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# The Muslim Brotherhood Evolution: An Overview

Rachel Ehrenfeld

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**ABSTRACT** The mass demonstrations that brought down the Hosni Mubarak regime might not have been started by the Muslim Brotherhood, which successive Egyptian governments had banned since 1954, but that well-funded and organized opposition group was quick to take advantage of the popular protests. Their endorsement of the demonstrations and their active participation in them provided the Brotherhood with a legitimate voice in the emerging political leadership. The massive coverage of the uprising by the international media gave this Muslim fundamentalist global movement an excellent stage on which to enact its masquerade as a benign, freedom-loving organization. Looking for new alternatives to the old regime, the media and many political commentators have either ignored or deliberately misinformed the public about the real agenda of the group and the serious threat its rising influence poses to the West. Since its establishment in 1928, this secretive organization has frequently adopted new strategies, allowing it to grow and become a global organization with deep footholds in more than seventy countries. This article lays out the Brotherhood's agenda and highlights key points in the organization's evolution that has helped it to survive and pursue its mission to establish a global Islamic Caliphate.

**KEYWORDS** Egypt; Hassan al Banna; Ikhwan; Islamic banking; Muslim Brotherhood; Political Islam; Sayyid Qutb; Shariah

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[Muslims] crucially need to understand that the improvement and change that the nation seeks can only be attained through jihad and sacrifice and by raising a jihadi generation that pursues death just as the enemies pursue life.

—Muslim Brotherhood Supreme Guide, Muhammad Badi' (September 2009)<sup>1</sup>

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## INTRODUCTION

The recent turmoil in the Middle East and North Africa gave the Muslim Brotherhood its long-awaited opportunity to step onto the world stage and directly influence the political future of many Arab Muslim countries, accelerate its penetration of Western democracies, and spur far-reaching changes in the world balance of power. While declaring their yearning for

freedom and democratic elections to replace dictatorships, members of the chameleonlike Islamic organization and its many offshoots and supporters are hoping that popular voting will increase the political power of Islamic parties. Once in power, they will work to advance the establishment of shariah (law)-based regimes.

A quick survey of the region gives cause for concern. The Islamic parties in Tunisia and Egypt were quick to associate themselves with the revolution, demanding sweeping legal reform and the release of political prisoners. The exiled Brotherhood Tunisian branch leader Rashid Ghannouchi returned from London where he lived for 20 years immediately after Tunisian dictator Zine el Abidine Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia. The former director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Mohamed ElBaradei, who claims not to be a Brotherhood member, arrived in Cairo a few days into the Egyptian revolt to serve as the organization's spokesperson.<sup>2</sup> A Nobel laureate with international prestige, ElBaradei praised the Muslim Brotherhood and issue public statements defending the organization. Interviewed by ABC's Christiane Amanpour on January 30, 2011, ElBaradei dismissed the widely held opinion that the Brotherhood is an extremist organization and insisted that "any thought in that direction is totally bogus."<sup>3</sup>

On January 18, 2011, Muslim Brotherhood "spiritual leader" Yusuf Qaradawi arrived in Cairo after three decades of exile in Qatar. He addressed a huge crowd celebrating the first week since Mubarak's ousting. After congratulating the Egyptians for starting the revolution, he urged them to continue their jihad until they reconquer al Aqsa (Jerusalem).<sup>4</sup>

The Brotherhood was banned in Egypt for decades but has been unofficially tolerated as a religious group in recent years. In an effort to insert themselves into politics, members sought election as "independent" candidates and in 2005 won 88 seats in the People's Assembly (Majilis al-Sha'ab), amounting to about 20 percent of Egypt's puppet parliament.<sup>5</sup> The Brotherhood refrained from participating in the 2010 election, which they claimed would be corrupt.

Taking advantage of the new junta's promise of elections that would represent all Egyptian parties, Muslim Brotherhood Chairman Mohammed Badie announced on February 26, 2011, that "in a gesture of democratic representation," the group had

established "a political party named the Freedom and Justice party." He stated that "party membership will be open to all Egyptians who accept the party's program and policy direction."<sup>6</sup>

The Libyan Muslim Brotherhood, which was suppressed by Muammar Gaddafi, has joined other opposition groups attempting to topple the dictator. As this article goes to print, Libya is still wracked by violence. On February 21, 2011, when Gaddafi's military aircraft bombed demonstrators in Tripoli, Yusuf Qaradawi issued a fatwa calling for Gaddafi's assassination. He urged the Libyan military to side with protesters against the regime.<sup>7</sup>

