam Online*, July 13, 2000.

### IPT Investigative Report: Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA)

boundaries, we do not have any linguistic limitations, we are a[n] ummah with a universal message," he added.<sup>152</sup>

Ahmed also spoke in New York at an event hosted by the now-defunct Faran International.<sup>153</sup> A press release issued by the Baltimore-based Jama'at al-Muslimeen (JAM)<sup>154</sup> that also participated in the event, provided the following key points from Ahmed's speech summarized under the title, "Jihad is a Comprehensive Concept":

- "1. Our relationship with Allah is the main motivation for participation in Jihad. If our faith is not strong and constantly renewed, we cannot do jihad.
- 1a. Jihad is a comprehensive concept covering not only armed struggle but also proper education, media, children's upbringing as good Muslims.
- 2. Islam must be translated into political dominance. Without political power, much of what we recite from the Qur'an remains mere theory and wish fulfilment. **The sword and the Qur'an go together,** not to coerce but to implement inspite [sic] of opposing forces which are willing to use force.
- 3. He urged Pakistanis in America to spread the message of Islam with wisdom, because America, along with much corruption also has many positive aspects in its way of life."<sup>155</sup> [emphasis added]

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> "ICNA-Jamaat al-Muslimeen Unity Meeting," *Jamaat al-Muslimeen International Press Release*, July 22, 2000, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1035.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> "Masjid Jamaa'at al-Muslimeen," <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/activities/876/masjid-jamaat-al-</u> <u>muslimeen</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> "ICNA-Jamaat al-Muslimeen Unity Meeting," *Jamaat al-Muslimeen International Press Release*, July 22, 2000, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1035.pdf</u>

The late Ghulam Azam,<sup>156</sup> a former leader of JI's Bangladesh chapter, spoke at ICNA's 1999 convention.<sup>157</sup> In an interview in the Message International, also conducted by Zaheer Uddin, Azam commended ICNA's role in the "advancement of Islamic ideology":<sup>158</sup>

"Zaheer Uddin: You visited ICNA Convention as one of the Chief Guest speakers. How did you find the 24<sup>th</sup> ICNA Convention?

Ghulam Azam: It was very inspiring. Ladies appeared to be in majority in my estimation. They were properly dressed. In this country to see ladies in Islamic dress in such a huge number was really a matter of encouragement for me. I felt it is depth of their involvement. They are working hard to remain Muslims and the result shows. Their work is very hopeful. Because of this movement the Muslims have been inspired to reserve their identity and to feel pride as Muslims. This kind of convention gives inspiration to the audience; they feel they are not alone. So they easily protect themselves from frustration or inferiority complex. Instead they have a sense of pride. When they hear from Islamic thinkers coming from various countries they are inspired that Islam is not confined to one country only; it is [a] universally and internationally recognized ideology. People from different countries, speaking different languages talk in the same tone. They consider that Islam is not only a religion but also a code of life. Therefore, this [sic] type of conferences are very useful for advancement of Islamic ideology."<sup>159</sup> [emphasis added]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> "Bangladesh Islamist leader Ghulam Azam dies aged 91," *BBC* News, October 23, 2014, <u>https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-29749450</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> ICNA Convention, Baltimore Convention Center, Baltimore, Maryland, July 2-4, 1999, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/936.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> "Face to Face: An Interview with Prof. Ghulam Azam," *The Message International*, September 1999, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1041.pdf#page=2</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Ibid.

Azam also suggested Islamic organizations such as ICNA "should be federated into one organization" under a "national leadership":

"Zaheer Uddin: You have met ICNA leadership and also from ISNA, like Imam Siraj Wahaj, etc. How do you see the future of Islam and the Muslims in the country?

Ghulam Azam: As regards the concept of Islam, there is no difference. This is a great thing. **But all these groups [ICNA and ISNA] should be federated in one organization. There should be a national leadership. If national leadership grows then international Islamic movement will benefit more. This will enhance the cause of Islam. It will strengthen the Islamic community and a nationwide inspiration be created. And then it will pave the way for international unity. This is my feeling because the world has become very small. It is a global village. Unless, we think globally, it is impossible for Islam to rise as a superior force to dominate over other systems."<sup>160</sup> [emphasis added]** 

A Bangladesh tribunal sentenced Azam to 90 years in prison for committing war crimes, torture and murder during Bangladesh's 1971 war of independence.<sup>161</sup> Soon after Azam's 2014 passing while serving his sentence, ICNA described him as "one of the foremost Muslim activists in the world" who "played a crucial role in various sociopolitical and religious movements throughout the years."<sup>162</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> "GHULAM AZAM," TRIAL International, April 27, 2016, <u>https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/ghulam-azam/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> "World Renowned Scholar Dies During State Persecution," *ICNA Press Release*, October 23, 2014, <u>https://www.icna.org/world-renowned-scholar-dies-during-state-persecution/</u>

### IPT Investigative Report: Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA)

- According to JI Bangladesh's website, its former secretary general Abdul Quader Molla visited North America in 2000 at ICNA's invitation.<sup>163</sup> Molla was executed in December 2013 for crimes committed during the country's 1971 Liberation War.<sup>164</sup>
- Imam Mohammad Naseem, who was member of ICNA's Central Shura and headed its Tarbiyah [Education & Training] program,<sup>165</sup> was invited to attended ICNA's 1978 convention. He was asked by the organization's leadership to take charge of its Dawah and Tarbiyah department.<sup>166</sup> Naseem moved to the United States in 1979.<sup>167</sup> An ICNA obituary published soon after Naseem's death said he was deeply influenced by Maududi: "The rich and living literature of Syed Abul Aala Mawdudi changed his life pattern."<sup>168</sup> Naseem met with Maududi many times and stayed at his home.<sup>169</sup>
- Ameenuddin Hussaini, a "senior ICNA leader," was involved in the "Islamic movement" in India and Pakistan before migrating to the U.S. in 1976 along with his younger brother Qamaruddin Hussaini, both of whom became members of ICNA's General Assembly.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> "Shaheed Abdul Quader Molla; True reflection of an enlightened life," Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami, <u>https://jamaat-e-islami.org/en/memories-details.php?news=15</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Akramul Qader, "Why Bangladesh Executed Abdul Quader Molla," *RealClear World*, December 17, 2013, <u>https://www.realclearworld.com/articles/2013/12/17/why\_bangladesh\_executed\_abdul\_quader\_molla.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> "The Passing of Imam M. Naseem," *ICNA press release*, December 27, 2007, <u>https://www.icna.org/the-passing-of-imam-m-naseem/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Jawed Anwar, "Obituary: Our Imam Naseem," *ICNA Press Release*, January 14, 2008, <u>http://www.icna.org/obituary-our-imam-naseem/</u>; *See also* Slide 56, "Imam Mohammad Nasim (RA) I<sup>st</sup> Director of Al Markaz (ICNA Center NY)," in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> "Ameenddin Hussaini, senior ICNA member passes away," *ICNA Press Release*, February 25, 2019, <u>https://www.icna.org/ameenuddin-hussaini-senior-icna-member-passes-away/#more-24486</u>

• ICNA's logo is nearly identical to that of JI's student wing.<sup>171</sup>



#### Preaching a Global Caliphate and Islamic Shariah Law

A 2010 Member's Hand Book published by ICNA's Tarbiyah (Islamic education and training) Department defines the organization as "an Islamic Jama'ah, an organization struggling towards Iqamat-ad-Deen ["Establishment of the Religion"] in this land."<sup>172</sup> The handbook disappeared from ICNA Sisters' page soon after the IPT published an article exposing its radical content.<sup>173</sup>

According to the handbook, religion is not a private affair, and the "Establishment of the Religion" extends beyond the individual and family and into the society, state, and world. "These words ["Establishment of the Religion"] include not only practicing the



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> <u>http://www.americansagainsthate.org/ICNA\_BICS\_logo.html</u>; *See also* "Jamaat protests police harassment and arrest of 20 Islami Chhatri Sangstha students," Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami, <u>https://jamaat-e-islami.org/previous/en/details.php?artid=MTQzOQ==</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> "Member's Handbook," Published by ICNA's Sister's Wing, Tarbiyah Department, March 2010, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> "Hand Book Shows ICNA's True Goals," *IPT News*, December 6, 2010, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/2373/hand-book-shows-icna-true-goals</u>

religion in individual and collective life and propagating its true teaching to others, but also striving to make this Deen [religion] a way of life for all."<sup>174</sup>

The handbook describes ICNA as the American branch of a global phenomenon that it refers to as the "Islamic Movement." It notes that branches of this movement "are active in various parts of the world to achieve the same objectives. **It is our obligation as Muslims to engage in the same noble cause here in North America.**"<sup>175</sup> [emphasis added]

The end goal of the "Islamic Movement" is the establishment of an Islamic super state, the Caliphate. The Movement [Al-Jama'ah] "implies the **united Muslim Ummah in**  Jama'ah and Al-Jama'ah Al-Jama'ah is the term used in Hadith and is synonymous with the words Ummah and Hizb used in Quran. It implies the united Muslim Ummah in a united Islamic state, governed by an elected khalifah in accordance with the laws of shari'ah. As defined above, there can be only one al-jama'ah in a given time.

a united Islamic state, governed by an elected khalifah [Caliph] in accordance with the laws of shari'ah [Islamic Law]."<sup>176</sup> [emphasis added]

The handbook recognizes that achieving the end goal of an Islamic super state is a gradual process. A section called "Levels of work by the Islamic Movement" lists five stages to attain a global Caliphate. ICNA advocates spreading its view of Islam to Muslims and non-Muslims alike, starting with the individual and family, and then implementing the "Establishment of the Religion" in the society, state, and global level.

In the early stages, members pass through the "Tarbiyah Process," an education consisting of radical literature promoting Islam in place of Western systems at later stages in the Islamic Movement. For example, the group advocates that members read Fathi Yakin's *To Be A Muslim*,<sup>177</sup> a book which declares that "**true commitment requires every Muslim to dedicate his or her life in a jihad to** 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> "ICNA: An Islamic Jama'ah and Movement," chapter in "Member's Handbook," Published by ICNA's Sister's Wing, Tarbiyah Department, March 2010, p. 5, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf#page=5

<sup>17</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Ibid., p. 6, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf#page=6</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Ibid., p. 7, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf#page=7</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> "Appendix I: Book Club Syllabus," in "Member's Handbook," Published by ICNA's Sister's Wing, Tarbiyah Department, March 2010, p. 79, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf#page=79.

**establish and maintain a system of Islamic governance.**<sup>\*\*78</sup> [emphasis added] Likewise, the book pits Muslims against non-Muslims by declaring all non-Islamic political and social systems contrary to Islam. As Yakin declares, **\*\*The adoption and adaptation of capitalist, socialist, communist or other manmade systems, either in whole or in part, constitutes a denial of Islam and disbelief in Allah the Lord of the worlds.**<sup>\*\*179</sup> [emphasis added]

At the "Societal Level," the handbook suggests "active taqwah [piety, fear of God] work to non-Muslims" that includes providing social services such as "helping the poor and needy, sick and disabled, old and down trodden, and disadvantaged in the society."<sup>180</sup> "The Islamic movement also addresses the issues of the society and offers solutions in the light of Allah's guidance."<sup>181</sup>

In the next stage, called the "State Level," Islam gains traction in a larger segment of society and "a good part of the society's thinking individuals join the movement. Then it may move to establish an Islamic society, obedient to Allah's commands."<sup>182</sup>

The struggle then reaches the "Global Level."

"Wherever the Islamic movement succeeds to establish true Islamic society, they will form coalitions and alliances. This will lead to the unity of the Ummah [Muslim nation] and towards the establishment of a Khilafah [Caliphate]," the book says.<sup>183</sup>

The key objective of ICNA's educational arm, the **Islamic Learning Foundation** (ILF),<sup>184</sup> as described in an online presentation by former President Muhammad

https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf#page=10

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> "Part 2: Living for Islam" in Fathi Yakin, *To Be A Muslim*, <u>https://www.islambasics.com/chapter/i-living-for-islam</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> "The Islamic Movement: Its Task, Characteristics and Tools" in Fathi Yakin, *To Be a Muslim*, <u>http://www.islambasics.com/chapter/iii-the-islamic-movement-its-task-characteristics-and-tools</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> ICNA: An Islamic Jama'ah and Movement," chapter in "Member's Handbook," Published by ICNA's Sister's Wing, Tarbiyah Department, March 2010, p. 10,

Yunus, "is enriching the lives of Muslims in general and Muslim Youth in particular."<sup>185</sup> "By educating their minds and affecting their hearts with sound knowledge of Islamic Shariah, it likes to build the future leaders of Islamic movement."<sup>186</sup> [emphasis added]

### **Promoting Radical Texts**

### **Entry-Level Members**

According to a "Reading List for Members" in the 2010 handbook,<sup>187</sup> **entry-level ICNA members** are to complete an education course replete with extremist literature. This includes:

• **Maududi's** *Towards Understanding Islam*<sup>188</sup> that considers jihad a part of worship:

*"Jihad* is a part of this overall defense of Islam. *Jihad* means struggle to the utmost of one's capacity. A man who exerts himself physically or mentally or spends his wealth in the way of Allah is indeed engaged in Jihad. **But in the language of the Shari'ah [Islamic law] this word is used particularly for the war that is waged solely in the name of Allah and against those who perpetrate oppression as enemies of Islam.** This supreme sacrifice of lives devolves on all Muslims... In all these cases *Jihad* is as much a

<sup>186</sup> Slide 88, "ISLAMIC LEARNING FOUNDATION," in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, https://web.archive.org/web/20190513165702/https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna

<sup>187</sup> "ICNA Member's Hand Book," Published by ICNA Sisters' Wing, Tarbiyah Department, March 2010, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf#page=39</u>

<sup>188</sup> ABUL A'LA Mawdudi, *Towards Understanding Islam*, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20081201083808/http://www.ymsite.com/books/tui/tui.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> "Islamic Learning Foundation," *ICNA Press Release*, December 13, 2005, <u>https://www.icna.org/islamic-learning-foundation/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> Slide 88, "ISLAMIC LEARNING FOUNDATION," in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20190513165702/https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

primary duty of the Muslims concerned, as are the daily prayers or fasting. One who shirks it is a sinner. He is plainly a hypocrite who fails in the test of sincerity and all his *'Ibadat* and prayers are a sham a worthless hollow show of devotion."<sup>189</sup> [emphasis added]

• Yusuf al-Qaradawi's *Priorities of the Islamic Movement in the Coming Phase*, is contained in its entirety on the website.190 Qaradawi is an Egyptian Islamist preacher who is closely tied to the Muslim Brotherhood.191 He has issued violent religious rulings and come out in support of terrorism and repression of women.<sup>192</sup>

His book includes a call for supporting violent jihad movements around the world:

"This is why the faqihs [expert in Islamic jurisprudence] of Islam have agreed that it is a **duty to defend every land invaded by infidels**, **stating that such jihad is imperative for Muslims in this land as an individual obligation and that all Muslims must support them with money**, **arms and men as required until all their land has been liberated from any aggressor who usurps it.**"<sup>193</sup> [emphasis added]

Qaradawi goes on to encourage those participating in jihad movements in Eritrea, Sudan, the Philippines, Kashmir, and declares, "The Islamic Movement should consider itself at the beck and call of every Islamic cause, responding to every cry for help wherever that cry may come from."<sup>194</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> "Chapter Five: Prayer and Worship" in ABUL A'LA Mawdudi, *Towards Understanding Islam*, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20060517115213/http://www.ymsite.com/books/tui/chp5.html#Defence%200f%20</u> <u>Islam</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Priorities of The Islamic Movement in The Coming Phase*, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20081201090213/http://www.ymsite.com/books/pimcp/index.htm</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Hossam Tamam, "A Reading into Al-Qaradawi-Muslim Brotherhood Relation," *Ikhwanweb*, July 18, 2008, <u>http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17396</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> "Profile: Yusuf al-Qaradawi," <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/167/yusuf-al-qaradawi</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> "Chapter Four: The Islamic Movement At Political And World levels" in Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Priorities of The Islamic Movement in The Coming Phase*, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/ext/17061</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Ibid.

