

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

July 30, 2008

The Honorable Condoleezza Rice  
Secretary  
U.S. Department of State  
2201 C Street NW  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Secretary Rice,

Earlier this year, it came to our attention that at least two State Department grantees were funding Muslim outreach programs operated by the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), an unindicted coconspirator in a recent terror financing trial, and a leader of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS). The Muslim Brotherhood, whose radical and violent agenda has been extensively documented, is an Islamist organization opposed to Western liberal democracy and considers both entities part of its U.S. network.

On Thursday, July 10, 2008, the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee held a hearing entitled, "The Roots of Violent Islamist Extremism and Efforts to Counter It." The testimonies of Zeyno Baran of the Hudson Institute, Maajid Nawaz of the Quilliam Foundation, and Steve Emerson of the Investigative Project on Terrorism document the history and extremist ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, one of the first and most prominent Islamist organizations.

According to these witnesses, the central tenets of Islamism is that Islam is the only basis for a legal and political system and that Islamic law, or *Sharia*, must shape all aspects of human society. According to Zeyno Baran, the goal of the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist groups is the eventual Islamization of the world and the "[rejection] of Western norms of pluralism, individual rights, and the secular rule of law." This is diametrically opposed to liberal democracy. In other words, Islamists work to promote "separation, sedition, and hatred, and is at the core of Islamist terrorism."<sup>1</sup>

The extremist ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood is best illustrated by the Muslim Brotherhood's own strategic plan for its affiliates in the U.S. The plan was outlined in the attached Muslim Brotherhood memorandum that was submitted as evidence by federal prosecutors in a recent terror financing trial.<sup>2</sup> The Muslim Brotherhood's description of its agenda in the United States is alarming:

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<sup>1</sup> Testimony from Zeyno Baran presented to the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, 10 July 2008.

<sup>2</sup> "An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America," Government Exhibit 003-0085, *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation, et al.*

**Understanding the role of the Muslim Brother in North America:** The process of settlement is a “Civilization-Jihadist Process”. . .the [Muslim Brotherhood affiliates] must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western Civilization from within and “sabotaging” its miserable house by their hands and the hands of unbelievers so that it is eliminated and God’s religion is made victorious over all other religions.

Included in the memorandum is a list of organizations that the Muslim Brotherhood considers part of its U.S. network. ISNA is at the top of the list along with two other ISNA-linked groups. AMSS is 4<sup>th</sup> on the list.

Despite the Muslim Brotherhood link to these entities, in December 2007, a grant of nearly \$500,000 was awarded by the U.S. State Department to the University of Delaware which employs a leader of the AMSS, Muqtedar Khan, to manage the grant.<sup>3</sup> The grant is meant to foster dialogue between the U.S. and clerics in Muslim countries. In 2006 and 2007, the National Peace Foundation received State Department grants of \$466,000 and \$499,999 to conduct similar programs in partnership with ISNA.<sup>4</sup>

Staff from the Senate Subcommittee on Federal Financial Management, Governmental Information, Federal Services, and International Security met with State Department officials from the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs which manages these grants. When explaining the vetting procedures used for these grantees, your staff admitted that they do not vet the grantees used to implement these Muslim outreach programs. Instead, they rely on the grantees to vet themselves. Accordingly, the State Department is funding organizations without having a proper understanding of their membership, affiliation or whether they may be pursuing an agenda that is at odds with U.S. policy—to wage a war of ideas against the extremist ideology that inspires terrorism around the world, including here in the United States.

Even more troubling, the decision to award the grant managed by Mr. Khan of AMSS was based on a recommendation letter from the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), another unindicted coconspirator in the terror financing trial referenced above. Like ISNA and AMSS, the Muslim Brotherhood considers IIIT part of its U.S. network through which it wages a “civilization-jihadist process” to destroy Western civilization.