In Jordan, where the Brotherhood's Islamic Action Front dominates parliament, the movement is orchestrating mass protests calling on the king to surrender his authority to appoint the cabinet, dissolve parliament,<sup>8</sup> lower food prices, and institute many other political changes.<sup>9</sup> Thousands of people attended a "Day of Rage" demonstration convened on February 25, 2011.<sup>10</sup> The Muslim Brotherhood protest, the largest until then, was timed to coincide with "Day of Rage" protests spanning the Middle East. It called on all Arabs to revolt against their "tyrannical rulers."<sup>11</sup> The demonstrations had already prompted political shifts in January, including the appointment of a new prime minister charged with carrying out reform.<sup>12</sup>

Meanwhile Brotherhood offshoots are fueling violence throughout the region. Confrontations continue in Yemen, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Oman.

The growing regional unrest that Brotherhood-affiliated organizations were quick to join poses a severe threat to Western interests in the Middle East. The anti-American signs and slogans in many of the demonstrations could signal the decline of American and Western influence in the region and the rise of Islamic influence. But the Western press and media praising the reforms offered by Muslim Brotherhood affiliated politicians seem oblivious to the movement's true agenda and well-honed methods of operation. That attitude has been attributed to the growing influence of the Muslim Brotherhood in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere. Armed with money from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, Brotherhood affiliates and agents created advocacy, religious, educational, charitable, and many other organizations to support various cause célèbres, including that of the Palestinians, while abusing

humanitarian appeals to enlist supporters to their fundamentalist cause.

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*“The recent turmoil in the Middle East and North Africa gave the Muslim Brotherhood its long-awaited opportunity to step onto the world stage...”*

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To understand the nature of the Muslim Brotherhood and the implications of its meteoric rise and growing global influence, one needs to probe beyond its freshly made-up benevolent public image.

## BACKGROUND

The Muslim Brotherhood was formed in March 1928, the brainchild of political Islam’s founding father, Egyptian schoolteacher Hassan al Banna.

*The American Muslim* (TAM) publication noted in its first issue in 1989 that the Muslim Brotherhood “became the first mass-based, overtly political movement to oppose the ascendancy of secular and Western ideas in the Middle East.” In those ideas it perceived “the root of the decay of Islamic societies in the modern world” and advocated “a return to Islam as a solution to the ills that had befallen Muslim societies.”<sup>13</sup>

The global Muslim Brotherhood is a secretive organization that has many affiliates and various offshoots worldwide. Although the number of its members is unknown, the organization is widely recognized as the world’s “most influential Islamist movement.”<sup>14</sup>

The Brotherhood’s slogan is unambiguous: “Islam is the solution.”<sup>15</sup> Its core belief is that Allah decreed the ideal social and political organization for mankind, as described in the Koran and its interpretations (*sunnab*). It is unabashedly supremacist and seeks to actualize Islam’s manifest destiny starting by reclaiming the Islamic Caliphate that once spanned from Spain to Indonesia.<sup>16</sup>

The movement’s most influential ideologue was Sayyid Qutb, the author of *Milestones* (Ma’alim fi-l-Tariq) and a 30-volume commentary on Islamic law and theology, *In the Shade of the Quri’an* (Fi Zilal al-Qur’an). Together with Banna, Qutb set the agenda for the Muslim Brotherhood, a revolutionary movement that rejects Western values and influence. In the words of a former leader Mohammad Mahdi Akef:

[T]he Muslim Brotherhood...[is] an all-encompassing Islamic organization, calling [for] the adoption of the great religion that Allah gave in his mercy to humanity. We are in the global arena, and we preach for Allah according to the guidelines of the Muslim Brotherhood. All the members of the Muslim Brotherhood in the international arena operate according to the written charter that states that Jihad is the only way to achieve these goals. Ours is the largest organization in the world. A Muslim in the international arena, who believes in the charter of the Muslim Brotherhood, is considered part of us and we are considered part of him.<sup>17</sup>

The funding for the group and its affiliated organizations comes from tithes from members’ annual income, complemented by generous funding from Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, and wealthy Muslim individuals worldwide. The Brotherhood operates on doctrines of proselytization (*da’wa*) and deception (*taqiyyah*), a virtue “doctrinally grounded in Islam... often depicted as being equal—sometimes superior—to other universal military virtues such as courage, fortitude, or self-sacrifice.”<sup>18</sup>

## LEADING “SPIRITUAL LEADER”

Radical Egyptian theologian Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi is considered the Muslim Brotherhood’s spiritual leader. He heads the International Union of Muslim scholars (IUMS) and the European Council for Fatwa and Research. In 2007 he was listed as the chairman of the board of trustees of the Islamic American University, sponsored by the Muslim American Society (MAS).<sup>19</sup> A known advocate of suicide bombing as “martyrdom in the name of God,”<sup>20</sup> Qaradawi heads Qatar University’s Seerah and Sunnah Centre<sup>21</sup> and is regarded as one of the leading modern Islamic scholars in the world today.