• **Shamim Siddiqi's** *The Commitment* calls for Muslims to reject Western law in favor of Islamic law, or Sharia:

"Allah (SWT) had ordained a complete guidance, Al-Islam, to follow. It governs each and every aspect of human life. It must be followed in its entirety. Allah's authority must be accepted in every walk of life. Only Allah's given code of conduct (Shariah) should be practiced. Then only the demands of Iman [faith] in Allah are fulfilled."<sup>195</sup>

And:

"Islam denies all authorities other than Allah. It denies the concept that while in the church/mosque/synagogue, one worships Allah and when outside, he obeys Caesar and man-made laws. There is no diarchy in Islam. Such duality of a character is clearly hypocrisy and it is totally forbidden in Islam."<sup>196</sup>

Siddiqi, whom ICNA described as its "senior activist-scholar,"<sup>197</sup> also writes that it is an obligation for American Muslims to establish an Islamic state in their adopted country. This requirement reiterates the stated goal in ICNA's charter, which Siddiqi articulates in the following way:

"This concept becomes a challenge to the society where a Muslim proclaims that he is obedient to Allah alone, that he will accept only Allah's laws, that he denies the authority of any other than Allah. The Batil [falsehood], the dominant forces of the time, have never accepted such a declaration in the past, nor will they accept it today or tomorrow. It brings confrontation with the evil forces of the time. They counteract this challenge and let loose all kinds of atrocities against Muslims. A Mumin [believer] has to sustain through this process of trial and tribulation. It may continue throughout his life. **In this process either he succeeds in establishing Allah's Deen [religion] in the society where he lives or lays down his life for the cause.** In either way he is successful in the sight of Allah. This trial is inevitable. It comes to test

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, *Islam, The Commitment: The Process Towards Its Fulfillment* (The Forum for Islamic Work, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., June 1996), pp. 17-18, <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/bookspdf/Commitment.pdf#page=23</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Ibid., p. 18, <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/bookspdf/Commitment.pdf#page=24</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> "Senior ICNA Activist-Scholar Shamim Siddiqi Passes Away," *ICNA Press Release*, November 21, 2018, http://www.icna.org/senior-icna-activist-scholar-shamim-siddiqi-passes-away/

the claim of a Mumin as to whether his Iman is truthful, or his commitment to Allah is false."<sup>198</sup> [emphasis added]

Siddiqi also notes that the purpose of Islam's renewal is the destruction of Western civilization:

"If we become true Mumin [male believer] and Mumina [female believer], organize ourselves as Jama'ah [an organization] and **struggle for the establishment of His Deen [religion] on earth**, the Batil [falsehood] forces will, Insha Allah [God willing], evaporate like morning due [sic]. The **entire secular world is like the house of [a] spider and the weakest house as Allah (SWT) ordains is that of [a] spider. It cannot stay before the will of Allah, if we become His true soldiers, the Mujahideen Fi Sabil Allah [warriors in the path of Allah].**"<sup>199</sup> [emphasis added]

Finally, Siddiqi notes that a Muslim has an obligation to establish Islam in his respective society. Such a goal can be fulfilled by joining ICNA, an organization intent on the establishment of Islam over American society:

"It would be a crime to remain indolent for Islam and be the integral part of the BATIL [falsehood] society. A Muslim in the USA or elsewhere has only three options:

i- He or she must stand up and exert his or her best to establish the Deen [religion] of Allah on self, in his or her family and in the society where he or she has settled down for good;

ii- He or she must Join the Jama'ah [organized group] which is struggling to establish Allah's Deen [religion] in this country where he or she resides:

or:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, *Islam, The Commitment: The Process Towards Its Fulfillment* (The Forum for Islamic Work, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., June 1996), p. 20, <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/bookspdf/Commitment.pdf#page=26</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> Ibid., p. 5, <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/bookspdf/Commitment.pdf#page=11</u>

iii- He or she joins the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) which has the sole objective to struggle for Iqamatuddin [the total establishment of Islam] in America."<sup>200</sup> [emphasis added]

### Members of the General Assembly (MGAs]

The next level of ICNA membership that is designated "Members of the General Assembly [MGAs]" requires a more intensive educational platform, as well as a new pledge. MGAs are held to a higher ideological standard than regular members, with the privilege of sitting in on meetings of the Majlis-e-Shura, or governing board, and expanding the inner circle of those who identify with ICNA's ideology. At this level, prospective MGAs must vow that:

- "I have thoroughly studied the aqeedah [belief], goal, methodology and program of ICNA. After its proper understanding, I affirm that the establishment of Allah's Deen in this world is the goal of my life. I am joining ICNA for the achievement of this very purpose. I have no other objective in mind except the attainment of Allah's pleasure and the success in the Hereafter."
- 2. "I have studied the Charter and By-laws of ICNA and do hereby pledge that I shall fully abide by its discipline, insha-Allah."<sup>201</sup>

Additionally, prospective MGAs must "Read at least two books from each topic" on the "Reading List for MGAs," which includes radical texts by Maududi (*Islamic Movement, Dynamics of Values, Power and Change*), Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi (*Priorities of the Islamic Movement in the Coming Phase*), and Syed Qutb (*In the Shade of the Quran*).<sup>202</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, *Islam, The Commitment: The Process Towards Its Fulfillment* (The Forum for Islamic Work, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., June 1996), pp. 47-48, <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/bookspdf/Commitment.pdf#page=54</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> "Islamic Circle of North America: Oath of Member General Assembly," in "Member's Handbook," Published by ICNA's Sister's Wing, Tarbiyah Department, March 2010, p. 81, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf#page=81</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> "Reading List for MGAs," in "Member's Handbook," Published by ICNA's Sister's Wing, Tarbiyah Department, March 2010, pp. 40-42, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf#page=40</u>

A 2002 introduction package for Young Muslims North America, ICNA's youth division, includes a document titled, "The Goal & Method Young Muslims," by the organization's then-secretary general

Azeem Khan.<sup>203</sup>

"The goal of Young Muslims shall be to seek the pleasure of Allah (SWT) THE GOAL & METHOD OF YOUNG MUSLIMS By Azeem Khan The Goal • The goal of Young Muslims shall be to seek the pleasure of Allah (SWT) by educating, training and developing the Muslim youth to be Islamic workers for Iqamat-ad-Deen in North America.

by educating, training and developing the Muslim youth to be Islamic workers for Iqamat-ad-Deen in North America," Khan writes. He then defines "Iqamat-ad-Deen" as "The Establishment of Islam in its totality."<sup>204</sup>

Books recommended in the Young Muslims Tarbiyah guide include works by leading Islamists:<sup>205</sup>

- Towards Understanding Islam by Sayyid Mawdudi
- Let Us be Muslims by Sayyid Mawdudi
- In the Shade of the Quran by Syed Qutb
- The Lawful & Prohibited in Islam by Yusuf al-Qaradawi

# *In The Early Hours, Reflection on Spiritual and Self Development* by Khurram Murad

The Tarbiyah guide recommends members be made conversant with current world events including:

- "1. The Palestinian oppression and the situation of Muslims worldwide.
- 2. Major Islamic Events of the past and present such as:
  - > The Jihad in Afghanistan

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Azeem Khan, "The Goal & Method of Young Muslims" in "Introduction to YM," Young Muslims North America, 2002, p. 3, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/Young%20Muslims%20Intro-1.pdf#page=3</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> "Young Muslims Tarbiyah Guide," in Young Muslims North America Introduction Package, pp. 17-22, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/Young%20Muslims%20Intro-1.pdf#page=17</u>

- Islamic Revolution in Iran
- > Islamic Movement in Pakistan & India
- Muslim Brotherhood of the Arab World."206

The group's agenda items for 2002 include a "Remembering the Revivalists Campaign" that publishes posters, booklets, and other propaganda material to showcase the works of leading Islamic revivalists such as Hasan al-Banna, Syed Qutb, and Syed Maududi.<sup>207</sup>

An article titled, "Shumuliyyah (Comprehensiveness)," on the ICNA Sisters wing's website defines the Islamic Movement as "[a] salafi invitation, because it stands for taking back Islam to its pure fountainhead – the Book and the Traditions."<sup>208</sup> It also says that the Islamic Movement "deals with the issue of jihaad by either sending mujahideen or supporting the mujahideen (according to hadeeth, these two actions are equivalent) in various areas of the world. In fact, the Islamic Movement has been the main force behind the jihaad against the kuffar [infidel] in Kashmir, Afghanistan, Palestine, Bosnia, etc."<sup>209</sup>

### **Deception in the Name of Dawah**

One of the primary roles envisioned for ICNA by its founders was Dawah [Islamic proselytization]. In a 2016 interview with *The Message International*, ICNA founding President Talat Sultan explained that the idea for the organization came from "the need for a grassroots dawah movement to invite non-Muslims to Islam and to educate

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> "Young Muslims Tarbiyah Guide," in Young Muslims North America Introduction Package, p. 21 (n.d.), <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/Young%20Muslims%20Intro-1.pdf#page=21</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> "Young Muslims National Shura Meeting Decisions August 30, 2002-September 2, 2002, Brooklyn, NY, in Young Muslims North America Introduction Package, p. 37, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/Young%20Muslims%20Intro-1.pdf#page=37

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> "Shumuliyyah (Comprehensiveness),"

https://web.archive.org/web/20010721120953/icna.org/sisters/chicago/Articles/Islamic\_movement/shumuliyya h.htm

Muslims about Islam as a way of life and daily dedication to Allah SWT.<sup>210</sup> "Those involved in this dawah work would need to be committed to developing their Islamic character, striving only for the sake of Allah SWT, and to utilizing all legal and peaceful means to accomplish this work," he added.<sup>211</sup>

But ICNA promotes proselytizing to non-Muslims in a deceptive way. For example, a 2010 Member's Hand Book referenced earlier states that "Why Islam is a subdivision of the Dawah [proselytizing] Department" that "works to promote Islam among non-Muslims."<sup>212</sup> But it instructs ICNA members to give non-Muslims a different mission of Why Islam: "Why Islam organization was created after the unimaginable event of 9/11. The purpose of its creation is to educate the American public with accurate information of Islam and to clarify any misconceptions our community may have about Islam and Muslims. Ultimately, we hope to build a bridge of understanding between Muslims and Non-Muslims."<sup>213</sup>

ICNA also envisages using Dawah to establish the "Deen of Allah in the body politics of the country [USA]."<sup>214</sup>

Shamim Siddiqi, chairman of ICNA's Dawah and Publications Department and later its national treasurer, for instance, defines the goal of ICNA's "Dawah Ilallah [Invitation to Allah] in American Perspective":

"It is to call the people of the land [United States] to the fold of their Creator and Sustainer, on the pattern Rasulullah (S) did, through a determined, an organized and a continuous effort as priority Number One of our life towards accepting Islam as a way of life to the extent that they are inclined to **establish the Deen of Allah in** 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> "Interview: From MSA to ICNA and ISNA," The Message International, February 16, 2016, <u>http://messageinternational.org/from-msa-to-icna-and-isna/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> "ICNA: An Islamic Jama'ah and Movement," chapter in "Member's Handbook," Published by ICNA's Sister's Wing, Tarbiyah Department, March 2010, p. 15, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf#page=15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Ibid., p. 77, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf#page=77</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, "METHODOLOGY OF DAWAH & ITS PROBLEMS," Dawa Workshops, ICNA Convention, Baltimore, MD, June 30, 2000, <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/</u>

**the body politics of the country** with the sole objective to get the pleasure of Allah here and Hereafter."<sup>215</sup> [emphasis added]

Siddiqi explains that "Dawah is the first step and the culminating point will come when the Deen of Allah is dominant everywhere." He describes the target audience for Dawah as "[t]he people of America - The Judeo-Christian-Hindu-Buddhist community + secular or atheists; Caucasian-American; African-American; Latino-American; Native-America; Immigrant Muslims–Arabs +Indo-Pak Subcontinent; and Chinese, Koreans and Japanese origin."<sup>216</sup>

He suggests the following avenues to propagate dawah: "Personal; Group meetings; Through Masajid; Intelligentsia; Mass contact Programs."<sup>217</sup>

This material published on Shamim Siddiqi's website, <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/</u>, was part of the curriculum for "Dawa Workshops" organized during the 2000 ICNA convention in Baltimore, Md.<sup>218</sup>

Siddiqi said his book, *Methodology of Dawa Il Allah in American Perspective*, is "an effort towards the achievement of our cherished goals, i.e. how to make Allah's Deen dominant on this earth."<sup>219</sup> In it, Siddiqi describes Islam as "the heritage of the entire Judeo-Christian-Muslim world" as well as a "superb ideology to counteract the menace of their [The West's] social evils, economic upheavals, racial/color discrimination, political corruption and socialist/communist hegemonies on a global level."<sup>220</sup>

ICNA "projects" to advance Islamist ideology under the guise of "Dawah" include Why Islam, which was launched in 1999 ostensibly "to provide accurate information about Islam, the fastest growing religion in the world which is practiced by over 1.6

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Ibid.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, *Methodology of Dawah Il Allah in American Perspective* (The Forum for Islamic work: December 1989), *Preface*, p. i., <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/bookspdf/MethodologyofDawah.pdf#page=11</u>
 <sup>220</sup> - . . .

billion people across the globe. In doing so, it hopes to dispel popular stereotypes and persistent misconceptions about Islam and Muslims."<sup>221</sup>

The group's webpage, however, explains the social order it seeks, quoting JI founder Maududi. "Islam says that if there is any real difference between man and man it cannot be one of race, color, country or language, but of ideas, beliefs and principles," Maududi declares. "On the basis of this fundamental tenet, Islam seeks to build a principled and ideological society very different from the racial, nationalistic and parochial societies existing in the world today."<sup>222</sup>

The website also defends polygamy as a preferable option to Western society's infidelity. "Let us consider a few honest questions: What is the situation in countries that have banned polygamy? Do they really enjoy sincere and faithful 'monogamy' as the norm," asks the group's "FAQ" on Islam.<sup>223</sup> "Are infidelity and secret extramarital sexual relationships more moral than the legitimate, legally protected husband-wife relationships, even under polygamy if there is a pressing need for it? Which of the two situations is better," it questions in the section, "Polygyny (sic) is a Solution."<sup>224</sup>

ICNA's other "project," GainPeace, seeks "to educate the general public about Islam and to clarify many misconceptions they may hold."<sup>225</sup> Its 2019 banquet titled, "Dawah: Following the Footsteps of the Prophets," featured speakers Sheikh Kemal El Mekki, an Al Maghrib instructor and Sheikh Kifah Mustapha, director and imam of Chicago's Orland Park Masjid.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>225</sup> "About Us," GainPeace, <u>https://gainpeace.com/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=88&Itemid=53</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> "Our Story," <u>https://www.whyislam.org/about/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> "Islamic Social Order," From a talk by Maulana Abul Ala Maududi, www.whyislam.org, <u>https://www.whyislam.org/social-issues/islamic-social-order/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Note: this article remained active on ICNA's "Why Islam" website as of this report's publication in May 2019. "Why does Islam permit polygamy?," www.whyislam.org, <u>https://www.whyislam.org/faqs/islam-and-gender-issues/why-does-islam-permit-polygamy-2/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> "Why does Islam permit polygamy?," www.whyislam.org, <u>https://www.whyislam.org/faqs/islam-and-gender-issues/why-does-islam-permit-polygamy-2/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> "Dawah: Following the Footsteps of the Prophets," GainPeace Annual Banquet, Addison, IL, February 16, 2019, <u>https://gainpeace.com/services/2019-annual-banquet/</u>

# IPT Investigative Report: Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA)

Mekki, a Salafist cleric,<sup>227</sup> supports the killing of apostates – meaning Muslims who leave Islam. In an undated video Mekki says:

"The question is 'Why is the apostate killed in Islam?'... if someone leaves their allegiance to their country they should be killed, so if they leave their allegiance to Allah nothing happens?

•••

Tomorrow a group becomes Muslim, then the same day they leave Islam, towards the end of the day they leave Islam ... so they tried to do that to deter people from becoming Muslim. It was a technique. Then ... 'baddala deenahu, faqtuhulu,' the one who changes his religion, kill him. How many people do you think pretended to be Muslim the next day? Zero. Nobody wanted [to] because there's killing involved."<sup>228</sup>

Kifah Mustapha raised money for the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) and worked for the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP).<sup>229</sup> HLF and IAP were part of a Hamassupport network that sought to advance the terrorist group's agenda politically and financially in the U.S.<sup>230</sup>

### **Pro-Terrorism and Islamist Messaging**

ICNA's bimonthly publication, *The Message International*,<sup>231</sup> has published numerous articles and editorials, including by ICNA members, that exhort jihad in Kashmir and Palestine, defend terrorists and other radicals, attack U.S. and Western foreign policy, advocate on behalf of Islamists and Islamist movements, and engage in

<sup>229</sup> "An IPT Investigative Report: Who Is Kifah Mustapha?" <u>http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/440.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> "The Islamic Far Right in Britain: Kamal El Mekki," <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20150428190914/https://tifrib.com/kamal-el-mekki/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> "Kamal El-Mekki - Apostasy," <u>https://videopress.com/v/2m9MAfRJ%20EMBED%20(HTML)</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> USA v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al., 04-CR-240, "Islamic Action for Palestine-An internal memo-October 1992," GX 003-0015, p. 11, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/23.pdf#page=11</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> "The Message," <u>http://messageinternational.org/</u>

inflammatory rhetoric against Jews and Zionism. Although there has been a toning down in the magazine's rhetoric in recent years, it continues to peddle anti-American propaganda and feed into the Muslim victimhood narrative.<sup>232</sup>

The January 2000 issue, for example, features glowing profiles of leading Islamist ideologues of the 20<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>233</sup> such as Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi, Muslim Brotherhood luminaries Hassan al-Banna<sup>234</sup> and Sayyid Qutb,<sup>235</sup> Iranian Ayatollah Ruhollah Musavi Khomeini,<sup>236</sup> and Muhammad Illyas.<sup>237</sup> Also featured are detailed backgrounds on global Islamist movements that are ideologically similar to the JI,<sup>238</sup> such as the Muslim Brotherhood<sup>239</sup> and Tablighi Jamaat.<sup>240</sup>

### Jihad an Islamic Duty

• An October 1997 article justifies jihad ("armed struggle") as an Islamic duty:

**"One of the duties of a Muslim is given by Allah is to make jihad** (struggle). It can mean armed combat, but this may not be possible for everyone. Other acts are considered jihad. For example, a hadith states that one who

- <sup>233</sup> "Great Leaders of Last 100 Years," *The Message International*, January 2000, pp. 17-28, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20021222213558/http://www.messageonline.org/greatleaders/cover.htm</u>
- <sup>234</sup> "Hassan Al-Banna and His Political Thought of Islamic Brotherhood," *IkhwanWeb*, May 13, 2008, <u>http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17065</u>

<sup>235</sup> "Sayyid Qutb: The Life and Legacy of a Radical Islamic Intellectual," *Middle East Policy Council*, <u>http://www.mepc.org/sayyid-qutb-life-and-legacy-radical-islamic-intellectual</u>

<sup>236</sup> Richard Pearson, "Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini The Mullah Who Transformed Iran," *The Washington Post*, June 5, 1989, <u>https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1989/06/05/ayatollah-ruhollah-khomeini-the-mullah-who-transformed-iran/6aaea9ff-84bd-406c-a0d9-8d8b4851e3bf/?noredirect=on&utm\_term=.1369d13eab7f</u>

<sup>237</sup> Nicholas Howenstein, "Islamist Networks: The Case for Tablighi Jamaat," *United States Institute of Peace*, October 12, 2006, <u>https://www.usip.org/publications/2006/10/islamist-networks-case-tablighi-jamaat</u>

<sup>238</sup> "Great Leaders of Last 100 Years," *The Message International*, January 2000, pp. 29-31 & 37-38, https://web.archive.org/web/20021222213558/http://www.messageonline.org/greatleaders/cover.htm

<sup>239</sup> "IPT Profile: Muslim Brotherhood," <u>http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/135.pdf</u>

<sup>240</sup> Alex Alexiev, "Tablighi Jamaat: jihad's Stealthy Legions," *Middle East Quarterly* (Winter 2005), pp. 2-11, <u>https://www.meforum.org/686/tablighi-jamaat-jihads-stealthy-legions</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Leslie Schaffer, "Islamophobia and Exceptionalism," June 5, 2012, *The Message International*, <u>http://messageinternational.org/shariah-in-the-presidential-race/</u>

supports a fighter with weapons or other means gets the same reward as the one fighting."<sup>241</sup> [emphasis added]

• In a March 1991 article titled, "Jihad in Islam," ICNA's founding president Mohammed Yunus states that the Quran sanctions "Qital" or "armed struggle" against "disbelievers":

"Another category of Jihad is the armed struggle or Qital. **The word Qital means to fight those disbelievers who create hurdles and impediments in the way of Islam. This armed struggle is to continue until they stop. The Qur'an tells Muslims that this form of Jihad is best and beneficial for them.**"<sup>242</sup> Yunus then adds a verse from the Quran to bolster this belief: "O Believers! Fighting in the way of Allah is made obligatory upon you even though you may not like it, and it is very possible *that you may not like something but in reality it is best for you.* 2:216"<sup>243</sup> [emphasis added, italics in original]