IIIT has other links to extremist groups. For example, its 2003 IRS tax forms show that it financially supported the al-Haramain Islamic Foundation of Ashland,

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<sup>3</sup> Grant details are posted on USAspending.gov:

[http://www.usaspending.gov/faads/faads.php?reptype=r&database=faads&record\\_id=11414195&detail=3&datatype=T&sortby=i](http://www.usaspending.gov/faads/faads.php?reptype=r&database=faads&record_id=11414195&detail=3&datatype=T&sortby=i)

<sup>4</sup> Information provided by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs; FY2007 grant details are posted on USAspending.gov:

[http://www.usaspending.gov/faads/faads.php?reptype=r&database=faads&record\\_id=11414134&detail=3&datatype=T&sortby=i](http://www.usaspending.gov/faads/faads.php?reptype=r&database=faads&record_id=11414134&detail=3&datatype=T&sortby=i)



Oregon.<sup>5</sup> In 2004, the U.S. Treasury Department reported that Al Haramain engaged in “tax fraud, money laundering, supporting the mujahideen affiliated with al Qaeda,” and that there were “direct links between the U.S. branch and Usama bin Laden.”<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Khan’s agenda, which was submitted to the State Department, lists events and seminars that Muslim Brotherhood affiliates would give. This includes IIIT and the Muslim American Society (MAS). In a recent terror-financing trial, a FBI agent testified that a phonebook found at the home of a Hamas official listed contact information for Muslim Brotherhood leadership in the United States. Among the names listed as “Members of the Board of Directors” were the founding incorporators of MAS.<sup>7</sup>

When Senator Coburn first learned that the State Department was funding Islamist entities, he requested a meeting with Goli Ameri who, at the time, was the nominee to become the Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs and would manage the bureau that issues these grants. During the discussion of her nomination, Ms. Ameri promised Senator Coburn that the State Department would stop funding these entities once she was confirmed.

Unfortunately, sometime after Ms. Ameri was confirmed, ISNA announced new sub-grant funding from the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs to carry out a new Muslim outreach program. An ISNA press release stated that these federal funds paid for a U.S. delegation to meet with Dr. Ali Goma, the Mufti of Egypt. In 2003, Ali Goma was quoted in Egypt’s “Al-haqiqa” newspaper defending terrorist acts in Israel.<sup>8</sup>

U.S. taxpayers should not be supporting Islamist groups—especially with funding meant to counter the extremist ideology that Islamists promote. We understand that there has been concern about the legal protections available to the Department should litigation be brought to bear by Islamist groups that have their grants rescinded. We are not persuaded that such liability exists, however, as Senator Coburn assured Ms. Ameri, he is working with the Department of Justice to obtain further confirmation of what your Department General Counsel should be able to tell you: it is the legal right and obligation of the Department to bar, withhold or rescind funding for any entities that do not advance the mission of the Department, which is the security and stability of the United States, including its culture, its people, and its form of government.

We are sure that you would agree that Americans should not have to fund their enemies in the form of misguided “outreach” efforts. To that end, please provide a response to the following questions by August 9, 2008:

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.guidestar.org/pqShowGsReport.do?npId=921171>

<sup>6</sup> U.S. Department of State, *U.S. Names Two Branches of Saudi Foundation as Terror Supporters*, Sept. 9, 2004, <http://usinfo.state.gov/ci/Archive/2004/Sep/09-780745.html>.

<sup>7</sup> “Muslim Brotherhood Phonebook Confirms that MAS is Brotherhood’s Baby,” *The Investigative Project on Terrorism*, 14 August 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Rabinowitz, Beila and William Mayer. “State Department Funding ISNA’s Propagation of Islam via citizen exchange program,” *Pipe Line News*, 25 April 2008.

- (1) By what date will all funding to Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated organizations (including organizations identified in the attached Muslim Brotherhood memorandum) through grants, cooperative agreements, fellowships, contracts or any other funding vehicle, be curtailed?
- (2) By what date will you establish Department-wide, standardized procedures to prevent funding from being provided to Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated organizations (including organizations identified in the attached Muslim Brotherhood memorandum)?

We know you share our goal of ensuring the security of our people and the proper stewardship of their hard-earned taxes. Thank you for your service to our nation and we look forward to hearing from you. For your convenience, we have included the congressional testimonies of Zeyno Baran, Maajid Nawaz, and Steve Emerson that provide more details about the Muslim Brotherhood and its network in the U.S. If you would like to discuss this further, please feel free to contact us or our staff.

Sincerely,



Senator Tom Coburn, M.D.



Senator Jon Kyl

CC: Sen. Joseph Biden, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Chairman  
Sen. Richard Lugar, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Ranking Member  
Sen. Robert Byrd, Senate Appropriations Committee, Chairman  
Sen. Thad Cochran, Senate Appropriations Committee, Ranking Member  
Rep. Howard Berman, House Foreign Affairs Committee, Chairman  
Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, House Foreign Affairs Committee, Ranking Member  
Rep. David Obey, House Appropriations Committee, Chairman  
Rep. Jerry Lewis, House Appropriations Committee, Ranking Member