Qaradawi’s fatwas are published on his popular Web sites, [www.qaradawi.net](http://www.qaradawi.net) and IslamOnline. His sermons and speeches are heard and seen on the Qatari state-sponsored al-Jazeera network’s prime time television program, “Shariah and Life” (*ash-Shariah wal-Hayat*). It is estimated that at least 60 million people regularly view the program.<sup>22</sup>

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*“The growing regional unrest that Brotherhood-affiliated organizations were quick to join poses a severe threat to Western interests in the Middle East.”*

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In January 2004 Qaradawi used his program to call on to Muslims worldwide to kill American and coalition forces in uniform as well as “civilians” in Iraq and Afghanistan. He also issued a fatwa forbidding Muslims from buying or even advertising American or Israeli products.<sup>23</sup>

Doha-based al-Jazeera is a major propaganda channel for the Muslim Brotherhood. Cables published by Wikileaks confirm that Qatar uses al-Jazeera as “a useful tool” to advance its political agenda.<sup>24</sup> While Qatar has ostensibly forged deep diplomatic and business ties with the United States and Europe, al-Jazeera has aired messages from bin Laden and other Al Qaeda leaders, Hamas, and even leaders of the Shi’ite Hezbollah terrorist group. The Islamic Resistance Movement (Harakat al-Muqwwamat al-Islmiyyah), known by its acronym, “Hamas,” is a Damascus based offshoot of the Brotherhood and the ruling power in Gaza.

The 85-year-old Qaradawi returned to Egypt with the junta’s blessing a week after Mubarak was ousted. On February 18, 2011, he delivered his first public prayer in Cairo in 50 years and spoke to massive crowds gathered at Tahrir Square. While blessing the Egyptians for overthrowing Mubarak’s corrupt government, he made the Palestinian issue a central theme of his sermon and demanded that the military government open the border between Hamas-ruled Gaza and Egypt at the Rafah crossing. He further called on all Muslims to reconquer Jerusalem so that they could pray at Al-Aqsa mosque.<sup>25</sup>

In early January 2009, Qaradawi said on al-Jazeera, “Oh, Allah, take this oppressive, Jewish, Zionist band of people . . . do not spare a single one of them . . . kill them, down to the very last one.”<sup>26</sup> Later that month, in another al-Jazeera aired speech, Qaradawi declared, “Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the [Jews] people who would punish them for their corruption. The last punishment was carried out by Hitler.”<sup>27</sup>

Despite his vitriolic statements and repeated incitements to violence, Qaradawi enjoys a broad reputation for moderate thought. Some of Qaradawi’s most prominent Western apologists include the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), former London mayor Ken Livingstone, and Georgetown University Professor John Esposito, who heads the Saudi-funded Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding.<sup>28</sup> Qaradawi’s

Western supporters seem undisturbed by the fact that he has been banned from entering the United States (1999) and Britain (2008).<sup>29</sup>

## MODERN METHODS TO PROMOTE MIEVIAL IDEOLOGY

Al-Jazeera is only one of many Muslim Brotherhood propaganda tools. Organization members have mastered the use of modern technologies to spread their Islamist message. The Brotherhood promotes its agenda in the print media and on radio, television, and the Internet. In addition to ikhwanonline.com, its official Web site, the Brotherhood sponsors many other venues to reach all segments in society. For example, it sponsors a special Web site, awladnaa.net, to indoctrinate children with a jihadist message.