He cites another verse: "If Allah did not remove some people through the efforts of others then these churches, synagogues, temples and mosques would be demolished and these are the places where Allah's name is remembered and the Lord certainly helps those people who help His Deen.22:40"<sup>244</sup> [italics in original]

And explains:

"This verse clearly indicates that **if force is not used to establish Allah's Deen [religion] then it is possible that the Deen may not even exist on the face of this earth.** The secular elements may even remove the signs of worship and there will be no chance for the Deen of Allah to exist or to flourish. **Armed struggle becomes necessary to remove the hurdles** 

<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Sayyed Lena Winfrey, "Jerusalem is Ours," *The Message International*, October 1997, p. 10, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1047.pdf#page=3</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Dr. M. Yunus, "Jihad in Islam," *The Message International*, March 1991, p. 23, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1048.pdf#page=3</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Ibid.

or impediments in the way of Islam which have been brought forward by the enemies of Islam."<sup>245</sup> [emphasis added]

Yunus further describes the all encompassing nature of Islam:

"Islam, however, is not just a religion in the sense of the world that other religions are. It is a complete way of life .... Therefore, when we understand the true nature of Islam, as a complete way of life, and a revolutionary ideology, its propagation and also the establishment of Islamic society and State for that matter, demands organized struggle on the part of those who call themselves Muslims."<sup>246</sup> [emphasis added]

A 1997 Message International article, "Actions Speak Louder Than Words," salutes Jibril Abu-Adam, an American citizen and convert to Islam, who was killed while fighting alongside terrorists in Kashmir.<sup>247</sup>
 Abu-Adam trained with Lashkar-e-Taiba, a Kashmiri jihadist group that is believed to be behind the 2008 Mumbai terror attacks.<sup>248</sup>

"By age 19, he [Jibril Abu-Adam] decided to dedicate himself to jihad... 'However,' Jibril asserted, 'the duties to my family are on a personal level while the duty to my Ummah (Muslim community) is the top priority.' Pointing in the direction of Kashmir, he said, 'I have to help these people. I am just waiting for the snow on this mountain to melt. Then I will cross over into Kashmir, Insha'Allah.' The snow melted. On 26 October 1997, at the village of Doda in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Dr. M. Yunus, "Jihad in Islam," *The Message International*, March 1991, pp. 23-24, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1048.pdf#page=3</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Ibid., p. 21, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1048.pdf#page=1</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Ama F. Shabazz, "Action Speak Louder Than Words," *The Message International*, December 1997, p. 31, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/348.pdf#page=2</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> "Mumbai Terror Attacks Fast Facts," *CNN*, November 12, 2018, <u>https://www.cnn.com/2013/09/18/world/asia/mumbai-terror-attacks/index.html</u>

Kashmir, there was a skirmish. Thirty-four Indian soldiers were killed, and four Muslims became shaheed (martyrs). Allahu Akbar! Among those who became shaheed was Jibril, Insha' Allah. (It is reported from reliable sources that Jibril was responsible for killing 17 of the 34 Hindu fighters)."<sup>249</sup>

The article also glorified jihad and martyrdom through statements such as, **"It is quite evident that Jibril's struggles were motivated by devotion to Allah (SWT). Clear signs that the conflict in Kashmir is jihad is numerous**,"<sup>250</sup> [emphasis added] and "It is recounted in authentic hadith that on the Day of Judgment, each shaheed [martyr] can intercede with Allah for seventy of his family members."<sup>251</sup>

The Message featured an exclusive interview with Syed Salahuddin in 1997, lauding the Hizbul Mujahideen (HM)<sup>252</sup> commander as the **"undisputed leader of the mujahideen struggling to liberate the territory of Kashmir from brutal Indian occupation."**<sup>253</sup> [emphasis added] The U.S. Department of State designated Salahuddin a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT) in June 2017.<sup>254</sup> Salahuddin has "vowed to block any peaceful resolution to the Kashmir conflict, threatened to train more Kashmiri suicide bombers, and vowed to turn the Kashmir valley 'into a graveyard for Indian forces,'" a State Department press release announcing Salahuddin's designation said.<sup>255</sup>

<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Ama F. Shabazz, "Action Speak Louder Than Words," *The Message International*, December 1997, p. 32, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/348.pdf#page=3</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> "Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HM)," <u>https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/hum.htm</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> "Interview: Kashmiri Commander Speaks," *The Message International*, October 1997, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/963.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> "State Department Terrorist Designations of Mohammad Yusuf Shah AKA Syed Salahuddin," *U.S. Department of State Press Release*, June 26, 2017,

http://web.archive.org/web/20190217194914/https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2017/06/272168.htm

### Playing the Blame Game

• In the February 1993 issue, ICNA activist Shamim Siddiqi<sup>256</sup> blames the U.S.led world order for the sad plight of the Muslim ummah:

"The Western countries, America in particular, are ravaging the Muslim countries in the following ways.... By seeing the Islamic movements curbed, destroyed or annihilated altogether as in Indonesia, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Nigeria and elsewhere in Asia and Africa...By promoting the life span of the self-imposed dictators and supporting the tyrants, the un-Islamic regimes and fascist political parties throughout the Muslim world.... By killing hundreds and thousands of Muslim men, women and children, destroying their places of worship (Masajid), properties worth millions of dollars every year and curbing or disallowing their cultural manifestation in a planned and aggressive manner in countries like India, Russia, China, Eastern Europe, the Philippines and other lands where Muslims are in the minority."<sup>257</sup> [emphasis added]

He adds:

"PAKISTAN is another distressing example of American interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country. Various economic and military aids and pacts are America's leverages of interference. Undemocratic and fascist political parties like PPP are an easy prey for American diplomacy to exploit and pressure different governments to follow the directives from Washington. **A change is being forced upon Pakistan to nullify the Islamization process to bring the country back to secularism or chaos.**"<sup>258</sup> [emphasis added]

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> "Senior ICNA Activist-Scholar Shamim Siddiqi Passes Away," *ICNA Press Release*, November 21, 2018, <u>http://www.icna.org/senior-icna-activist-scholar-shamim-siddiqi-passes-away/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, "The State of the Muslim Ummah," *The Message International*, February 1993, p. 22, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1049.pdf#page=2</u>

#### Loyalty to Islam before America

An editorial in the May 1991 issue suggests advancing the "Islamic education" model in the United States to enable Muslim Americans to identify themselves

 not along the lines of ethnicity or nationality – but as "Muslims dedicated to upholding the commands of Allah":

"This is a lesson that should equally hold good in America. The Muslim leadership should learn this much from the sufferings of the Iraqi people and come together in order to be able to pool the resources of the ummah into developing a truly viable Islamic system of education. **The system that they should create should not churn out Kurds or Palestinians, Sindhis or Baluchis or even Californians or New Yorkers but Muslims dedicated to upholding the commands of Allah. We can only hope for such a system to emerge if the Islamic movement which is supposed to be a unity regains its shape and becomes a cohesive force."<sup>259</sup> [emphasis added)]** 

#### **Rooting for Islamists and Islamist Movements**

• An editorial in the January 2000 *Message International* praises the rise of "Islamic revivalist movements" in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. **"During the century several Islamic revivalist movements came into being and they did a remarkable job in terms of introducing the real spirit of Islam and implementing the teachings of Islam at individual and collective levels. Some of the movements got the opportunity to introduce Islamic governments in their countries.**"<sup>260</sup> [emphasis added]

It laments the "Big Loses [sic]" to the Muslim ummah in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: "Muslims lost their focal point Khilafah ["Caliphate"], as Ottoman Empire ceased in 1924 and demoralized due to such a big loss of the Islamic heritage. Corrupt Muslim politicians and despots ruled the Muslim Ummah with a few exceptions. They refused to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> "Islam Or Nationalism?" (Editorial), *The Message International*, May 1991, p. 6, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1050.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> Zaheer Uddin, "The 20<sup>th</sup> Century: A Balance Sheet of the Ummah," *The Message International*, January 2000, p. 7, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1036.pdf</u>

implement lslam in political system and work according to Islamic ethics."<sup>261</sup> [emphasis added]

• In a 2002 article discussing Islam's approach towards democracy, radical cleric Yusuf Qaradawi<sup>262</sup> writes:

"A closer look at the history of the Muslim Ummah and the Islamic Movement in modern times should show clearly that the Islamic Ideology, the Islamic Movement and the Islamic Awakening have never flourished or borne fruit unless in an atmosphere of democracy and freedom, and have withered and become barren only at the times of oppression and tyranny that trod over the will of the people which clung to Islam. Such oppressive regimes imposed their Secularism, Socialism or Communism on their people by force and coercion, using covert torture and public executions, and employing those devilish tools that tore flesh, shed blood, crushed bones and destroyed souls."<sup>263</sup>

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"On the other hand, we saw the Islamic Movement and the Islamic Awakening bear fruit and flourish at the times of freedom and democracy, and in the wake of the collapse of imperial regimes that ruled people with fear and oppression. **Therefore, I would not imagine that the Islamic Movement could support anything other than political freedom and democracy. The tyrants allowed every voice to be raised, except the voice of Islam; and let every trend express itself in the form of a political party or a body of some sort, except the Islamic current which is the only trend that actually speaks for this Ummah and expresses its creed, values ,essence and its very existence.**"<sup>264</sup> [emphasis added]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> Zaheer Uddin, "The 20<sup>th</sup> Century: A Balance Sheet of the Ummah," *The Message International*, January 2000, p. 7, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1036.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> "Profile: Yusuf al-Qaradawi," <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/167/yusuf-al-qaradawi</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Shaikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, "Islam's Approach Towards Democracy," *The Message International*, April/May 2002, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20021003094724/http://www.messageonline.org/2002aprilmay/cover1.htm</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Ibid.

• A 1996 article praises Islamist ideologues al-Banna, Syed Qutb, and Maududi for their critical contributions to 20<sup>th</sup> century Islamist movements:

"In the 20th century, Allah has elevated to the global stage Muslim leaders such as Shaheed Hassan al-Banna, Shaheed Sayd Qutb, Maulana Abu Ala Maududi who have tremendously impacted the course of the Islamic movement in this century and beyond. While one may disagree with the ideology or Islamic movement methodology of these leaders, it is nevertheless an indisputable fact that few individuals have left such an indelible mark on the global Islamic movement as these individuals; Allah knows best of course."<sup>265</sup> [emphasis added]

### Hating Israel and the West

• A June 2012 article, "Shariah in the Presidential Race: Civilizing Missions," attacks the notion of "American exceptionalism" and the "uniqueness about America" alleging that history "often contravenes these ideals and objectives with the historical record showing case after case of bigotry, exploitation, and amoral conduct." <sup>266</sup>

And:

"A supremacist view—our virtue, our civilizing mission, our divine destiny—justified the genocidal assault on the indigenous people of this land. The belief was that God Himself approved the campaign of expansionism and deculturation [sic], if not extermination, of native Americans Self-appointed to 'Christianize and civilize the Indians,' as 18th president Ulysses S. Grant said in 1870, those who advocated this manifest destiny were following the script of earlier empire-makers: Britain carried the "white man's burden" and France believed their imperialistic forays to be la mission civilisatrice [civilizing mission]. Even Hitler believed that he was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Al Hajj Malik El Shabazz: Our Leadership Model," *Message International*, September/October 1996, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20020902213610/http://www.messageonline.org/malcolmx/cover3.htm</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> Leslie Schaffer, "Shariah in the Presidential Race: Civilizing Missions," *The Message International*, June 5, 2012, <u>http://messageinternational.org/shariah-in-the-presidential-race/</u>

divinely destined, saying in Mein Kampf, 'Hence today I believe that I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator...'"<sup>267</sup>

• In a 1993 article titled, "The State of the Muslim Ummah," ICNA member Shamim Siddiqi states that the "**[Palestinian] Intifada is nothing but the manifestation of a besieged people by a belligerent Israel who, after capturing the homeland of the Palestinian people through force, deceit, intimidation and coercive means and establishing the socalled state of Israel through an international Anglo-American-Russian-Zionist conspiracy, is not even prepared to give freedom to the enslaved people of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.**"<sup>268</sup>

He adds:

"America is maintaining and providing protection to Israel as its police state in the heart of the Muslim world. Israel will stay as the illegitimate child of America and Britain until the Muslim Ummah emerges as a power ready to challenge the hegemony of the West."<sup>269</sup>

Siddiqi also accuses the Indian government of engaging in human rights abuses in Kashmir and collaborating with Israel's Mossad intelligence agency to launch a "campaign of terror" in the region. **"India is ruthlessly crushing the movement and has turned the entire valley of Kashmir into a war-zone.** Innocent men, women and children are being killed, property worth millions of dollars is being destroyed and women raped in mass. Human rights do not exist," Siddiqi writes.<sup>270</sup> [emphasis added] "Those who control the Security Council are keeping mum over these atrocities because they do not want to displease secular India. And do justice to the region which is predominantly Muslim. **India has recently launched a** 

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Leslie Schaffer, "Shariah in the Presidential Race: Civilizing Missions," *The Message International*, June 5, 2012, <u>http://messageinternational.org/shariah-in-the-presidential-race/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, "The State of the Muslim Ummah," *The Message International*, February 1993, p. 22, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1038.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> Ibid.

campaign of terror, code named 'Oppression Tiger,' in collaboration with Israel's Mossad," he adds.<sup>271</sup> [emphasis added]

• A January 1997 article talks about the negative influence of **Western** cultural values on Muslims:

"It has often been said that Western cultural values embody the twin evils of too much personal freedom and complete and total immorality. Well, I for one find it terribly interesting that the closer Muslims come to being Westernized the more we see frosted nailpolish, homosexuals, divorce, drug-abuse, alcoholism, gambling, juvenile delinquency, etc. ... in our own community."<sup>272</sup> [emphasis added]

### Feeding the Muslim Victim Narrative

An October 2016 article accuses the Republican Party of "driving a wedge between Muslims living in the U.S. and the general population" through an "Islamophobia network."<sup>273</sup> Through the use of "religion, media, and legislation" the network "create[s] the perception that Islam is at war with America."<sup>274</sup> The article also makes the claim that "global and domestic terrorist attacks correlate to the rise in Islamophobia, measured by both the number of hate crimes against Muslims and media bias such as perpetuating, or at least not contesting, the canard that Muslims, and especially their leaders, don't condemn terrorism."<sup>275</sup>

Another article in the same issue by former ICNA President Zahid Bukhari alleges that "[a]cts of discrimination, bigotry, and racism against non-White or non-Christian minority groups are not uncommon phenomena in America."

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, "The State of the Muslim Ummah," *The Message International*, February 1993, p. 22, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1038.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> Yahiya Emerick, "Life From the Front: On Pakistani Fashion Models and Muslim Homosexuals," *The Message International*, January 1997, p. 43, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1052.pdf#page=2</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> Nadifa Abdi, "Is Islamophobia a Part of the Republican Agenda?" *The Message International*, October 1, 2016, <u>http://messageinternational.org/is-islamophobia-a-part-of-the-republican-agenda/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> Ibid.

The "dominant" American White Anglo Saxon Protestant majority in the U.S. "always felt anxiety and reacted unfavorably towards the growth of other minority groups or the influx of new immigrants they didn't identify with."<sup>276</sup> It further claims that in the 2016 presidential election "even though Muslims constitute less than 2 percent of the total American population, Muslims and their faith have been front and center. [Donald] Trump and his campaign have been creating fear and hatred toward Muslims, but also toward Mexicans and women. Three disturbing notions or developments affecting Muslims have arisen, all fomented by Trump and his surrogates: 1) All Muslims are suspect of holding extremist views or sympathies; 2) Muslim Immigration should be banned until the development of a proper vetting process; and 3) Islamophobic rhetoric has gone mainstream."<sup>277</sup>

### **Conventions Spewing Extremist Rhetoric**

ICNA annually partners with the Muslim American Society (MAS)<sup>278</sup> to host national conventions<sup>279</sup> that feature radical speakers who advocate jihad,<sup>280</sup> speak in defense of terrorists and other radicals, and call for Israel's elimination.<sup>281</sup>

MAS was created in 1993 as the Brotherhood's arm in the U.S.<sup>282</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Zahid Bukhari, "The 2016 Election: Voting for Diversity, Pluralism, and Justice," *The Message International*, October 1, 2016, <u>http://messageinternational.org/the-2016-election-voting-for-diversity-pluralism-and-justice/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> IPT Profile: Muslim American Society (MAS), <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/169/muslim-american-society-mas</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> "About Us: The MAS-ICNA Islamic Convention," <u>https://www.masconvention.org/about-us.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> "CAIR Protests Saudi Radical's Exclusion from U.S.," *IPT News*, December 27, 2012, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/3864/cair-protests-saudi-radical-exclusion-from-us</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> "Conferences Make AMP's Destructive Ambition Clear," *IPT News*, December 30, 2010, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/2462/conferences-make-amp-destructive-ambition-clear</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe and Laurie Cohen, "A rare look at secretive Brotherhood in America," *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 2004, <u>https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/watchdog/chi-0409190261sep19-story.html</u>

According to a 2018 online presentation detailing ICNA's history by former ICNA President Mohammad Yunus to commemorate the organization's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, **"[s]ome of the main speakers [at ICNA conventions] used to be among the leadership of the Islamic movements in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh."**<sup>283</sup> [emphasis added]

- At ICNA's 25<sup>th</sup> annual convention in Baltimore in July 2000,<sup>284</sup>Tayyab Yunus, then-leader of ICNA's youth wing, Young Muslims, urged sending youth to Chechnya to wage jihad: "The youth is very important. … We all want to see our youth to succeed to become doctors, to become engineers, but how many of you can actually say that you want to send your sons to jihad, to Chechnya? … How many of you can actually say that you want to send your youth to fight in jihad or to send them to … to these Islamic Institutions to become educated?"<sup>285</sup> [emphasis added]
- At the December 2002 ICNA-MAS conference, Shaker Elsayed, then-secretary general of MAS, justified jihad as mandatory for all Muslims: "...about the subject unfairly named suicide bomber, homicide bomber, murderers, or killers. Our answer to this issue is simple ... The Islamic scholars said whenever there is an attack on an Islamic state or occupation, or the honor of the Muslims has been violated, the Jihad is a must for everyone, a child, a lady and a man. They have to make Jihad with every tool that they can get in their hand. Anything that they can get in their hand and if they don't have anything in their hand then they can fight with their hand without weapons."<sup>286</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> Slide 73, "3 Phases of growth in annual conventions I<sup>st</sup> Phase – In Masajid and Camping areas" in Mohammad Yunus presentation titled, "Story of ICNA: WHY AND HOW ICNA WAS ESTABLISHED? PRESENTED DURING 43<sup>RD</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ICNA AT ITS 50<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY IN BALTIMORE, MD," Published on October 2, 2018, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/DrYunus/story-of-icna</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> "The Moral Dimensions of Islam," 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention of the Islamic Circle of North America, Baltimore Convention Center, Baltimore, Maryland, June 30-July 2, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention of the Islamic Circle of North America, Baltimore Convention Center, Baltimore, Maryland, July 2, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> ICNA-MAS Convention December 26, 2002.

This conference was held during the Second Intifada (Sept. 2000-Sept. 2005) when Israeli-Palestinian violence intensified and Palestinian suicide bombers increasingly made use of powerful bombs to kill a larger number of Israelis in their terror attacks.<sup>287</sup>

At same conference, **Laura Drake**, then-editor of *Middle East Affairs Journal*, spoke in a session entitled, "Palestine: Struggle for Freedom Continues." *Middle East Affairs Journal* was the quarterly publication of the now-defunct United Association for Studies and Research (UASR) that was part of the "Palestine Committee"<sup>288</sup> created by the Muslim Brotherhood to help Hamas politically and financially in the United States.<sup>289</sup> Drake commended the use of suicide bombing as a weapon against Israeli citizens, objected to suicide bombers being labeled as terrorists, and expressed vitriolic hatred toward Israel:

"So now the occupiers are whining to the U.S. that they're being hit back, that they're getting burned once in a while, that the settlers are being set aflame. Let them burn, I say, let them burn."<sup>290</sup>

••••

"So if the Palestinians resist they call this terrorism, even when they kill uniformed soldiers they call this terrorism, so let's not be fooled."<sup>291</sup>

•••

### "Nothing hurts me more than when I turn on a national news program and see someone who calls himself an Arab or a Muslim condemning this or that martyrdom operation by Palestinians. No it

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> "The Situation on the eve of the Second Intifada," *Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, <u>https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/AboutIsrael/Maps/Pages/Situation-on-the-eve-of-the-Second-Intifada.aspx</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> USA v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al., "Elbarasse Search – 13," 3:04-CR-250-G, p. 7, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case\_docs/1536.pdf#page=7</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> USA v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al., "Government Exhibit 003-0015," 3:04-CR-250-G, p. 11, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/23.pdf#page=11</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> ICNA- MAS Annual Convention, December 2002.

# IPT Investigative Report: Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA)

doesn't just hurt me, it infuriates me ... **we must not condemn these displays of bravery by these heroes**. No, we must be proud of the brave ones for being so innovative....<sup>292</sup>

- At a session at ICNA's 2005 national conference titled, "The Making of the Proper Muslim from the Perspectives of Al Banna and Al Mawdudi," speaker Shaykh Abdool Rahman Khan, a member of ICNA's Shura Council,<sup>293</sup> promoted the narrative of America trying to destroy Islam.<sup>294</sup> Khan stated: "The Western powers had influenced the feeble-minded Muslims all over the world and used their literary rhetoric to demean and to demolish anything and all legitimacy of Islam, something that is still continuing up until this day."<sup>295</sup>
- The December 2011 ICNA-MAS convention featured Egyptian Islamist Ragheb
   Elsergany. Elsergany envisioned a day soon when "all of Palestine" would be liberated. He said the rise of Islamist governments in the Middle East and North Africa was clearing the way for "the Zionist entity" to "vanish absolutely."<sup>296</sup> [emphasis added]



Ragheb Elsergany at the 2011 MAS-ICNA conference

Elgersany also preached "liberation" of all the battlefronts of jihad throughout the world. "We have lived under and now after the dawning of the light [the Egyptian Revolution], **soon there will be a greater dawning with the liberation of Palestine, the liberation of Chechnya, the liberation of Kashmir, the liberation of Turkestan, the liberation of South** 

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> "Shaykh Abdool Rahman Khan at the Illinois Governor's Inauguration," *ICNA Press Release*, January 25, 2011, <u>http://www.icna.org/muslim-prayer-services-at-il-governors-inauguration/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> "The Making of the Proper Muslim from the Perspectives of Al Banna and Al Mawdudi," session at MAS-ICNA Annual Convention, December 23-26, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> Panel titled, "The Egyptian Revolution and its Regional and International Effect," at 10<sup>th</sup> Annual ICNA-MAS Convention, December 22-26, 2011, Chicago, IL.

**Sudan, of all the lands usurped from the Muslims.** If God wills, it is coming," he said.<sup>297</sup> [emphasis added]

At ICNA's 2009 convention, Elsergany explicitly endorsed jihad, and told Muslims it is their duty to help finance it. "It is required to act in ways to please Allah, and one of the greatest of them is jihad in the way of Allah, and one of the greatest of them is supporting the fighters, and the mujahideen [Islamic warriors] and the besieged, and those in need there in Palestine," he said in an Arabic session entitled "The Gaza Struggle." ICNA later said it deeply regretted this and other statements at the conference "that made disparaging comments about the Jewish people and allegedly called for the destruction of the State of Israel."<sup>298</sup> Nevertheless it invited Elsergany to its 2011 conference.

At the December 2014 convention in Chicago, Sheikh Karim Rajah called the "rulers" in the Middle East "tools of the enemies of religion, Islam and the Quran" and predicted the end of Israel and "the age of atheism and misguidance in our country."

"The rulers of Muslims and Arabs have become ... tools of the enemies of religion, Islam and the Quran. This enemy in order to do what he wants established Israel in wounded Palestine and then inflicted Palestine in Syria. They want it occupied by a man who speaks Arabic but is not an Arab. All that is happening in Egypt, Syria and other countries is in order to preserve Israel. It is obligatory. I bring you good tidings: the age of Israel has ended, the age of atheism and misguidance in our country has ended. This extremity in which we live now, it is only the deep darkness of night which comes before the dawn."<sup>299</sup>

At the May 2014 convention, controversial Islamist scholar Tariq Ramadan300 spoke in defense of convicted terrorist Aafia Siddiqui.301 Siddiqui, a Pakistani

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup> "Response to ADL Statement on Chicago Convention '09," *ICNA Press Release*, January 12, 2010, <u>http://www.icna.org/masicna-response-to-the-adls-jan-11-statement-concerning-dec-2009-joint-conference-in-chicago/#more-3119</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> ICNA-MAS Convention, Chicago, IL, December 27, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>300</sup> "Profile: Tariq Ramadan," <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/111/tariq-ramadan</u>

scientist also known as "Lady al-Qaida," is serving an 86-year prison sentence in the U.S. after being convicted of attempting to assault and murder American officers in Afghanistan.302

"[S]he [Aafia Siddiqui] is the mother of three children, she is not an American, she has a doctorate in neuroscience, and she was in Pakistan, and **she was jailed and unjustly convicted of trying to kill two American soldiers.** Trying to kill. Over the last 11 years she has been on solitary confinement, and you know what it means solitary confinement? It is by all standards psychological torture. That's the reality of it. And she is in jail in the United States of America and she is not an American," Ramadan said in the keynote session on "Islam: Faith, Submission, Service."<sup>303</sup> [emphasis added]

At the same conference, **Osama Abuirshaid**,<sup>304</sup> leader of the virulently anti-Israel and pro-Hamas organization American Muslims for Palestine,<sup>305</sup> accused Zionists of perpetrating "massive massacres against the Palestinians."<sup>306</sup>

"Now as I said, when you create an Israel, there was a land, there were people, you have to get rid of them; the land was stolen, the land was taken, the people were expelled. Now what happened here, that how did the Zionists succeed in expelling and getting rid of the population of most of the Palestinian population? What they did is, is that they engaged in massive massacres against the Palestinians. Over 1,500 massacres took place only in the year 1948. Over 15,000 Palestinians in the year of 1948 were killed by, in these massacres. There was a huge volume of rapes against Palestinian women. Their houses were demolished. Their lands were confiscated. They were kicked

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> 39<sup>th</sup> Annual ICNA-MAS Convention, Baltimore, MD, May 24-26, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>302</sup> "'Lady Al Qaida' Receives 86 Year Sentence," *IPT News*, September 23, 2010, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/2107/lady-al-qaida-receives-86-year-sentence</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup> "Islam: Faith, Submission, Service," 39<sup>th</sup> Annual ICNA-MAS Convention, May 25, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> "Investigation Exposes AMP Leaders' Ties to Former U.S-Based Hamas-Support Network," *IPT News*, June 24, 2015, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/4891/investigation-exposes-amp-leaders-ties-to-former</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup> "American Muslims for Palestine's Web of Hamas Support," *IPT News*, December 14, 2011, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/3346/american-muslims-for-palestine-web-of-hamas</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> 39<sup>th</sup> Annual ICNA-MAS Convention, Baltimore, MD, May 24-26, 2014.

out. They were forced to be, to leave Palestine," Abuirshaid said.<sup>307</sup> [emphasis added]

• At the December 2015 convention, **Abuirshaid** blamed Israeli lobbying for instability in the Middle East. "The reason why Syria is suffering and still suffering is because it's adjacent to Israel. The reason why you have a coup in Egypt is because the Israelis were able to lobby for a coup. That doesn't mean that you have an innocent army in Egypt, no. But they needed someone to lobby for them and that was Israel. They lobbied for them here in this country," he alleged, and added, "**Remember that Israel wasn't created just to take Palestine and to swallow Palestine, it was created to divide and to weaken that part of the world."**<sup>308</sup> [emphasis added]

Earlier at the 2012 convention, Abuirshaid blamed **"the criminal government of Israel, the terrorist government of Israel"** for starting a war against the Palestinians. Israel had launched Operation Pillar Defense, an eight-day Israel Defense Forces (IDF) operation in Hamas-governed Gaza Strip, after Hamas terrorists launched over a 100 rockets into southern Israel in November 2012.<sup>309</sup>

• Yasir Qadhi, billed by the *New York Times* as "one of the most influential conservative clerics in American Islam,"<sup>310</sup> told the ICNA-MAS May 2012 national conference that the Quran "destroys" American capitalism.

**"Who amongst us would have predicted five years ago that this nation would despise and hate the very [economic] system that they used to claim was the reason for their success?"** he asked conference attendees. "Now the system has been destroyed and demolished. Now 99 percent of America is saying Occupy Wall Street." [emphasis added]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> "Muslims Around The World Series," 39<sup>th</sup> Annual ICNA-MAS Convention, May 24, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> "Dr. Osama Abu Irshaid Addressing at MAS-ICNA Annual Convention 2015," Published December 27, 2015, <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WUhkULRg2DE</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>309</sup> "Behind the Headlines: Operation Pillar of Defense," *Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, November 14, 2012, <u>https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Issues/Pages/BTH\_Operation\_Pillar\_of\_Defense\_14-Nov-2012.aspx</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup> http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/20/magazine/mag-20Salafis-t.html/?pagewanted=all& r=1&

**"This is a Pharaonic society that we enjoy the pyramids, but you cannot enjoy pyramids without millions of slaves. And this is what this society has become,**" Qadhi said, repeating a classic Muslim metaphor for a society filled with corruption.<sup>311</sup> [emphasis added]

### Leadership's Glorification of Jihad and Islamism

ICNA's leadership not only has deep-rooted ties to the JI but openly advocates jihad (holy war) and speaks in support of Islamists and Islamist movements.

#### Ashrafuzzaman Khan

In 2016, ICNA's former vice president<sup>312</sup> and leader of its New York chapter Ashrafuzzaman Khan was tried in absentia by a Bangladeshi war crimes tribunal and sentenced to death. The tribunal claimed Khan was the "Commander on Chief" "of the Al-Badr killing squad, a militant offshoot of the Jamaat-e-Islami.<sup>313</sup> Khan allegedly participated in the abduction and murder of 18 Bangladeshi intellectuals.<sup>314</sup> Following accusations of war crimes against Khan, ICNA scrubbed the names of executive board members, including Khan, from its web page. <sup>315</sup>

### **Mohammed Yunus**

Mohammed Yunus is ICNA's former president,<sup>316</sup> serving in that role from 1977-2000.<sup>317</sup> Yunus has been a member of ICNA's General Assembly since 1971.<sup>318</sup> He has

<sup>312</sup> ICNA Archived Web Page,

http://web.archive.org/web/20060103083126/http://www.icna.com/ICNA/organize.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>311</sup> <u>http://www.investigativeproject.org/3692/icna-embraces-america-favorite-salafi-preacher</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> Ashrafuzzaman Khan, "Facts," Last Modified June 14, 2016, Trial International, <u>https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/ashrafuzzaman-khan/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup> "Did ICNA ditch the alleged war criminal, Ashrafuzzaman Khan, silently?," Submitted by guest\_writer on Oct. 10, 2013 to sachalayatan.com. <u>http://en.sachalayatan.com/guest\_writer/50373</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>316</sup> Islamic Circle of North America By Laws, Adopted Sept. 6, 1988.

cited Quranic verses to justify *Qital* ("armed jihad") as the "best and beneficial" form of jihad for Muslims.<sup>319</sup>

At an October 2000 Jerusalem Day rally in Washington's Lafayette Park, Yunus alleged that the money, weapons and support for Israeli "atrocities" against Palestinians came from the U.S.:

"...this is not just a Palestinian cause; this is the Muslim [cause] because the **Al-Aqsa** [Jerusalem] belongs to the Muslims. It is occupied right now and it is our responsibility, it is our obligation as Muslims that we must join hands and we shall stand up and we shall free the Aqsa. Therefore brothers and sisters let us continue this struggle all across North America because this struggle is for here. Here is the support for the aggressor, the money and the weapons, support from this land for the aggression, the atrocities from Israel and therefore for the Muslims of North America we have to stand up together and gather the support so we can stop this oppression, stop these atrocities against innocent people."<sup>320</sup> [emphasis added]

Speakers at the rally cheered in support of U.S.-designated terrorist groups, Hamas and Hizballah.<sup>321</sup>

### Zulfiqar Ali Shah

During a July 6, 2001 rally at Cleveland's Lake Shore Park, ICNA's then-President Zulfiqar Ali Shah called for jihad and the crowd chanted responsively to Shah's incitement:

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup> "Dr. Mohammad Yunus," 44<sup>th</sup> Annual ICNA-MAS Convention, April 19-21, 2019, Washington, DC, <u>https://icnaconvention.org/dr-mohammad-yunus/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>319</sup> Dr. M. Yunus, "Jihad in Islam," *The Message International*, March 1991, pp. 23-24, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1048.pdf#page=3</u>, Also see earlier reference on p. 31of report.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>320</sup> Jerusalem Day Rally, Lafayette Park, DC, October 28, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>321</sup> "Rally at Lafayette Park: Alamoudi," Oct. 28, 2000, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/218/rally-at-lafayette-park-alamoudi</u>

Zulfiqar Ali Shah: "Our way, our way, is *jihad, jihad.*" (In Arabic: *Sabilnah, Sabilnah; al-jihad, al-jihad*")

The crowd: "Al-jihad, al-jihad."

Shah: "Our way is *al-jihad*." (Arabic)

The crowd: "Al-jihad, al-jihad."322

Shah applauded the "struggles" in Kashmir and Palestine. "My brothers and sisters, nobody can eliminate or destroy the nation whose children are ready to die for the sake of what they stand for; the nations who love death more than they love life," he concluded.<sup>323</sup>

At a June 2001 meeting in Chicago co-hosted by ICNA and the Muslim American Society (MAS) Shah reportedly said, "If we are unable to stop the Jews now their next stop is Yathrib (The Prophet's city of Medina), where the Jews used to live until their expulsion by Prophet Muhammad (SAW). That's the pinnacle of their motives."<sup>324</sup>

The meeting aimed at uniting American Muslim organizations against "Israeli efforts to control the Holy Land" in advance of then-Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's visit to Washington.

"We need to take the Palestine cause as a Fard (a religious obligation) and work whole-heartedly towards its realization," Shah added.<sup>325</sup>

Shah also served as president<sup>326</sup> of the South Asia Division of the now-defunct terrortied charity, KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development.<sup>327</sup>

<sup>323</sup> Ibid.

<sup>325</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>322</sup> Rally at ICNA 26<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention," Cleveland, OH, July 6, 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>324</sup> "U.S. Muslim Leaders Want Unity Ahead of Sharon's Visit," *IslamOnline.net*, June 25, 2001. <u>https://archive.islamonline.net/?p=20305</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup> "KindHearts Launches \$3,3 Million Campaign to Build Houses for Earthquake Survivors 1,000 Permanent Homes Under Construction in Town of Kiwai," KindHearts, <u>http://www.americansagainsthate.org/Zulfigar Ali Shah.html</u>

### Zahid Bukhari

Bukhari served as ICNA' secretary general from 1990 to 1995, and was reelected for two more terms from 2009-2012.328 He also served as managing editor of ICNA's radical *The Message International magazine*.329 In a meeting with *The Message*, Bukhari described ICNA's 1992 convention in New York as "a promising venture and a sparkling milestone for the Muslim community of North America."330 "We have to make sure that the Annual Convention provides the true Islamic environment for each and every participant. We are to prove our claim that Islam is the only answer and the only solution for all socio-economic, political and cultural problems. After the practical failure of all 'isms' we are to come with an alternative—Al-Islam—the complete system of life," Bukhari said.331

He has openly promoted the JI on his Facebook page.<sup>332</sup> He also issued a glowing eulogy to Turkey's Islamist and blatantly anti-Semitic former Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan<sup>333</sup> following his death in March 2011. "Mr. Erbakan was a visionary and brilliant leader of Turkey's Islamist movement who devoted his entire life to creating a more peaceful and just world," Bukhari said.<sup>334</sup> Prior to Turkey's 2007 elections, Erbakan claimed in an interview that Jews believe they "will destroy – Allah forbid – Al-Aqsa mosque and in its place build Solomon's temple," and "only

<sup>329</sup> *The Message*, September 1998.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

<sup>332</sup> Zahid Bukhari Facebook, <u>https://www.facebook.com/zahid.bukhari.370/posts/533198523434992</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>327</sup> "KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development," IPT Investigative Report, <u>http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/299.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>328</sup> "Dr. Bukhari Reelected President of ICNA." Islamic Circle of North America. January 6, 2011. http://www.icna.org/icna-president-election-results/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup> "ICNA Announces Its 17<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention," *The Message International*, July 1992, p. 9, <u>http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1053.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>333</sup> Svante E. Cornell, "Erbakan, Kısakürek, and the Mainstreaming of Extremism in Turkey," *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology* 23 (2018), <u>https://www.hudson.org/research/14375-erbakan-k-sak-rek-and-the-mainstreaming-of-extremism-in-turkey</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>334</sup> "Prof. Necmettin Erbakan: ICNA Offers Condolences," *ICNA Press Release*, March 12, 2011, <u>https://www.icna.org/prof-necmettin-erbakan-icna-offers-condolences/</u>

then will their messiah come and establish them as the rulers of the world." Jews, he said, had been working for 5,767 years on those goals.<sup>335</sup>

### Naeem Baig

Naeem Baig served as ICNA president<sup>336</sup> from 2013-2016<sup>337</sup> and on the *Majlis Ash-Shura* from 2010-2012.<sup>338</sup> He also served as executive director for the ICNA Council for Social Justice in 2012 and as ICNA's secretary general from 2000-2004 and from 2006-2008.<sup>339</sup>

Baig defended former ICNA vice president and head of the organization's New York chapter, Ashrafuzzaman Khan, after a Bangladesh International Crimes Tribunal (ICT) accused him in the abduction and murder of 18 individuals during the 1971 war. "Mr. Khan was elected by ICNA's local members and he has their support," Baig told a news outlet.<sup>340</sup> He also accused the ruling government of "put[ting] behind bars political rivals through the tribunal."<sup>341</sup>

Baig, who now serves as an imam<sup>342</sup> at the terror-tied Dar al-Hijrah mosque,<sup>343</sup> traveled to Turkey in June 2018 for a weeklong educational visit on the invitation of

<sup>337</sup> Ibid.