Middle East funding helped the Muslim Brotherhood to penetrate academic institutions through which it propagates its reactionary ideology. In 1995 Qatar’s emir established the Qatar Foundation, now headed by his wife, Shikha Mozah Bint Nasser Al-Missned.<sup>30</sup> American universities lured by massive financial incentives established branches in Qatar. They include Carnegie Mellon, Northwestern, Texas A&M, Georgetown, Virginia Commonwealth, and Cornell. The Qatar Foundation covers the costs of A&M at Education City and pledged \$750 million to Cornell’s medical college branch there.<sup>31</sup> At that educational complex American students may gain exposure to radical figures; otherwise, they are billed. Education City also houses Qaradawi’s Center for Islamic Moderation and Renewal, an Islamic think tank designed to train imams, economists, and politicians and supposedly “help them promote moderation in their respective areas.”<sup>32</sup>

In the 2009–2010 academic year, the Qatar Foundation awarded five graduate scholarships in Qaradawi’s name for applicants focusing on Islamic studies with a specialty in Contemporary Islamic Law (fiqh). In 2009 Qaradawi joined a roster of prominent Middle Eastern speakers who lectured to American students participating in “Journalism Boot Camp,” a program affiliated with Columbia University, the University of Qatar, and the American University of Cairo.<sup>33</sup>

The Muslim Brotherhood is adept at public relations. Despite its bloody history and declared goals of imposing shariah across the globe, the organization

has a relatively unchallenged reputation as peaceful and prodemocratic. Why? Because it peppers its rhetoric with democratic catchphrases palatable to American and European ears.

A recent *TIME Magazine* essay recounted in detail how the Brotherhood downplayed its role in the recent Egyptian turmoil. *TIME* also took pains to note that interviewees “consistently spoke of their commitment to the civil, nonsectarian nature of the state.”<sup>34</sup> In a February 11, 2011, article about Egypt, *The New York Times* attributed Anwar Sadat’s murder to an “Islamist assassin’s bullets” but did not mention the Muslim Brotherhood, which claimed credit for the kill.<sup>35</sup>

A February 1, 2011, BBC interview featured former Brotherhood spokesman Kamal El-Helbawy. He discussed the prospect that the organization would win the forthcoming parliamentary election in Egypt. Shariah will become the law “if the majority of the people and democratic practice allows it,” he said. When asked what Egyptian society would look like under the Brotherhood, Helbawy told the BBC’s Western audience, “Freedom, consultation, equality, freedom of everything, belief, freedom of expression. . . .” When asked whether a woman without a veil could govern Egypt, Helbawy wisely answered that “if the people accept her and vote for her like that, yes.”<sup>36</sup>

## FINANCING THE JIHAD

*Zakat*, we have been told, is charity—an Islamic obligation meant to help the needy. But as Janine A. Clark’s excellent 2004 study shows, *zakat* is collected and exploited by rulers in the Arab world in order to support the middle class, buying its loyalty to the political class and its radical ideology.<sup>37</sup>

Millard Burr and Robert Collins’s compelling study *Alms for Jihad* documents that when *zakat*, which is obligatory for all Muslims, is given “in the path of Allah,” it may be given to fund jihad. There are seven broad categories of eligible recipients: the poor, converts, wayfarers, those in bondage or in debt, those committed to Allah for the spread and triumph of Islam, newcomers whose faith is weak, and new converts to Islam “whose hearts have been [recently] reconciled [to truth].” Moreover, *zakat* may be used to support those who administer it.<sup>38</sup> The definition of *zakat* in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* includes in

“category 7” of eligible recipients “volunteers engaged in jihad,” for whom *zakat* covers “living expenses and the expenses of their military service (animals, weapons).”<sup>39</sup>

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*“Some of the world’s expanding financial markets are inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood and have been designed to help further their agenda.”*

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In the late 1950s and early 1960s Egyptian members of the Brotherhood who had fled from Egypt after violent clashes with the government found a welcoming refuge in Saudi Arabia, where they soon occupied prominent positions. They were influential enough to convince the king to launch a global financial joint venture, which functioned as an engine to spread Wahhabi Islam worldwide. This venture created, among others, charitable foundations overseen by Brotherhood members and affiliates.

The first of those organizations was the Muslim World League (MWL), which united Islamic radicals from 22 nations, linking many other charities with hundreds of offices worldwide. In 1978 the kingdom backed another Brotherhood initiative, the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), which, along with many other Islamic “charities,” was implicated in funding major terrorist groups, including Al Qaeda and Hamas, and terrorist acts such as 9/11.