<sup>338</sup> "Naeem Baig," <u>https://icnaconvention.org/naeem-baig/</u>

<sup>339</sup> "Mr. Naeem Baig: Communications Committee Chairperson, Vienna, VA," Interfaith Worker Justice, <u>http://www.iwj.org/about/board/mr-naeem-baig</u>

<sup>340</sup> Srila Nayak, "Bangladesh Tribunal Accuses New York Imam of War Crimes," *Global City NYC*, December 13, 2012, <u>http://globalcitynyc.com/2012/12/13/bangladesh-tribunal-accuses-new-york-imam-of-war-crimes/</u>

<sup>341</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>335</sup> "Antisemitism and the Turkish Islamist "Milli Gorus" Movement: Zionists/Jews 'Bacteria,' 'Disease.'" August 29, 2007. Middle East Media Research Institute <u>http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/263/0/2356.htm</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>336</sup> "Naeem Baig Elected as New ICNA President," *ICNA Press Release*, January 22, 2013, <u>https://www.icna.org/naeem-baig-elected-as-the-new-icna-president/</u>; and "Naeem Baig Reelected as President of ICNA," *ICNA Press Release*, December 31, 2014, <u>https://www.icna.org/icna-general-assembly-reelects-naeem-baig-as-president-of-icna/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>342</sup> "Meet the Staff: Imam Naeem Mohammad Baig," Dar Al-Hijrah Islamic Center Outreach Department, <u>https://hijrah.org/outreach/</u>

Turkey's Directorate of Religious Affairs ("Diyanet").<sup>344</sup> While in Turkey, Baig praised the country's Islamist leader President Recep Tayyip Erdogan to the government-owned *Anadolu Agency*.

"I believe that him [Erdogan] and his party coming to power again will bring a better future for Turkey," Baig told the government-owned *Anadolu Agency*: "There are, unfortunately, not many Muslim leaders who have the courage to take a stand for global Muslims and their issues."<sup>345</sup>

Baig has advocated on behalf of Kashmiri separatists<sup>346</sup> and the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) campaign targeting Israel.<sup>347</sup> During an August 2017 webinar sponsored by the ICNA Council for Social Justice (ICSJ) to discuss the broader issues related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Baig applauded the BDS movement as a "truly global movement against Israeli apartheid." He argued that "Palestinians are asking for their rights" and "fighting for freedom is not anti-Semitism."<sup>348</sup> The BDS movement, however, is considered inherently anti-Semitic because many of its advocates have called for Israel's destruction and because it singles out the world's only Jewish state for isolation while ignoring human rights abuses of far greater magnitude in other countries, especially in Muslim-majority states.<sup>349</sup>

<sup>343</sup> "IPT Profile: Dar al-Hijrah Mosque," Falls Church, VA, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/mosques/417/dar-al-hijrah-mosque</u>

<sup>344</sup> Dar Al-Hijrah Islamic Center Facebook , June 23, 2018, <u>https://www.facebook.com/hijrahva/photos/a.1476994062521056/2070688976484892/?type=3&theater</u>

<sup>345</sup> Cansu Dikme, "US Muslim leaders happy with Turkish election results," *Anadolu Agency*, June 27, 2018, <u>https://www.aa.com.tr/en/americas/us-muslim-leaders-happy-with-turkish-election-results/1188457</u>

<sup>346</sup> Naeem Baig, "Kashmir needs immediate attention of Pres. Obama," *ICNA Press Release*, July 12, 2016, <u>http://www.icna.org/kashmir-needs-immediate-attention-of-obama-administration/</u>

<sup>347</sup> "CSJ Seminar: Al-Aqsa Mosque, Why BDS Matters," ICNA Council for Social Justice, August 2, 2017, <u>http://icnacsj.org/2017/08/csj-webinar-series-al-aqsa-mosque-why-bds-matters/</u>

<sup>348</sup> Ibid.

<sup>349</sup> "How anti-Israel Boycott, Investment, Sanctions (BDS) campaigns are antisemitic," AMCHA Initiative, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20180825111920/https://amchainitiative.org/why-bds-antisemitic</u>

## IPT Investigative Report: Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA)

#### Shamim Siddiqi



Shamim Siddiqi

In an article on the "Global Islamic Movement" published on his website, <u>www.dawahinamericas.com</u>, ICNA's head of Dawah and Publications Department Shamim Siddiqi<sup>350</sup> predicted the demise of Christianity and Judaism and the dominance of Islam on earth: "Islam' – the obedience to the Creator and Sustainer, will enter into every hearth, home and tent around the world. It will fulfill the final mission of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) at the universal level when Islam will become Deen of entire humanity."<sup>351</sup>

### He added, "**[T]he revival of Islam—the Abrahamic faith will start from the land of Uncle Sam.** <u>It is the "Kabah" of modern Jahiliyah and the USA is</u> <u>its Patron-in-chief.</u> The rest of the secular world is just its camp follower."<sup>352</sup> [emphasis underline original]

In a 1999 essay about the JI also published on his website, Siddiqi lamented "the three Islamic Movements of the Sub-continent of India could not make any headway towards the set Goal [sic] of bringing Islam into the body politics of the day."<sup>353</sup>

"The Islamic Movements [in the Indian subcontinent] have a big responsibility on their shoulders. They have to work hard to establish a model Islamic state somewhere on the surface of the earth for mankind to think over the practicality of Islam as a system of life to follow," Siddiqi wrote.<sup>354</sup> "**May Allah give courage, political** 

<sup>352</sup> Ibid.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>350</sup> "Senior ICNA Activist-Scholar Shamim Siddiqi Passes Away," *ICNA Press Release*, November 21, 2018, <u>http://www.icna.org/senior-icna-activist-scholar-shamim-siddiqi-passes-away/#more-24295</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>351</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, *Global Islamic Movement—Why & How*?, p. 81, <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/bookspdf/GIM.pdf#page=105</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>353</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, "IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE BENEFICIENT, THE MERCIFUL THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENS[sic] OF INDO-PAK SUBCONTINENT," December 1999, <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/Indo\_Pak.htm</u>

wisdom, sagacity and Tawfeeq ["success"] to the leadership of the Islamic Movements of Indo-Pak Sub-Continent and that of the world to make every and all efforts towards establishment of His Deen in the bodypolitics of their respective countries!"<sup>355</sup> [emphasis original]

According to a short biography on Siddiqi's website, he joined JI's Pakistan branch in 1952 and "migrated to the USA in October 1976, started an Islamic Movement here in the name of 'The Forum for Islamic Work' in cooperation with other movement oriented brothers in 1977-78, joined ICNA in 1995, was the chairman of its Dawah and Publication Departments until October 2001."<sup>356</sup> Siddiqi died in 2018<sup>357</sup> but his website <u>www.dawahinamericas.com</u> remains active.

In an undated article discussing the future of Islam in America, Siddiqi describes "as the planning of Allah that the most developed and the most scientifically advanced country of the USA gives a free and fair trial to Islamic system of life as its future ideology in order to stop its ever-growing moral decadence.... **Only Islam and its concept of life—obedience to Allah, the Creator and the Sustainer and feeling always accountable to him for every action and deed on earth, can come to their rescue."**<sup>358</sup> [emphasis in original]

He lays out "The Inevitable Role of Muslims": "<u>They are to live, act and behave</u> <u>as the motivating force</u> in presenting the concept of Monotheism in its most puritan form and the accountability in Akhirah [afterlife] as the guiding force of their life in their day to day activities, serving as model to the people of the land. They are to walk on the streets of the USA as living models of the Qur'an and what it envisages. It was their well-articulated assignment from

<sup>355</sup> Ibid.

<sup>357</sup> "Senior ICNA Activist-Scholar Shamim Siddiqi Passes Away," *ICNA Press Release*, November 21, 2018, <u>http://www.icna.org/senior-icna-activist-scholar-shamim-siddiqi-passes-away/#more-24295</u>

<sup>358</sup> Shamim A. Siddiqi, "ISLAM—THE FUTURE OF AMERICA," <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/,</u> <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/Islam\_Future.htm</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>356</sup> "WELCOME TO A NEW WEBSITE FOR UNDERSTANDING ISLAM IN AMERICAN AND GLOBAL PERSEPCTIVE BY SHAMIM A. SIDDIQI," <u>http://www.dawahinamericas.com/</u>

their Lord and they should have carried it out form the day they landed on this land or entered into the fold of Islam by their free will. If they don't do it now, the stay, especially of the Immigrant Muslims, in the USA enjoying its bounties but rendering no service to its people as ordained by Allah will become extremely troublesome on the Day of Judgment."<sup>359</sup> [emphasis and underline original]

Siddiqi suggests ICNA Dawah [proselytizing] programs should target "white Americans that constitute about 74% of our population." He related a conversation he said he had **"about our mission of Iqamatuddeen [establishment of Islam] in this country**" with Maududi in 1979, just days before the JI founder passed away.360 [emphasis added] Maududi "categorically advised me to prepare your own Dawah literature in American perspective as the literature written by him or in the ME [Middle East] will not suit the Dawah needs of this country."361 He lamented the absence of such literature saying, **"Without effective Dawah literature addressing the issues that American society is confronting, the call to the fold of Allah will remain hollow."**362 [emphasis in original]

### **ICNA's Defense of Terrorists and Islamists**

#### Lawrence Nicholas Thomas (aka Jibril Abu-Adam)

ICNA's 1997 Southeastern Regional Convention in Atlanta honored Lawrence Nicholas Thomas (aka Jibril Abu-Adam), an American citizen and convert to Islam, who was killed while fighting alongside terrorists in Kashmir. Jibril had traveled to Pakistan and trained with the U.S.-designated terrorist group, Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT).<sup>363</sup>

<sup>359</sup> Ibid.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>363</sup> Ama F. Shabazz, "Actions Speak Louder Than Words," *The Message International*, December 1997, p. 32, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/348.pdf</u>

#### JI War Criminals

ICNA has issued strongly-worded condemnations over executions of JI leaders convicted by the Bangladeshi war crimes tribunal. Following the execution of JI leader Abdul Quader Mollah, a press release quoted then-ICNA president Naeem Baig saying, "this is a political murder and a dark day of justice."<sup>364</sup> "Death sentences of political prisoners being handed down through unjust judicial process may plunge Bangladesh into violence, political tyranny, and social anarchy," it added.<sup>365</sup> A separate statement described the 2016 execution of JI leader Maulana Motiur Rahman Nizami as "another shameful act of judicial killing which is part of the ongoing brutal persecution of political opponents by Shaikh Hasina's government."<sup>366</sup>

#### Ghulam Nabi Fai

A July 2011 ICNA Council for Social Justice press release claimed Pakistani spy and lobbyist Ghulam Nabi Fai's<sup>367</sup> arrest "is a selective prosecution reflecting political motives."<sup>368</sup> The press release, issued on behalf of the Islamist National Coalition to Protect Civil Freedoms (NCPCF) of which ICNA is a member,<sup>369</sup> said, "NCPCF strongly believes the government should not place itself in a situation where the timing and choosing of prosecutions undermines their legitimacy by reflecting selectivity and double standards, or political considerations .... Many independent observers see Dr. Fai as a victim of the strained relations between the CIA and the

<sup>365</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup> "Bangladesh leader's execution is a political murder," *ICNA press release*, December 12, 2013, <u>https://www.icna.org/bangladesh-leaders-execution-is-a-political-murder-2/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>366</sup> "Execution of Maulana Nizami Strongly Condemned by ICNA," *ICNA Press Release*, May 10, 2016, <u>http://www.icna.org/execution-of-maulana-nizami-strongly-condemned-by-icna/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>367</sup> "Pakistan's Alleged American Influence Campaign," *IPT News*, July 19, 2011, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/3050/pakistan-alleged-american-influence-campaign</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>368</sup> "Nat'l Coalition: Investigate Prominent Activist's Arrest," *ICNA Press Release*, July 23, 2011, <u>https://www.icna.org/natl-coalition-investigate-prominent-activists-arrest/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>369</sup> "Member Organizations," National Coalition to Protect Civil Freedoms, <u>https://www.civilfreedoms.org/?page\_id=40</u>

Pakistani intelligence services."<sup>370</sup> Fai pleaded guilty in December 2011 to secretly receiving millions of dollars from the government of Pakistan to influence American policy toward the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir<sup>371</sup> that has been contested by Pakistan and has sparked two major bloody wars between the two countries since they gained independence from British rule in 1947.<sup>372</sup>

#### Sami Al-Arian

A December 2005 ICNA press release applauded the "acquittal" of Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) board member Sami Al-Arian.<sup>373</sup> Al-Arian was acquitted on some counts, but faced a retrial for other charges on which the jury deadlocked. In 2006, Al-Arian pleaded to conspiring to provide goods and services to the terrorist group and sentenced to 57 months in prison.<sup>374</sup> He was subsequently deported to Turkey.<sup>375</sup>

#### Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman (The "Blind Sheikh")

A report in the February 1996 issue of *The Message International* denounced the life sentence against Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman for masterminding a plot to blow up New York landmarks and tunnels. It calls the presiding judge **"an overt Zionist, [who] repeatedly showed hostility to Islam and the Sheik during the trial."**<sup>376</sup>

<sup>374</sup> "Profile: Sami Al Arian," <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/100/sami-al-arian</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>370</sup> "Nat'l Coalition: Investigate Prominent Activist's Arrest," *ICNA Press Release*, July 23, 2011, <u>https://www.icna.org/natl-coalition-investigate-prominent-activists-arrest/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> USA v. Syed Ghulam Nabi Fai, 11-CR-00561, "Plea Agreement" (SD NY December 7, 2011), https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case\_docs/1848.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>372</sup> "Kashmir Fast Facts," *CNN*, March 25, 2019, <u>https://www.cnn.com/2013/11/08/world/kashmir-fast-facts/index.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>373</sup> "Muslim Group Welcomes Al-Arian's Acquittal," *ICNA Press Release*, December 8, 2005, <u>http://www.icna.org/muslim-group-welcomes-al-arians-acquittal-2/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup> "Al Arian Saves One Last Lie for the Road," *IPT News*, February 5, 2015, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/4770/al-arian-saves-one-last-lie-for-the-road</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>376</sup> "Newsline USA: 'Jihad' Against The US," *Message International*, February 1996, p. 11, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1055.pdf</u>

And adds:

**"The Sheik's [sic] trial represented one of the greatest legal farces of the decade as he was denied counsel of his choice.** He was seemingly convicted on the testimony of an informant for the FBI who confessed to being paid one million dollars for his role in entrapping the Shiek [sic]."<sup>377</sup> [emphasis added]

Rahman, a blind cleric who preached at mosques in Brooklyn and Jersey City, was also found guilty in a scheme to assassinate then-Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak.<sup>378</sup> He died in prison in 2017.

### ICNA Co-Sponsored "Inventing Terrorists" Report

ICNA has come to the defense of convicted Islamist terrorists. A report titled, "Inventing Terrorists: The Lawfare of Preemptive Prosecution," was co-sponsored by ICNA Social Justice (ICNASJ), Project SALAM, a Muslim legal advocacy group,<sup>379</sup> and the Coalition for Civil Freedoms, an educational and advocacy group,<sup>380</sup> claims that 90 percent of terrorism cases during the past decade were fabricated and FBI "entrapment plots" and targeted "mentally ill defendants."<sup>381</sup>

The study describes the war on terror as "largely a charade designed to make the American public believe that a terrorist army is loose in the U.S., when the truth is that most of the people convicted of terrorism-related crimes posed no danger to the U.S. and were entrapped by a preventive strategy known as preemptive prosecution."<sup>382</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>377</sup> "Newsline USA: 'Jihad' Against The US," *Message International*, February 1996, p. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>378</sup> USA v. Omar Ahmad Ali Abdel Rahman, S5 93 Cr. 181, "Judgment (SD NY February 23, 1996), <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case\_docs/1464.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>379</sup> "Project SALAM: Support and Legal Advocacy for Muslims," <u>http://www.projectsalam.org/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup> "National Coalition to Protect Civil Freedoms," <u>http://www.civilfreedoms.org/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup> Stephen Downs, Esq. and Kathy Manley, Esq., "Inventing Terrorists: The Lawfare of Preemptive Prosecution," An Updated Version of the 2014 Study by Project SALAM and the Coalition of Civil Freedoms, Co-sponsored by ICNA Council for Social Justice, April 2019, p. 7, <u>http://icnacsj.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Inventing-</u><u>Terrorists-Report.pdf</u> [Note: A full Investigative Project on Terrorism rebuttal of the report is available here: <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/7921/cherry-picked-and-out-of-context-deception</u>]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>382</sup> Ibid.