*Zakat*-funded charities are used to advance the political agenda of the Muslim Brotherhood. “I don’t like this word *donations*,” said Qaradawi as quoted in the BBC *Panorama* of July 30, 2006, press release. He added, “I like to call it jihad with money, because God has ordered us to fight enemies with our lives and our money.”<sup>40</sup>

On the topic of *zakat*, Qaradawi proclaimed, “Declaring holy war . . . is an Islamic duty, and fighting . . . is the Way of Allah for which Zakat must be spent.” In his 1999 publication, *Fiqh az-Zakat*, al Qaradawi wrote, “The most important form of jihad today is serious, purposefully organized work to rebuild Islamic society and state and to implement the Islamic way of life in the political, cultural and economic domains. This is certainly most deserving of Zakat.”<sup>41</sup> As demonstrated time and again, Muslim jihadist terror organizations are indeed prominent *zakat* recipients.

The use of charities to fund jihad, however, is not limited to radical Sunnis. On Jerusalem Day, October 5, 2007, Al-Manar TV broadcast Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah's speech on religious, moral, and political justifications for "the armed Palestinian resistance" and his call for giving financial support to the Palestinian terrorist organizations. Nasrallah "gave Khomeini's fatwa<sup>42</sup>...allowing charity funds...and the tax of 1/5 (khums)<sup>43</sup> to be transferred to the Palestinian terrorist organizations...to pay for their campaign."<sup>44</sup>

## ISLAMIC BANKING AND SHARIAH FINANCE

The world's expanding Islamic finance industry is inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood and has been designed to help further their agenda. Islamic banking is an outgrowth of political, economic, and financial infrastructures designed by Hassan al-Banna in order to enable Muslims to fulfill a key form of religiously mandated jihad. Among the several forms of jihad required by the Koran, financial jihad, or Al Jihad bi-al-Mal, is one of the most important: "You...should strive for the cause of Allah with your wealth and your lives" (61:10-11).

Al-Banna viewed finance as a weapon which could be used to undermine nonbelievers and "work toward establishing an Islamic rule on earth." Creating uniquely Islamic financial institutions is supposed to lead to the formation of a financial system to parallel and later supersede the Western economy.

Following the 1973 oil embargo against the West, profits from rising oil revenues encouraged Brotherhood leaders to act to formalize al Banna's vision. In 1977 and 1982, the group's leadership convened in Lugano, Switzerland, to chart a master plan to co-opt Western economic "foundations, capitalism and democracy." The plan is in a treatise entitled "Towards a Worldwide Strategy for Islamic Policy," also known as The Project.<sup>45</sup> The Brotherhood's spiritual leader al Qaradawi wrote the explicit document dated December 1, 1982.<sup>46</sup> The 12-point strategy includes diktats to establish the Islamic state and gradual, parallel work to control local power centers...using institutional work as the means to that end. To achieve all of those objectives, fundamentalist Islam required "special Islamic economic,

social and other institutions" and "the necessary economic institutions to provide financial support."

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*"Europe is one of the Muslim Brotherhood's most lucrative bases of operation today, housing established umbrella charitable groups and coordinating councils with international reach."*

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Islamic banking is a nontransparent financial regime charged with complying with regulations set forth by foreign Islamic boards that are offshoots of the Organizations of Islamic Conference (OIC). Contrary to popular belief, sharia finance is neither an ancient nor a traditional religious practice. According to Timur Kuran, professor of economics and political science and Gorter family professor of Islamic studies at Duke University:<sup>47</sup>

Islamic economics itself exemplifies what has been called an "invented tradition."...Neither classical nor medieval Islamic civilization featured banks in the modern sense, let alone "Islamic" banks...Medieval Islamic civilization produced no organizations that could pool thousands of peoples funds, administer them collectively, and then survive the death of their managers. The financial rules of Islam remained frozen up to modern times, precluding the formation, except outside Islamic law, of durable partnerships involving large numbers of individuals. It was the Europeans who...developed a complex financial system centered on banks.<sup>48</sup>

Despite its rapid spread today, Islamic banking flailed for decades after the Muslim Brotherhood established their first Islamic banking institution in India in the early 1930s. Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser shut down the second attempt at a sharia-compliant institution in 1964 after only one year. Nasser later arrested, executed, and expelled the Muslim Brothers for attempts to kill him.

In 1969 the Saudis convened Arab and Muslim states in order to unify the "struggle for Islam" and have been the OIC's major sponsor since then. The 57 OIC state members include Iran, Sudan, and Syria. Until it was changed in 2009,<sup>49</sup> the OIC charter stated that the organization would be based in Jeddah "pending the liberation of Jerusalem."<sup>50</sup> The charter also mandates and coordinates "support [for] the struggle of the Palestinian people...recovering their rights and liberating their occupied territories."<sup>51</sup>

The OIC charter includes all of the Brotherhood's priorities. Its first international undertaking in 1973 was designed to establish the Islamic Development

Bank (IDB) “in accordance with the principles of the Shari’a.” The IDB, more a development than a commercial bank, was established largely “to promote Islamic banking worldwide.”<sup>52</sup>

“[A]n Islamic organization must serve God . . . and ultimately sustain . . . the growth and advancement of the Islamic way of life,” writes Nasser M. Suleiman in “Corporate Governance in Islamic Banking.”<sup>53</sup> And it has done so—as noted in a 1991 U.S. Library of Congress report on Sudan’s Faisal Islamic Bank established in 1977 by Saudi Prince Mohammed ibn Faisal Al Saud and initiated and managed by local Brotherhood members and their party, the National Islamic Front. Soon other political groups and parties formed their own Islamic banks. Together Sudanese Islamic banks then acquired 20 percent of the country’s deposits—providing the financial basis to turn Sudan into an Islamic state in 1983 and promoting Islamic governmental policies to date.<sup>54</sup>

From 1975 to 2005, the IDB approved more than \$50 billion in funding to Muslim countries<sup>55</sup> ostensibly to develop their economic and educational infrastructures. Although this funding effected little regional economic improvements, the educational efforts it sponsored paid huge dividends via the rapid and significant spread of radical Islam worldwide. Moreover, in 2001 alone, the IDB transferred \$538 million raised publicly by Saudi and Gulf royal telethons to support the Palestinian Intifada and families of Palestinian suicide bombers.<sup>56</sup> The IDB has also channeled UN funds to Hamas, as documented by bank records discovered in the West Bank and Gaza. Despite its sponsorship of terrorism, the IDB received UN observer status in 2007.<sup>57</sup>

Today Islamic banking and the shariah-compliant financial market are worth about one trillion dollars globally,<sup>58</sup> and a 10–15 percent growth rate is projected annually. Top American and international financial and banking institutions have incorporated shariah finance into their services. They include Dow Jones, Citicorp, AIG, GE, Lloyds TSB, Bank of America, UBS, Merrill Lynch, Barclay’s, and Deutsche Bank. Multiple shariah banks under Islamic clerical control also operate in the United States. They include Devon Bank in Chicago, Illinois; SHAPE Financial Group in Falls Church, Virginia; World Relief in Nashville, Tennessee; University Bank in Ann Arbor, Michigan; and Abrar Investments, Inc. in Stanford, California.

It is unknown how much money flows through the mandatory, unregulated *zakat* collected by Islamic clerics in Islamic banks and financial institution. This money is then funneled to radical Muslim entities that fund terrorism and other subversive activities.

## SCOPE OF INFLUENCE

The influence of the Muslim Brotherhood exists throughout the Middle East, crossing borders and even sometimes religious lines. Its initial base was in Saudi Arabia, which has welcomed waves of well-educated professional Egyptian dissidents since the 1950s. In 1961, dissidents affiliated with the Brotherhood persuaded King Saud bin Abdul Aziz to establish an Islamic University in Medina to help to indoctrinate foreign students with Saudi Wahhabi Islamic ideology.<sup>59</sup>

Despite religious differences, the Brotherhood, which is Sunni, has maintained close ties to Shiite Iran, where it has also gained many followers, especially attracted to Qutb’s advocacy of political Islam. Qutb was an acknowledged influence on major Iranian Islamic revivalist figures such as the Ayatollah Khomeini, who launched the 1979 Islamic Revolution, and the current Iranian leader, Ayatollah Ali Khomeini.<sup>60</sup> Ties persist through Iran’s funding, training, and arming of several Palestinian terrorist groups such as the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO),<sup>61</sup> Islamic Jihad, and the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas.<sup>62</sup>

In November and December 2010, Wikileaks published diplomatic cables that revealed that Arab dictators are increasingly alarmed at the Muslim Brotherhood’s rising influence and radical Islamic worldview. A March 3, 2008, cable quoted now deposed Tunisian dictator, Zine al Abidine Ben Ali, who predicted that the Brotherhood would take over Egypt, calling the environment there “explosive.”<sup>63</sup> Ben Ali seized control of Tunisia on November 7, 1987, and ruthlessly suppressed that organization. Nonetheless, he underestimated the Brotherhood’s power to resist and instigate violent demonstrations, forcing him to flee to Saudi Arabia on January 11, 2011.<sup>64</sup>