It falsely claims that "since 9/11, there have been 12 potentially significant threats to the U.S., but only two resulted in deaths (the Tsarnaev brothers and Major Nidal Hasan), accounting for seventeen deaths and several hundred injuries."<sup>383</sup>

The study, for example, omits the 2015 mass shooting at a social services facility in San Bernardino, CA, by Syed Rizwan Farook and his wife Tashfeen Malik that killed 14 people.<sup>384</sup> The couple had been "self-radicalized" by reading radical literature online<sup>385</sup> and pledged allegiance to Islamic State leader Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi.<sup>386</sup>

Another major omission involves the 2016 mass shooting at Orlando's Pulse Nightclub, that killed 49 people and injured 53 others.<sup>387</sup> Police transcripts revealed that Omar Mateen, the domestic terrorist behind the attack, was motivated by a Pentagon drone strike in Iraq a month before the shooting.<sup>388</sup>

The most glaring example of "manufactured" terrorism convictions is the Hamas financing trial of the Texas-based Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLFRD) and five former officials, the report said. It describes the trial, the largest terrorism-financing trial in U.S. history, as "the most unfair prosecution under the material support law."<sup>389</sup> "[L]eaders of what had been the largest Muslim charity in the US were singled out and eventually convicted (after a second trial – the jury was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>383</sup> Stephen Downs, Esq. and Kathy Manley, Esq., "Inventing Terrorists: The Lawfare of Preemptive Prosecution," p. 14, <u>http://icnacsj.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Inventing-Terrorists-Report.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>384</sup> Adam Nagourney, Ian Lovett and Richard Perez-Pena, "San Bernardino Shooting Kills at Least 14; Two Suspects Are Dead," *The New York Times*, December 2, 2015, <u>https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/03/us/san-bernardino-shooting.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>385</sup> Richard Winton, "We may never know why the San Bernardino terrorists targeted a Christmas Party. Here's what we do know," *Los Angeles Times*, December 2, 2016, <u>https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-san-bernardino-attack-20161202-story.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>386</sup> Mark Berman, "One year after the San Bernardino attack, police offer a possible motive as questions still linger," *The Washington Post*, December 2, 2016, <u>https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2016/12/02/one-year-after-san-bernardino-police-offer-a-possible-motive-as-questions-still-linger/?utm\_term=.de1217f9d14e</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> Ralph Ellis, et al., "Orlando shooting: 49 killed, shooter pledged ISIS allegiance, CNN, June 13, 2016, <a href="https://www.cnn.com/2016/06/12/us/orlando-nightclub-shooting/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2016/06/12/us/orlando-nightclub-shooting/index.html</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>388</sup> Bill Gertz, "Orlando Terror Attack 'Triggered' by Pentagon Drone Strike," *The Washington Free Beacon*, September 28, 2016, <u>https://freebeacon.com/national-security/orlando-terror-attack-triggered-pentagon-drone-strike/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>389</sup> Stephen Downs, Esq. and Kathy Manley, Esq., "Inventing Terrorists: The Lawfare of Preemptive Prosecution," p. 19, <u>http://icnacsj.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Inventing-Terrorists-Report.pdf</u>

deadlocked the first time) and essentially given life sentences for providing completely nonviolent and desperately needed charity to civilians in Gaza."<sup>390</sup>

The Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF) and five of its leaders were sentenced to long prison terms for funneling millions of dollars to the terrorist group Hamas.<sup>391</sup> "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," says a Department of Justice release announcing the sentence.<sup>392</sup>

## Alms for Jihad

### Helping Hand for Relief and Development (HHRD)

ICNA's overseas charitable arm, Helping Hand for Relief and Development (HHRD), has ties to U.S.-designated terrorist groups and JI Pakistan. A December 2017 HHRD event to mark the International Day of Disabled Persons in Timergara, Pakistan, included leaders from U.S.-designated terrorist groups



Falah-i-Insaniyat Foundation's (FIF) and Milli Muslim League (MML).393

<sup>390</sup> Ibid.

<sup>392</sup> "FEDERAL JUDGE HANDS DOWN SENTENCES IN HOLY LAND FOUNDATION (HLF) CASE," U.S. Department of Justice Press Release, May 27, 2009, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case\_docs/957.pdf

<sup>393</sup> "Steps for betterment of special persons urged," *Frontier Post*, December 4, 2017, <u>http://thefrontierpost.com/steps-betterment-special-persons-urged/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>391</sup> "FEDERAL JUDGE HANDS DOWN SENTENCES IN HOLY LAND FOUNDATION (HLF) CASE," *U.S. Department of Justice Press Release*, May 27, 2009, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case\_docs/957.pdf</u>

The State Department **designated FIF as a terrorist group in 2010** and described it as **an alias of Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT).**<sup>394</sup> MML is an **offshoot of the terror-designated LeT and Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD).**<sup>395</sup>

An October 2017 ICNA press release announced that **Hafiz Naeem ur Rehman**, **head of Al Khidmat Welfare Society**, will be assisting HHRD set up a hospital and rehabilitation center in the Pakistani city of Karachi.<sup>396</sup> **Rehman is president (Ameer) of the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)'s Karachi chapter and former president of JI Pakistan student wing, Islami Jamiat e Talba.**<sup>397</sup> He is **closely tied**<sup>398</sup> **to the U.S.-designated Kashmiri terrorist organization**, **Hizbul Mujahideen (HM)**<sup>399</sup> **and its leader Syed Salahuddin**.<sup>400</sup>

In August 2016, Rehman **commemorated the "martyrdom" of Kashmiri terrorist Burhan Wani<sup>401</sup> during a news conference with HM commander Salahuddin.**<sup>402</sup>According to a Hizbul Mujahideen media report on a JI-sponsored

<sup>398</sup> Abha Shankar, "IPT Investigation Reveals ICNA Partner's Close Ties to Kashmiri Jihadists," *IPT News*, December 5, 2017, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/7011/ipt-investigation-reveals-icna-partner-close-ties</u>

<sup>399</sup> "Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations," *U.S. Department of State*, <u>https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>394</sup> "Secretary of State's Terrorist Designation of Falah-i-Insaniyat," *U.S. Department of State*, November 24, 2010, <u>https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/266648.htm</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>395</sup> Imtiaz Ahmad, "Hafiz Saeed inaugurates Milli Muslim League office in Lahore," *Hindustan Times*, December 25, 2017, <u>https://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/hafiz-saeed-inaugurates-milli-muslim-league-office-in-lahore/story-Z3TbdjCCUCf9rg8y25eLgM.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>396</sup> "US-based charity announces establishment of rehab center," *Islamic Circle of North America*, October 3, 2017, <u>http://www.icna.org/us-based-charity-announces-establishment-of-rehab-center/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup> Hafiz Naeem ur Rehman Facebook, <u>https://www.facebook.com/pg/NaeemRehmanEngr/about/?ref=page\_internal</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>400</sup> "State Department Terrorist Designations of Mohammad Yusuf Shah AKA Syed Salahuddin," *U.S. Department of State Press Release*, June 26, 2017, <u>https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2017/06/272168.htm</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>401</sup> "LIVE Encounter of Burhan Wani Who is the Hizbul Mujahideen Commander," *IndiaTV*, Published July 8, 2016, <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gnRWec2BOkc</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>402</sup> <u>https://www.jasarat.com/2016/08/07/karachi-sayed-salahuddin-and-hafiz-naeem-ur-rehman-press-conference/</u>

Kashmir rally **Rehman "made it clear that Jihad is the only way forward to liberate occupied Jammu and Kashmir.**"<sup>403</sup>

At a 2012 JI rally protesting the use of Pakistan as a conduit for NATO supplies into Afghanistan,<sup>404</sup> **Rehman called the United States "an enemy of the Quran" and blamed the country for the murder of millions of Muslims in the** Islamic world.<sup>405</sup>

HHRD is also listed as a **partner organization of JI Pakistan charity, Al Khidmat Foundation.**<sup>406</sup>

Helping Hand Chairman Mohsin Ansari,<sup>407</sup> who formerly served as head of ICNA Relief,<sup>408</sup> openly supports the JI. He shared photos on his Facebook page from the 2015 Ahbab UK Summer Camp in North Wales in which he was a participant along with senior JI Pakistan leaders.<sup>409</sup> He shared another post in 2016 eulogizing Bangladeshi Jamaat war criminals. "Pakistan nation will remember these heroes for centuries to come InshaAllah!!"<sup>410</sup>

<sup>406</sup> "Our Partners," Al Khidmat Foundation Pakistan,

<sup>407</sup> Helping Hand USA Facebook, March 21, 2019, <u>https://www.facebook.com/helpinghandusa/posts/10157089754014725</u>

<sup>408</sup> ICNA Relief Facebook, April 30, 2015, <u>https://www.facebook.com/ICNARelief/posts/10153235512337770</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>403</sup> "Jihad only way to liberate Kashmir: JI," <u>www.hizbmedia.org</u>, February 6, 2017, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20180131205734/http://www.hizbmedia.org/06%20February%202017(a).php</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>404</sup> "JI appeals Karachiites to assemble against America on 24," *Pakistan Today*, November 18, 2013, <u>https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2013/11/18/ji-appeals-karachiites-to-assemble-against-america-on-24/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>405</sup> "JI Naaeb Ameer Hafiz Naeem-ur Rehman addressing from the Rally against Nato Supply 23-Mar-2012, Published March 23, 2012, <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2FwRgbBCFiw</u>

https://web.archive.org/web/20180201195618/http://alkhidmatfyhospital.org/our-partners/; Al Khidmat Foundation 2016 Annual Report, Slide 71, <u>https://www.slideshare.net/Al-Khidmat-Foundation-</u> Pakistan/alkhidmat-foundation-pakistan-annual-report-2016

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>409</sup> "Mohsin Ansari shared Jamaat e Islami Pakistan-UK Chapter's post," September 1, 2015, <u>https://imgur.com/a/2s0wnJ2</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>410</sup> "Mohsin Ansari shared Osama Shafiq's post," September 4, 2016, <u>https://imgur.com/a/2sownJ2</u>

In another post from the same year, Ansari denounced the "victimization of Jamaat workers in Bangladesh." "May Allah SWT accept shahadat [martyrdom] of these Mujahdis [holy warrior] and make us more committed to fulfill our duties to DEEN of Allah SWT (AMEEN)," he wrote.<sup>411</sup> Ansari is reported to be a former member of JI Pakistan's student wing, Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba.<sup>412</sup>

#### ICNA Relief

ICNA Relief was **established in 1992** "as a **separate department of ICNA** in order to better coordinate social services for Muslims in America."<sup>413</sup> It has been described as "a Domestic Faith Based Social Service and



Disaster Relief Organization, serving the needs of the under privileged in America."414

A 2005 report published on the U.S. State Department website states that ICNA "headquartered in Jamaica, New York, is working in partnership with local relief organizations," including in Indonesia, Sri Lanka and India. The report adds that "...in Sri Lanka, **ICNA Relief is working in partnership with the Social Services Department of the Jama'at-e-Islami and the Human Care Foundation.**"<sup>415</sup> [emphasis added]

According to an August 17, 2006 article on the JI Pakistan's website, the **"Al-Khidmat Foundation of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan presented a cheque of six-million rupees [roughly \$86,000] from the people of Pakistan to Khaled Meshaal, head of politburo Islamic Resistance Movement** 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>411</sup> "Mohsin Ansari shared Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan [Official]'s photo," May 12, 2016, <u>https://imgur.com/a/2s0wnJ2</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>412</sup> Sam Westrop, "Pakistani Islamism Flourishes in America," *National Review*, January 24, 2018, <u>https://www.nationalreview.com/2018/01/pakistani-terror-groups-charitable-guises-us-funds/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>413</sup> "Interview with Sr. Malika Rushdan, Program Director ICNA Relief Boston Field Office," *The Message International*, November-December 2010, p. 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>414</sup> Ibid.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>415</sup> Afzal Khan, "American Muslims Join Hands to Aid Tsunami Survivors," Office of Information Programs, U.S. Department of State, January 10, 2005, <a href="https://web.archive.org/web/20050125041925/http://usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2005/Jan/10-232611.html?chanlid=mena">https://web/20050125041925/http://usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2005/Jan/10-232611.html?chanlid=mena</a>

#### (Hamas) for helping the Palestinian brethren inside occupied Palestine."<sup>416</sup> [emphasis added]

"The Al-Khidmat Foundation's delegation also delivered special message of Jamaat-e-Islami's ameer to Hamas leader. Khalid Meshaal thanked Pakistani nation for sending the donation to the Palestinian brethren in this hour of need. **Hamas leader assured the delegation that struggling Palestinians will not relinquish their just Jihad and continue to wage it until the First Qibla is liberated from Zionist yoke,**" the article added.<sup>417</sup> [emphasis added]

The **Al-Khidmat website no longer lists its donors, but the foundation has included "ICNA Relief USA" ICNA Relief Canada," and Helping Hand USA on its "Donors" page in the past.<sup>418</sup> There is currently no reference to ICNA Relief USA on the Al-Khidmat website but ICNA Relief Canada continues to sponsor projects with the Jamaat-e-Islami charity.<sup>419</sup> Although ICNA's current website does not mention any affiliation to ICNA Relief Canada, the ICNA homepage from 2007 lists a Canada office for ICNA in Ontario<sup>420</sup> and provides a tax-exempt ID for both its Canada and U.S. offices.<sup>421</sup>** 

### Additionally, **Al-Khidmat's sister organization, the Al-Khidmat Welfare Society, refers to "ICNA Relief-Helping Hand ... a division of the Islamic**

<sup>417</sup> Ibid.

<sup>419</sup> "Al-Khidmat Foundation & ICNA Relief Canada Inaugurate Water Filtration Project in Lodhran," Al-Khidmat Foundation Pakistan, February 19, 2014, <u>http://al-khidmatfoundation.org/al-khidmat-foundaion-icna-relief-canada-inaugurate-water-filtration-project-in-lodhran/#sthash.npMqTODM.reqAYBcF.dpbs</u>. See also "Implementation Report," Zabiha 2012, Donated by ICNA Relief Canada, Implemented by Al-Khidmat Foundation Pakistan, <u>http://www.icnareliefcanada.ca/PDFs/alkhidmatzabiha2012.pdf</u>

https://web.archive.org/web/20070905104722/http://www.reliefonline.org/contact\_us.htm

<sup>421</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>416</sup> "JI donates Re. 6m to Palestinians," *Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan*, August 17, 2006, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20071003065109/http://www.jamaat.org/news/2006/aug/17/1001.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>418</sup> "Donor," Al-Khidmat Foundation Pakistan, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20070609233537/http://www.al-khidmatfoundation.org/index.php?id=73</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>420</sup> "Contact Us," ICNA Homepage,

### **Circle of North America (ICNA)" as one of its "Mission Partners."**<sup>422</sup> [emphasis added]

ICNA Relief's April 2017 banquet featured extremist preachers Mikaeel Smith and Abdulhakim Ali Mohamed.<sup>423</sup> Ali Mohamed, who served as imam of the Islamic Center of Nashville where lone wolf jihadist Carlos Bledsoe was radicalized,<sup>424</sup> can be heard denigrating Jews in a 2012 video compilation of speeches by Nashville Islamic leaders preaching hate published by the Boston-based nonprofit Americans for Peace and Tolerance: "Jews believe that everyone created on the face of earth was only created for their service. They become as vicious as the Pharaoh, throughout history until today."<sup>425</sup> Smith, a graduate of radical Deobandi Dar ul-Uloom al-Madania Islamic seminary in New York state, describes homosexuality as "evil" and like a "tumor."<sup>426</sup>

In April 2012, ICNA Relief's website linked to a chapter about the giving of zakat (practice of charitable giving by Muslims) from Maududi's *Let Us Be Muslim*.<sup>427</sup> The section from *Let Us Be Muslim*, a fundamental text used in many of ICNA's education curricula teaching extremism, promotes giving "Fi-Sabili'llah: in the way of Allah."<sup>428</sup>

<sup>422</sup> "Our Mission Partners," Al-Khidmat Welfare Society,

https://web.archive.org/web/20100327032825/http://www.alkhidmat.org.pk/partners.htm

<sup>425</sup> "Nashville Islamic Leaders Preaching Hate Against Jews and Christians," Published by Americans for Peace and Tolerance on July 19, 2012, <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=efmB9LlLIgs&feature=youtu.be</u>

<sup>426</sup> Mikaeel Smith, "Open Letter to Muslims Regarding Islam, Homosexuality, and The American Way of Life," *Muslim Matters*, July 23, 2015, <u>https://muslimmatters.org/2015/07/23/open-letter-to-muslims-regarding-islam-homosexuality-and-the-american-way-of-life/</u>

<sup>427</sup> "Zakat Calculator," *ICNA Relief USA*, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20120423135241/http://icnarelief.org/site/index.php/articles/zakat-calculator</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>423</sup> Sam Westrop, "ICNA Relief Banquet Features Anti-Semitic, Homophobic Preachers," *Islamist Watch*, April 6, 2017, <u>https://www.meforum.org/islamist-watch/52253/icna-relief-banquet-features-anti-semitic</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>424</sup> James Ketfield, "Tennessee Is the Capital of American Jihad," *Politico*, July 23, 2015, <u>https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/07/chattanooga-shooter-carlos-bledsoe-120530\_Page3.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>428</sup> "Essential Prerequisite to Guidance," in *Let Us Be Muslim IV: Zakah*, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20120509040715/http://zakat.110mb.com/index.php?p=1\_17</u>

Maududi defines this in the chapter as "giving help to a struggle for making Islam supreme on earth."<sup>429</sup>

"Thus, we are told, there are two ways we can lead our lives. One is the way of God... To walk on this path, you must generously help your brothers and support Jihad out of whatever resources God in His bounty and wisdom has given you," Maududi wrote in the section ICNA Relief links readers. "The other is the Satanic way: apparently full of benefits, but in reality, it leads to ruin. The hallmark of this way of life is worshipping money and amassing wealth at the expense of all other considerations."<sup>430</sup>

### **The Turkey Connection**

Turkey, under the Islamist AKP, has become a key sponsor of JI-affiliated organizations in Bangladesh and Pakistan as well as the Islamist movement's proxy groups in North America. The AKP has ruled Turkey under Recep Tayyip Erdogan's leadership since 2002 and is responsible for widespread suppression of civil society and press freedoms.<sup>431</sup>

The Union of NGOs of the Islamic World (UNIW)<sup>432</sup> is a key agency used by the Turkish government to sponsor and coordinate JI activities, an Investigative Project on Terrorism (IPT) investigation had earlier found.<sup>433</sup>

The Istanbul-based organization was established in 2005 with the AKP's blessing and boasts 340 NGOs from 65 countries, including in the United States. Through a global network of Islamist organizations, UNIW seeks to revive the global Muslim *ummah* and stand up to the U.S.-led world order. Its stated mission is "to create an ummah