Ben Ali’s fears were echoed in a February 23, 2010, cable quoting Hamid bin Khalifa al Thani, the emir of Qatar, who told U.S. Senator John Kerry that everyone knows that “Egypt has a problem with the



Muslim Brotherhood.”<sup>65</sup> Another cable revealed that Syrian dictator, Bashar Assad, regards the terrorist group Hamas as an “uninvited guest,” but Assad insists that he has to embrace it “to be effective.” “Hamas is [the] Muslim Brotherhood,” he said, “but we have to deal with the reality of their presence.”<sup>66</sup>

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*“Brotherhood influence is also widespread in the United States, which has provided it with vital, though inconstant, support.”*

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The Wikileaks cables show that the Muslim Brotherhood’s long-advertised aspirations of global control are materializing, fueled by Saudi and Gulf petrodollars and influence and the tacit complicity of the West.

## PENETRATION BEYOND THE MIDDLE EAST

Saudi-Gulf funding has enabled the Muslim Brotherhood to proliferate across the globe. Today it spans more than 70 countries with branches and affiliates in Qatar, Sudan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Tunisia, Bosnia, Yemen, Syria, Jordan, Chechnya, Algeria, Djibouti, Oman, the Balkans, Turkey, Germany, England, Australia, and Malaysia, among others.

Brotherhood members and supporters founded and funded Al Qaeda, Hamas, and other radical Muslim terrorist groups. Its tentacles reach into academia via Muslim student organizations on six continents, including one “of the largest college student groups in the United States.”<sup>67</sup>

After the Iranian revolution, the Muslim Brotherhood began a carefully orchestrated campaign to spread “political Islam” to the West and to wrap itself in the mantle of modernism. The success of its deception is evidenced by the words of James Clapper, director of U.S. National Intelligence, who foolishly told Congress on February 12, 2011, that the Muslim Brotherhood is “largely secular” in nature.<sup>68</sup> That statement was remarkable given that the organization clearly sets forth its nonsecular beliefs on its Web site, Ikhanweb.<sup>69</sup> It was especially remarkable given the statement by Essam el-Erian, a member of the Brotherhood’s Guidance Council, published in the February 12, 2011, *New York Times*: “Moving forward, we envision the establishment of a democratic, civil state

that draws on . . . *central Islamic values*.”<sup>70</sup> (emphasis added). When Mubarak resigned, thousands of members of the organization’s Palestinian branch, Hamas, in Gaza City rallied to celebrate “the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt for this victory.”<sup>71</sup>

## EUROPE’S PENETRATION

Europe is one of the Muslim Brotherhood’s most lucrative bases of operation today, housing established umbrella charitable groups and coordinating councils with international reach.

In October 2000 it created the “Union of Good”<sup>72</sup> during the Palestinian Intifada against Israel. The Union comprises 59 Islamic “charities,” including Hamas- and Hezbollah-affiliated groups. It was established in Saudi Arabia in May 2001 during the second Intifada initially to raise funds for the Palestinians in a “101 Days Project.” It morphed into an umbrella organization for Hamas- and Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Islamic charity funds. Today it operates across Europe and Africa, as well as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Yemen, and Qatar. Qaradawi currently runs the Union of Good.<sup>73</sup>

The Federation of Islamic Organizations in European (FIOE) is a Brotherhood umbrella group tasked with integrating Brotherhood organizations dispersed throughout the continent. The Brussels-based Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organizations includes Brotherhood groups in Sweden, France, England, and Germany. Germany is one of the Brotherhood’s most substantial European bases, hosting several Saudi-funded Brotherhood fronts, including the Islamic Society of Germany, Milli Görüş, and the Zentariat.<sup>74</sup>

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*“The Muslim Brotherhood invested a lot of effort in creating an identity that was marketable in the West. The strategy seems to have succeeded.”*

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The Brotherhood in the United Kingdom is particularly active and possesses a wealth of resources. The Palestinian Return Centre (PRC), a Brotherhood offshoot operating throughout Europe, is a prime example. Israel banned the PRC on December 27, 2010, because of its involvement “in initiating and organizing radical and violent activity against Israel in Europe, while delegitimizing Israel’s status as a nation among the European community.”<sup>75</sup>