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>429</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>430</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>431</sup> Elif Shafak. "Turkey's Future Is Moving Backward," *The New York Times*, September 19, 2017, <u>https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/19/opinion/turkey-islamism.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>432</sup> "Union of NGOs of the Islamic World," <u>https://www.idsb.org/en/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>433</sup> Abha Shankar, "Turkey's Islamist Push into South Asia Aided by American Proxies," *IPT News*, January 24, 2019, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/7787/turkey-islamist-push-into-south-asia-aided-by</u>

consciousness" among its members and seek unity among Muslim nations "against to [sic] the western world which want to weaken the Islamic World by their dirty tricks and try to separate it from each other although they are unions among themselves."<sup>434</sup>

The network's membership roster includes leading Islamist and terror-tied organizations such as the Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH),<sup>435</sup> World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY),<sup>436</sup> Zamzam Foundation (Somalia),<sup>437</sup> Islamic Relief (UK),<sup>438</sup> International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO),<sup>439</sup> and others. By sponsoring and coordinating developmental projects, providing humanitarian assistance, and addressing alleged violations of human rights and freedoms in the Muslim world, the umbrella group seeks to defend "Islamic culture and values" and assist in finding "solutions of the problems relating to the Islamic world collectively."<sup>440</sup>

ICNA's terror-tied charity, Helping Hand for Relief and Development (HHRD),<sup>441</sup> and the Kashmir American Council (KAC)<sup>442</sup> are U.S.-based UNIW members<sup>443</sup> which work closely with the umbrella group.<sup>444</sup>

<sup>440</sup> "About the Union of NGOs of the Islamic World," <u>https://www.idsb.org/en/kurumsal/about</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>434</sup> "About the Union of NGOs of the Islamic World," <u>https://www.idsb.org/en/kurumsal/about</u>

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>435</sup> John Rossomando, "Turkish Charity Still Not on Terror List Despite Numerous Calls," *IPT News*, January 29, 2014, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/4278/turkish-charity-still-not-on-terror-list-despite</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>436</sup> "WAMY Canada Loses Charitable Status," *IPT News*, March 7, 2012, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/3476/wamy-canada-loses-charitable-status</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>437</sup> Stig Jarle Hansen and Atle Mesoy, "The Muslim Brotherhood in the Wider Horn of Africa," *Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR)*, December 2009, p. 50, <u>http://www.asharqalarabi.org.uk/ruiah/i-m-e.pdf#page=52</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>438</sup> Abha Shankar, "U.S. Islamists Claim Win Over Legislation Banning Funding to Terror-Tied Charity," *IPT News*, September 8, 2017, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/6643/islamists-claim-win-after-lawmaker-withdraws</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>439</sup> "Treasury Designates Director, Branches of Charity Bankrolling Al Qaida Network," *U.S. Department of the Treasury*, August 3, 2006, <u>https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/hp45.aspx</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>441</sup> Sam Westrop, "American Islamist Charity Openly Partners with Designated Terrorists," *Rabwah Times*, January 4, 2018, <u>https://www.rabwah.net/american-islamist-charity-openly-partners-designated-terrorists%E2%80%A8/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>442</sup> "Pakistan's Alleged American Influence Campaign," *IPT News*, July 19, 2011, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/3050/pakistan-alleged-american-influence-campaign</u>

The Kashmiri American Council was funded and directed by the Pakistani government. As noted earlier, KAC's executive director Syed Ghulam Nabi Fai<sup>445</sup> served 16 months in prison after pleading guilty in December 2011 for conspiring to act as an agent of the Pakistani government without registering under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA).<sup>446</sup>

Fai received \$3.5 million from Pakistan's intelligence service, the ISI, to influence American policy toward Kashmir.<sup>447</sup> He used KAC as a front for his illegal lobbying activities. Documents seized from Fai's home show he worked with the ISI "for years before the KAC was even founded."<sup>448</sup>

Fai has a long association with the JI. He was introduced to the Islamist movement through a local Jamaat leader while attending college, *ProPublica* reported in 2011.<sup>449</sup>

Later while studying in Saudi Arabia, Fai met with the imam of Ka'aba that houses the most sacred site in Islam, He invited the imam to attend a JI-sponsored conference in Kashmir.

"It really revolutionized the whole thinking of the people of Kashmir: We are not alone," Fai said in the *ProPublica* report.

Fai and the imam of Ka'aba were instrumental in the spread of Wahhabi Islam in Kashmir, Pakistan journalist Arif Jamal told *ProPublica*. Jamal investigated Fai's role

<sup>447</sup> *US v. Fai*, "Criminal Complaint Affidavit," 11-CR-56 (ED VA July 18, 2011), <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case\_docs/1612.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>443</sup> "Our Members," The Union of NGOs of the Islamic World (UNIW), <u>https://www.idsb.org/en/uyeler</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>444</sup> "UNIW Twitter," <u>https://twitter.com/search?l=&q=%22ICNA%22%20from%3ATheUNIW&src=typd&lang=en</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>445</sup> "Pakistan's Alleged American Influence Campaign," *IPT News*, July 19, 2011, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/3050/pakistan-alleged-american-influence-campaign</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>446</sup> "Accused Pakistani Agent Pleads Guilty in Virginia Court," *IPT News*, December 7, 2011, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/3328/accused-pakistani-agent-pleads-guilty-in-virginia</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>448</sup> US v. Fai, "Sentencing Hearing," 11-CR-56 (ED VA March 30, 2012), p. 7, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case\_docs/2035.pdf#page=7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>449</sup> Kim Barker and Habiba Nosheen, "The Man Behind Pakistan Spy Agency's Plot to Influence Washington," *ProPublica*, October 3, 2011, <u>https://www.propublica.org/article/the-man-behind-pakistani-spy-agencys-plot-to-influence-washington</u>

for a book on Kashmir's "shadow war."<sup>450</sup> Wahhabi Islam, which is an austere form of Islam that insists on a literal interpretation of the Quran, soon replaced Kashmir's famed *Kashmiriyat*—the state's centuries-old tradition of indigenous secularism.

Fai, who now advocates for the Kashmir<sup>451</sup> issue through the World Kashmir Awareness Forum,<sup>452</sup> also serves as a UNIW board member.<sup>453</sup> He has spoken at UNIW conferences,<sup>454</sup> most recently at the December 2017 international NGO fair in Istanbul.<sup>455</sup> At the event, Fai was seen talking with UNIW's Ali Kurt and Al Khidmat Foundation President Abdus Shakoor. Al Khidmat is JI Pakistan's charitable wing.<sup>456</sup>

Shakoor, who serves on UNIW's board,457 was previously ICNA's secretary general.458

Turkish government-run organizations and media agencies participate in conventions ICNA co-hosts with the Muslim American Society (MAS).<sup>459</sup> The UNIW website, in fact, claims to have organized the 2018 ICNA-MAS convention in Baltimore.<sup>460</sup>

<sup>452</sup>World Kashmir Awareness Forum, <u>http://kashmirawareness.org/</u>

<sup>453</sup> "Kashmir Crisis: How to Resolve It (A FREE WEBINAR with Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai), December 19, 2018, ICNA Council for Social Justice, <u>http://icnacsj.org/webinar/?mc\_cid=7e40456f7d&mc\_eid=8cdaf44d07</u>

<sup>454</sup> "Play role in K-issue resolution: UNIW to int'l community," *Greater Kashmir*, <u>https://www.greaterkashmir.com/news/world/play-role-in-k-issue-resolution-uniw-to-intl-community/</u>

<sup>455</sup> "ULUSLARARASI STK FUARI PROGRAMI," December 2017, The Union of NGOs of the Islamic World (UNIW), <u>https://www.tgtv.org/uploads/2/5/0/7/25073395/uluslararas%C4%B1\_stk\_program%C4%B1.pdf</u>

<sup>456</sup> "UNIW Fair Istanbul, Turkey," Al-Khidmat Foundation Pakistan, December 12, 2017, <u>http://web.archive.org/web/20180316201823/https://al-khidmatfoundation.org/uniw-fair-istanbul-turkey/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>450</sup> Arif Jamal, *Shadow War: The Untold Story of Jihad in Kashmir* (May 19, 2009), https://www.amazon.com/gp/product/193363359X/ref=x\_gr\_w\_bb\_sout?ie=UTF8&tag=x\_gr\_w\_bb\_sout-20&linkCode=as2&camp=1789&creative=9325&creativeASIN=193363359X&SubscriptionId=1MGPYB6YW3HW <u>K55XCGG2</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>451</sup> "An Interview with Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai," April 16, 2018, World Kashmir Awareness Forum, April 16, 2018, <u>http://kashmirawareness.org/an-interview-with-dr-ghulam-nabi-fai/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>457</sup> "Abdus Shakoor President Alkhidmat Pakistan Becomes Board Member Of The Union of NGOs of The Islamic World (UNIW)," June 26, 2015, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20180219042945/http://al-khidmatfoundation.org/abdus-shakoor-president-alkhidmat-pakistan-becomes-board-member-of-the-union-of-ngos-of-the-islamic-world-uniw/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>458</sup> "Central Board of Management," Al Khidmat Foundation, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20180111190958/https://al-khidmatfoundation.org/about-us/central-board-of-</u> <u>management/</u>

The conventions also serve as a platform to advance Turkey's Islamist agenda. Erdogan's daughter, Sumeye Erdogan Bayraktar, the vice chair of the Women and Democracy Association (KADEM), spoke at the 2016 convention.<sup>461</sup> Bayraktar's speech, "Overcoming the problems the ummah face: Turkish model," described the Islamist AKP as a "liberation movement that took its power from the people and the values they upheld."<sup>462</sup> She criticized Turkey's "minority establishment elite" for modernizing "a mostly religious society through top-down policies."<sup>463</sup> And she claimed the "Turkish establishment elite had a very hollow understanding of secularism which summed up to a system of discrimination pressure and exclusion of all that had to do with religion while celebrating, promoting and imitating all that was Western."<sup>464</sup>

## The Grand Islamist Alliance

In its formative years, ICNA held its regional meetings within the fold of Muslim Students Association (MSA) regional conferences. In 1977, ICNA changed its name from Hala Ahbabe Islami [Circle of Friends], an Urdu speaking group, to Halqa Islami Shumali Amrika or the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) in English.<sup>465</sup> ICNA's founding President Talat Sultan was director of education for the Islamic

<sup>461</sup> "Turkey to have large presence at annual Islamic convention in Chicago," *ICNA Press Release*, December 27, 2016, <u>http://www.icna.org/turkey-to-have-large-presence-at-annual-islamic-convention-in-chicago/</u>

<sup>462</sup> "Sümeyye Erdoğan Bayraktar: 15th Annual MAS-ICNA Convention," December 27, 2016, <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ik-Rl4VLJ3Q</u>

<sup>463</sup> Ibid.

<sup>464</sup> "Sümeyye Erdoğan Bayraktar: 15th Annual MAS-ICNA Convention," December 27, 2016, <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ik-Rl4VLJ3Q</u>

<sup>465</sup> Zaheer Uddin, "ICNA: A Successful Journey And A Promising Road Ahead," *The Message International*, August 1999, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/1028.pdf#page=2</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>459</sup> "Turkey to have large presence at annual Islamic convention in Chicago," *ICNA Press Release*, December 27, 2016, <u>http://www.icna.org/turkey-to-have-large-presence-at-annual-islamic-convention-in-chicago/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>460</sup> "23rd Council Meeting , 4/29/2018," The Union of NGOs of the Islamic World (UNIW), <u>https://www.idsb.org/en/faaliyetler/from-idsb/icerik/1494/23rd-council-meeting</u>

Society of North America (ISNA) before becoming the first president of ICNA from 1968, and then again from 2003-2005.<sup>466</sup>

ISNA is a prominent Muslim Brotherhood group in the U.S. that grew out of the MSA.  $^{\scriptscriptstyle 467}$ 

Sultan also served as the president of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS),<sup>468</sup> another Muslim Brotherhood front group in the U.S.<sup>469</sup>

ICNA and the Muslim Ummah of North America (MUNA), the other prominent JI outpost in U.S.,<sup>470</sup> were assigned roles in the Muslim Brotherhood's Implementation Manual For the Group's Plan for the year (1991 -1992) to advance the goals of the Islamist movement in the U.S. Prosecutors presented the manual as an exhibit in the 2007-2008 Holy Land Foundation (HLF) trial.<sup>471</sup>

ICNA's partnership with Muslim Brotherhood groups continues to this day, most visibly through its national conventions it co-sponsors with the Muslim American Society (MAS)<sup>472</sup> that feature radical speakers who advocate



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>466</sup> "Interview: From MSA to ICNA and ISNA," *The Message International*, February 16, 2016, <u>http://messageinternational.org/from-msa-to-icna-and-isna/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>467</sup> "Islamic Society of North America: An IPT Investigative Report," <u>http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/275.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>468</sup> "Interview: From MSA to ICNA and ISNA," *The Message International*, February 16, 2016, <u>http://messageinternational.org/from-msa-to-icna-and-isna/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>469</sup> Senators Tom Coburn and Jon Kyl "Letter to Hon. Condoleeza Rice," July 30, 2008, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/158.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>470</sup> Martha Lee, "South Asian Islamists Gain Ground in Philadelphia," *Rabwah Times*, August 17, 2018, <u>https://www.meforum.org/islamist-watch/55300/south-asian-islamists-gain-ground-in-philadelphia</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>471</sup> USA v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al., 04-CR-240, "GX 003-0092: Implementation Manual For the Group's Plan for the year (1991-1992)," USA v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al., <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case\_docs/450.pdf#page=24</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>472</sup> MAS-ICNA Annual Convention 2019, <u>https://www.masconvention.org/</u>

jihad,<sup>473</sup> advocate on behalf of Kashmiri separatists,<sup>474</sup> and call for Israel's elimination.<sup>475</sup>

MAS was created in 1993 as the Brotherhood's arm in the U.S.476

Just as MAS' educational efforts propagate Brotherhood ideology through membership training programs that include the study of Muslim Brotherhood luminaries Hassan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb,<sup>477</sup> this report shows how ICNA's Tarbiyah [Islamic education and training] material for members is replete with JI and Muslim Brotherhood extremist texts that include: Maududi's *Towards Understanding Islam* that considers jihad a part of worship; Yusuf al-Qaradawi's *Priorities of the Islamic Movement in the Coming Phase* that calls for supporting violent jihad movements around the world; and Shamim Siddiqi's *The Commitment* that calls for Muslims to reject Western law in favor of Islamic law, or Sharia.

In 2003, the Chicago chapter of MAS ran a summer camp in Wisconsin for Muslim teenagers where they distributed study materials that included a discussion of Brotherhood's philosophy.<sup>478</sup> The same MAS chapter also included on its teen website "reading materials that say Muslims have a duty to help form Islamic governments worldwide and should be prepared to take up arms to do so."<sup>479</sup>

Similarly, in 2001, ICNA's youth division, Young Muslims, hosted a jihad camp for Muslim youth aged 14-25 years in Pennsylvania to "provide them with the proper

<sup>477</sup> Ibid.

<sup>478</sup> Ibid.

<sup>479</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>473</sup> "CAIR Protests Saudi Radical's Exclusion From U.S.," *IPT News*, December 27, 2012, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/3864/cair-protests-saudi-radical-exclusion-from-us</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>474</sup> Ghulam Nabi Fai, "Kashmir: The Bone of Contention, April 12, 2018, <u>https://www.icna.org/kashmir-the-bone-of-contention/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>475</sup> "Conferences Make AMP's Destructive Ambition Clear," *IPT News*, December 30, 2010, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/2462/conferences-make-amp-destructive-ambition-clear</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>476</sup> Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe and Laurie Cohen, "A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America," *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 2004, <u>https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/watchdog/chi-0409190261sep19-story.html</u>

understanding of the concept of jihad."<sup>480</sup> The program flier includes a quote from Maududi's, *Jihad in Islam*:<sup>481</sup> "In reality **Islam is a revolutionary ideology and programme which seeks to alter the social order of the whole world and rebuild it in conformity with its own tenets and ideals.** 'Muslim' is the title of that International Revolutionary Party organized by Islam to carry into effect its revolutionary programme. **And 'Jihad' refers to that revolutionary struggle and utmost exertion which the Islamic Party brings into play to achieve this objective."** <sup>482</sup> [emphasis added]

ICNA and MUNA work alongside other Muslim Brotherhood front groups to promote Islamism in the U.S. They are members of the US Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO)<sup>483</sup> that was launched in 2014 by eight national Islamist organizations to enforce an Islamist monopoly on Muslim political debate.<sup>484</sup>

ICNA works under the aegis of USCMO to support its Islamist political narrative that portrays rising Islamophobia and hate crimes against Muslims as a direct outcome of U.S. domestic and foreign policies.<sup>485</sup> In the wake of Christchurch mosque shootings in New Zealand,<sup>486</sup> for example, ICNA urged the American Muslim community to participate in the Muslim Advocacy Day event on Capitol Hill organized by USCMO. "Ask your lawmakers to take practical measures to curb the alarming rise of hate and Islamophobia," ICNA's press release said.<sup>487</sup> The ICNA-MAS convention in April concluded with a "Rally Against Hate, Bigotry, and Islamophobia" co-hosted by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>480</sup> Abul A'la Maududi, *Jihad in Islam*, (The Holy Koran Publishing House: March 27, 2006), p. 5, <u>http://www.muhammadanism.org/Terrorism/jihad in islam.pdf#page=5</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>481</sup> "Jihad Camp," Young Muslims, August 20-26, 2001, Pennsylvania.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>482</sup> Abul A'la Maududi, *Jihad in Islam* (The Holy Koran Publishing House: 2006), p. 5, <u>http://www.muhammadanism.org/Terrorism/jihah in islam/jihad in islam.pdf#page=9</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>483</sup> "USCMO Member Organizations," <u>https://uscmo.org/index.php/home-version-10-2/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>484</sup> "American Islamist Coalition Launches with Empty Rhetoric," *IPT News*, March 12, 2014, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/4313/american-islamist-coalition-launches-with-empty</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>485</sup> Nadifa Abdi, "Is Islamophobia a Part of the Republican Agenda?" *The Message International*, October 1, 2016, <u>http://messageinternational.org/is-islamophobia-a-part-of-the-republican-agenda/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>486</sup> "Mourners pay tribute to New Zealand victims, await burials," *Associated Press*, March 17, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>487</sup> "ICNA's message of hope & solidarity for U.S. Muslims," *ICNA Press Release*, March 18, 2019, <u>https://www.icna.org/icnas-message-of-hope-solidarity-for-u-s-muslims/</u>

ICNA Council for Social Justice, MAS, the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR), and American Muslims for Palestine (AMP).<sup>488</sup>

CAIR is a prominent member of the Muslim Brotherhood's American infrastructure and was formed as part of a Hamas-support network in the U.S.<sup>489</sup>

A 2017 lawsuit filed in Chicago federal court alleges that the virulently anti-Israel AMP and several of its activists are "alter egos and/or successors" of the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) and the American Muslim Society (AMS), organizations that were found liable for the 1996 death of an American teenager in a terrorist attack in Israel.<sup>490</sup>

ICNA replicates CAIR's obstructionist attitude toward law enforcement in terrorism investigations.<sup>491</sup> A November 2015 American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) video posted on the website of the ICNA's Council for Social Justice (ICNACSJ)—the organization's social justice arm—instructs viewers "Never Talk To The FBI Without A Lawyer Present."<sup>492</sup> The caption above the video reads, "Learn how the FBI can manipulate what you say and use it against you, and how to prevent them from doing so! With civil liberties and civil rights attorney Harvey Silverglate."<sup>493</sup>

In 2011, senior JI Bangladesh leader and financier, Mir Quasem Ali and his U.S.based brother reportedly spent more than \$300,000 to hire a top lobbying firm to

<sup>493</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>488</sup> "Rally Against Hate, Bigotry, and Islamophobia," Lafayette Square, Washington, DC, April 21, 2019, <u>https://twitter.com/ICNACSJ/status/1118460852284416000</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>489</sup> "The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)," The Investigative Project on Terrorism Profile, <u>http://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/172</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>490</sup> Abha Shankar, "Revised Complaint Bolsters AMP's Ties to Old Hamas-Support Network," *IPT News*, April 5, 2019, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/7884/revised-complaint-bolsters-amp-ties-to-old-hamas</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>491</sup> "CAIR Imagery Makes Obstructionist Goal Clear," *IPT News*, January 12, 2011, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/2492/cair-imagery-makes-obstructionist-goal-clear</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>492</sup> "Never Talk To The FBI Without A Lawyer Present," ICNA Council for Social Justice, November 2, 2015, <u>http://icnacsj.org/2015/11/never-talk-to-the-fbi-without-a-lawyer-present/</u>

influence American lawmakers against the war crimes tribunal.<sup>494</sup> Quasem Ali was subsequently hanged following his conviction on eight charges, including the abduction and killing of a teenager who had dared support Bangladeshi independence.<sup>495</sup> Quasem Ali's brother, Mir Masum Ali, serves on the board of MUNA's and CAIR's New York chapter.<sup>496</sup>

The JI also shares strong ideological similarities with the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>497</sup> JI ideologue Maududi was inspired by the Brotherhood ideology.<sup>498</sup> Maududi also had a profound influence on Sayyid Qutb,<sup>499</sup> a leading Muslim Brotherhood ideologue who has been described as the "father of modern Islamist fundamentalism."<sup>500</sup>

"Qutb admired Maududi and was deeply influenced by Maududi's conception of Islam as a revolutionary force," writes Andrew McGregor in a May 2005 article in *Terrorism Monitor*. McGregor then cites the Islamist ideologues to show similarities in their interpretations of Islam.<sup>501</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>494</sup> David Bergman, "Jamaat leader hires US firm to lobby," *New Age*, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20121215020141/http:/newagebd.com:80/newspaper1/archive\_details.php?date=2011-10-29&nid=38649</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>495</sup> "Bangladesh hangs Islamist Mir Quasem Ali for 1971 war crimes," *BBC News*, September 4, 2016, <u>https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37268320</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>496</sup> "Masum Ali, Board Member," CAIR New York, <u>https://www.cair-ny.org/board-of-directors/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>497</sup> Salman Siddiqi, "Drawing parallels between Jamaat-e-Islami and Muslim Brotherhood," *The Express Tribune*, July 8, 2012, <u>https://tribune.com.pk/story/409788/drawing-parallels-between-jamaat-e-islami-and-muslim-brotherhood/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>498</sup> "Muslim Brotherhood and Jama'at-i Islami," Pew Research Center *Religious & Public Life*, September 15, 2010, <u>https://www.pewforum.org/2010/09/15/muslim-networks-and-movements-in-western-europe-muslim-brotherhood-and-jamaat-i-islami/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>499</sup>Andrew McGregor, "Al-Qaeda's Egyptian Prophet: Sayyid Qutb and the War On Jahiliya," *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 1, Issue 3, May 4, 2005, <u>https://jamestown.org/program/al-qaedas-egyptian-prophet-sayyid-qutb-and-the-war-on-jahiliya/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>500</sup> Robert Irwin, "Is this the man who inspired Bin Laden?" *The Guardian*, November 1, 2001, <u>https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/nov/01/afghanistan.terrorism3</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>501</sup> Andrew McGregor, "Al-Qaeda's Egyptian Prophet: Sayyid Qutb and the War On Jahiliya," *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 1, Issue 3, May 4, 2005, <u>https://jamestown.org/program/al-qaedas-egyptian-prophet-sayyid-qutb-and-the-war-on-jahiliya/</u>

In 1926 Maududi portrayed Islam as "a revolutionary ideology and program which seeks to alter the social order of the whole world and rebuild it in conformity with its tenets and ideals."<sup>502</sup> Later, influenced by Maududi's explanation, Qutb described Islam as "a revolt against any human situation where sovereignty, or indeed Godhead, is given to human beings. A situation that gives ultimate authority to human beings actually elevates those humans to the status of deities, usurping God's own authority. As a declaration of human liberation, Islam means returning God's authority to Him, rejecting the usurpers who rule over human communities according to man-made laws... Nothing of this is achieved through verbal advocacy of Islam [alone]."<sup>503</sup>

Qutb is believed to have also inspired al-Qaida leader Osama bin Laden.<sup>504</sup>

Soon after the Arab Spring protests led to the 2011 ouster of the Hosni Mubarak regime in Egypt, top Brotherhood and JI leaders met in Cairo to "strengthen the relations between the Islamic movements in different countries" and "promote Islam."<sup>505</sup>

The Muslim Brotherhood also condemned the execution of JI Bangladesh war criminals and called on the global community to "reject and condemn these unjust and unfair trials that violate all international norms and conventions...."<sup>506</sup>

The Brotherhood's website described JI leader Mir Quasem, who was executed in September 2016 after being convicted of running the lethal Al-Badr militia,<sup>507</sup> as an "icon of freedom and resistance against tyranny."<sup>508</sup>

<sup>502</sup> Ibid.

<sup>503</sup> Ibid.

<sup>504</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>505</sup> "JI, Muslim Brotherhood partner to 'promote Islam,'" *The Express Tribune*, June 23, 2011, <u>https://tribune.com.pk/story/194807/ji-muslim-brotherhood-partner-to-promote-islam/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>506</sup> "Muslim Brotherhood Plea to Cancel Unjust Death Sentence for Bangladesh Opposition Leaders," *Ikhwanweb*, March 1, 2013, <u>https://archive.is/G4eA3#selection-425.0-425.89</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>507</sup> Haroon Habib, "Bangladesh executes Jamaat leader Mir Quasem Ali," *The Hindu*, September 3, 2016, <u>https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/south-asia/Bangladesh-executes-Jamaat-leader-Mir-Quasem-Ali/article14622075.ece</u>

Quasem's "martyrdom" was compared to that of MB ideologue Sayyid Qutb in 1966: "When the Egyptian regime executed Sayyid Qutb in 1966, they thought they killed his ideas and ideology; but—as tyrants do in every era and place—they unintentionally immortalized him, inadvertently spread his ideas, and unwittingly introduced the people to his call—his ideology."<sup>509</sup>

### Jamaat-e-Islami's Web of Terror

JI affiliates in Bangladesh and Pakistan criticize the United States, openly voice support for terrorist groups and praise their leaders. For example, people like Osama bin Laden never die, former JI Pakistan leader Syed Munawar Hasan said in a 2014 video.<sup>510</sup> They continue to live in the people's hearts and give voice to their people. Hasan described Taliban leader Hakimullah Mehsud's killing<sup>511</sup> in a U.S. drone strike as "martyrdom."<sup>512</sup> He called the United States an enemy of Pakistan: "America was our enemy yesterday, it is so today, and tomorrow too it will not refrain from enmity against us."<sup>513</sup>

The JI has provided an ideological platform and recruiting base for terrorist groups in South Asia. One example, Hizbul Mujahideen (HM),<sup>514</sup> a Kashmiri jihadist group that

<sup>509</sup> Ibid.

<sup>510</sup> "Osama Bin Laden lives in the heart of people - Syed Munawar Hasan," *Awaz Today* [Undated], <u>https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x1agnd9</u>

<sup>511</sup> Zahir Shah Sherazi, "Pakistani Taliban chief Hakimullah Mehsud killed in drone attack," *Dawn*, November 1, 2013, <u>https://www.dawn.com/news/1053410</u>

<sup>512</sup> "Pakistani Leaders: Hakimullah Mehsud Is A Martyr; Maulana Fazlullah: 'Even A Dog' Killed By The U.S. 'Is A Martyr'; Report: The 'Farm Where [Mehsud] Died... [Was] Just A Kilometer Away' From Pakistan Army Headquarters," *The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) Special Dispatch*, November 8, 2013, https://www.memri.org/reports/pakistani-leaders-hakimullah-mehsud-martyr-maulana-fazlullah-even-dog-killed-us-martyr

<sup>513</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>508</sup> "Muslim Brotherhood: Mir Quasem – Icon of Freedom and Resistance Against Tyranny," *Ikhwanweb*, September 5, 2016, <u>http://archive.is/4qefc#selection-421.0-421.79</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>514</sup> "Hizbul Mujahideen: A profile," *The Times of India*, May 20, 2003, <u>https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/pakistan/Hizbul-Mujahideen-A-profile/articleshow/46956242.cms</u>

emerged in 1989 as JI's militant wing,  $^{\scriptscriptstyle 515}$  is responsible for several terrorist attacks in Jammu and Kashmir.  $^{\scriptscriptstyle 516}$ 

The U.S. designated HM as a foreign terrorist organization in August 2017.<sup>517</sup>

In a March 2017 video, now-deceased, former HM commander Zakir Rashid Bhat noted that the Kashmiri people's struggle for independence was "nationalistic" and was "haraam" ("not permissible") in Islam.<sup>518</sup> "Nationalism and democracy are not permissible in Islam," he said.<sup>519</sup> Also known as Zakir Musa, Bhat broke ranks with HM to head the al Qaeda cell in Jammu and Kashmir,<sup>520</sup> Ansar Ghazwat-Ul-Hind. Known for coining the phrase *Shariyat ya Shahadat* ("Islamic rule or martyrdom"), Bhat was killed by Indian security forces in May 2019.<sup>521</sup>

JI's former student wing in India, the Student Islamic Movement of India or SIMI,<sup>522</sup> has been implicated in some of the deadliest terror attacks in the country. The group has been banned in India and is alleged<sup>523</sup> to have links to terrorist groups such as the

<sup>519</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>515</sup> "Patterns of Global Terrorism 2003," *U.S. Department of State*, April 2004, p. 147, http://web.archive.org/web/20190421093650/https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/31912.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>516</sup> "Country Reports on Terrorism 2017 – Foreign Terrorist Organizations: Hizbul Mujahideen," *United Nations High Commission for Refugees*, <u>https://www.refworld.org/docid/5bcf1f4413.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>517</sup> "State Department Terrorist Designation of Hizbul Mujahideen," *U.S. Department of State Press Release*, August 16, 2017, <u>https://www.state.gov/state-department-terrorist-designation-of-hizbul-mujahideen/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>518</sup> Ashiq Hussain, "Our fight is not for Kashmir, it's for Islam: Hizbul commander in new video," *Hindustan Times*, March 16, 2017, <u>https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/our-fight-not-for-kashmir-but-for-islam-hizbul-mujahideen-commander-in-new-video/story-qj3PImqAJlEodFP0129PLL.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>520</sup> "Al-Qaida-linked cell Ansar Ghazwat-Ul-Hind announces Zakir Musa as its chief in Kashmir," *Times of India*, July 27, 2017, <u>https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/al-qaida-linked-cell-ansar-ghazwat-ul-hind-announces-zakir-musa-as-its-chief-in-kashmir/articleshow/59792567.cms</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>521</sup> Khalid Shah, "Death of Zakir Musa – start of a new radicalism in Kashmir?," Observer Research Foundation, May 27, 2019, <u>https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/death-of-zakir-musa-start-of-a-new-radicalism-in-kashmir-51303/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>522</sup> "What is SIMI? All you need to know," *The Indian Express*,

 $<sup>\</sup>label{eq:https://indianexpress.com/article/research/students-islamic-movement-of-india-bhopal-central-jail-madhya-pradesh-all-you-need-to-know-about-simi-3730875/$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>523</sup> "A spotlight on India's radical SIMI group," *DW.com*, <u>https://www.dw.com/en/a-spotlight-on-indias-radical-simi-group/a-36235591</u>

Indian Mujahideen (IM),<sup>524</sup> the Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT),<sup>525</sup> and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM).<sup>526</sup>

Nurul Islam Marzan, one of the masterminds behind the July 2016 terror attack on a Dhaka café that killed 17 foreigners,<sup>527</sup> helped lead a group with alleged ties to the banned Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) and was active in JI's student wing Islami Chhatra Shibir (ICS)<sup>528</sup> at Chittagong University.<sup>529</sup> Suspects in the 2013 murder of blogger and activist Ahmed Rajib Haider reportedly acted on orders from an ICS leader.<sup>530</sup>

JI's Pakistan affiliate condemned the execution of Mumtaz Qadri,<sup>531</sup> who assassinated former Punjab governor Salman Taseer, a fierce opponent of Pakistan's blasphemy laws.<sup>532</sup> JI Pakistan also protested against the Pakistani Supreme Court's decision to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>524</sup> "Indian Mujahideen," *Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium (TRAC)*, <u>https://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/indian-mujahideen</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>525</sup> "Pakistani Terror Group Lashkar-e Tayyiba Extends Tentacles in United States," *IPT News*, June 30, 2010, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/2037/pakistani-terror-group-lashkar-e-tayyiba-extends</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>526</sup>"Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM)," Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISC), Stanford University, <u>https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/jaish-e-mohammed?highlight=Mujahideen+Army</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>527</sup> "Dhaka cafe attack ends with 20 hostages among dead," *The Guardian*, July 1, 2016, <u>https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/01/dhaka-bangladesh-restaurant-attack-hostages</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>528</sup> "Islami Chhatra Shibir (ICS)," <u>https://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/bangladesh/terroristoutfits/ics.htm</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>529</sup> "Marzan was a Chhatra Shibir activist at CU," *The Daily Star*, August 17, 2016,

https://www.thedailystar.net/frontpage/marzan-was-chhatra-shibir-activist-cu-1271008

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>530</sup> "Two sentenced to death in Bangladesh for killing blogger," *The Irish* Times, December 31, 2015, <u>https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/asia-pacific/two-sentenced-to-death-in-bangladesh-for-killing-blogger-1.2481665</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>531</sup> "Eenemy [sic] was targeting mosques, shrines and madrissaha [sic]," Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, http://web.archive.org/web/20190218194357/https://jamaat.org/en/news\_detail.php?article\_id=1071

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>532</sup> "Salman Taseer murder: Pakistan hangs Mumtaz Qadri," *BBC News*, February 29, 2016, <u>https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-35684452</u>

overturn the death sentence of Asia Bibi, a Pakistani Christian woman who was convicted of blasphemy by a Pakistani court and sentenced to death in 2010.<sup>533</sup>

Bibi subsequently was acquitted and fled Pakistan to live in Canada.<sup>534</sup>

The Indian government in March banned JI's chapter in Jammu & Kashmir (JI J&K) for five years on charges the group was "in close touch" with militant outfits and sought to "escalate a secessionist movement" in Jammu and Kashmir.<sup>535</sup> The organization is alleged to provide "ideological" and "logistical support" to Kashmiri terrorists and extremists to engage in anti-Indian activities.<sup>536</sup>

The ban came in the wake of the Pulwama terror attack<sup>537</sup> that claimed the lives of 40 Indian Central Reserve Police Force soldiers. <sup>538</sup>

The chapter was banned for two years in 1975 and in 1990 for three years.

JI (J&K) separated from its parent Jamaat-e-Islami Hind over political differences and seeks to establish "an independent theocratic Islamic State by destabilizing the government established by law."<sup>539</sup> Several members of the state chapter have also

<sup>536</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>533</sup> Asif Shahzad, Kay Johnson, "Pakistani Christian woman's blasphemy ordeal highlights plight of minorities," *Reuters*, November 1, 2018, <u>https://in.reuters.com/article/pakistan-blasphemy-christianity/pakistani-christian-womans-blasphemy-ordeal-highlights-plight-of-minorities-idINKCN1N652E</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>534</sup> Pamela Constable, "Pakistan's most famous accused blasphemer escaped to Canada. Others remain on death row," *The Washington Post*, May 18, 2019, <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/ext/17062</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>535</sup> "Jamaat-e-Islami brain behind Hizbul Mujahideen and Hurriyat," *Hindustan Times*, March 1, 2017, <u>https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/jamaat-e-islami-brain-behind-hizbul-mujahideen-and-hurriyat/story-Iue5ZdNQXeJEIsMwhOUzfP.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>537</sup>"Pulwama attack: Pakistan warns India against military action," *BBC News*, February 19, 2019, <u>https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-47290107</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>538</sup>"J&K: Massive crackdown begins on Jamaat-e-Islami, 70 premises identified for sealing," *India Today*, March 2, 2019, <u>https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/j-k-massive-crackdown-begins-on-jamaat-e-islami-70-premises-identified-for-sealing-1468607-2019-03-02</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>539</sup> "Jamaat-e-Islami brain behind Hizbul Mujahideen and Hurriyat," *Hindustan Times*, March 1, 2017, <u>https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/jamaat-e-islami-brain-behind-hizbul-mujahideen-and-hurriyat/story-Iue5ZdNQXeJEIsMwhOUzfP.html</u>

been accused by government authorities of being "actively involved" with terrorist organizations such as the Hizbul Mujahideen (HM).<sup>540</sup>

## Conclusion

Evidence showcased in this report raises troubling questions about ICNA's history and purpose. A careful review of its origins, programs, and activities demonstrates that the Islamist network shares the nefarious agenda of the JI and other Islamist movements that seek to establish a global caliphate governed by Shariah law. The fact that ICNA's charitable arms partners with JI organizations that are closely aligned with designated terrorist groups is concerning and requires further investigation.

Through its trademark Dawa and Tarbiyah programs, ICNA targets American Muslims, youth and non-Muslims to advance an Islamist ideology that degrades American values of democracy and liberty, and seeks "the establishment of the Islamic system in this land."<sup>541</sup>

<sup>540</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>541</sup> "Islamic Circle of North America: An Introduction" (ICNA Brochure), <u>https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/ICNA%20Brochure.pdf#page=2</u>