In 2009 the PRC hosted its sixth Palestinians in Europe conference in Denmark's capital, Copenhagen. The event featured a video address by Hamas leader, Ismail Haniyeh, and appearances by Raid Salah, head of the Islamic movement in Israel, and Mohammad Akram al-Adlouni, former head of the Muslim Brotherhood in the United States.<sup>76</sup> The PRC cofounded the European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG),<sup>77</sup> an entity established by the FIOE.<sup>78</sup> ECESG helped to coordinate the 2010 Gaza flotilla affair that ended with casualties and fatalities after another Brotherhood "humanitarian" organization, Turkish Humanitarian Relief (IHH), attacked Israeli marines who boarded the Turkish boat to prevent it from breaking the Gaza blockade.<sup>79</sup> Israel banned the IHH in 2008 because of its links to Hamas and the Union of Good<sup>80</sup> and recently asked the United States to follow suit.<sup>81</sup> So far the Obama administration has not taken any action.

Dr. Arafat Madi heads both the PRC and the ECESG, which share offices. The PRC's leadership reads like a Who's Who of Hamas and Brotherhood leaders. It includes Zaher Birawi, former chairman of the Brotherhood linked Muslim Association of Britain, a trustee of a Union of Good's daughter group, Education Aid for Palestine (EAP), and the current spokesman for George Galloway's Viva Palestina, among others. PRC leadership also includes Ghassan Faour, associated with Interpal, and Majdi Akeel, identified as a Hamas activist in the Justice Department's prosecution of the Holy Land Foundation in Dallas. The list goes on.<sup>82</sup>

In spite of those radical associations, the ECESG Web site lists numerous supporters among the United Kingdom government. In January 2010, ECESG arranged for a 50-person delegation of current and former British members of Parliament (MPs) and local politicians to visit Gaza. The delegation met with Hamas leader Haniyeh, Director of Operations for UNRWA John Ging, and others.<sup>83</sup> Last year PRC and ECESG head, Madi, reportedly discussed Israel policy in Gaza with the president of the European Parliament.<sup>84</sup>

## U.S. PENETRATION

Brotherhood influence is also widespread in the United States, which has provided it with vital, though inconstant, support. The U.S. relationship

dates to the 1950s and 1960s when President Eisenhower and the CIA began to court Brotherhood leader Said Ramadan in hopes of fending off communism in the Arab world. That relationship yielded few strategic benefits but lasted decades as the United States facilitated Ramadan's Brotherhood based Islamist activities in Europe. Relations with the organization cooled during the Vietnam War, but the United States began to woo Islamist groups again after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Relations seemingly stalled again following 9/11, but starting in 2005, the George W. Bush State Department quietly undertook outreach operations again.<sup>85</sup> The Obama administration has continued that approach, amplifying cooperation and helping to turn a once floundering domestic movement into a highly effective organization with grassroots influence in the United States.

The Muslim Brotherhood first established an official U.S. branch in 1935,<sup>86</sup> but its influence was weak until the late 1980s and early 1990s. Its influence grew much more rapidly after the implementation of an intricate plan to establish pro-Islamic organizations meant to shape the cultural, historical, and religious discourse in the United States. A May 1991 memo drafted by a senior Brotherhood leader and Hamas member, Mohammad Akram, sets out the plan to bring shariah to America (see endnote for excerpted portions).<sup>87</sup>

The Brotherhood's front organizations enjoy broad political and public support in the United States. Radical Islamic groups, including those named in Brotherhood planning documents or by the Brotherhood leadership, are repeatedly represented in the media as mainstream Muslim organizations.<sup>88</sup> Such groups include the Muslim Students Association (MSA), the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT), Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), and the Muslim Youth of North America (MYNA).

The CAIR, the Brotherhood's primary front group, was exposed during the Holy Land Foundation case, which the Justice Department calls the largest terrorist financing case in history.<sup>89</sup> At trial the FBI identified CAIR as part of the Muslim Brotherhood's Palestinian Committee, which is tasked with funneling money to Hamas and with foiling any prospective Arab peace deal with Israel.<sup>90</sup>

The FBI also listed CAIR's cofounders, Omar Ahmad and Nihad Awad, as Brotherhood Palestine Committee leaders. Ahmad and Awad headed the now defunct Brotherhood group, the Islamic Association for Palestine. It was closed down following a civil suit against it and other Hamas fundraising entities by the family of an American teenager murdered in Israel. Though he was given the title of chairman emeritus, Ahmad left CAIR leadership in 2005, and information about him has since been removed from the CAIR Web site.<sup>91</sup> Nihad Awad is still the executive director of CAIR.<sup>92</sup> At least 15 other CAIR officials have been identified in terrorist investigations,<sup>93</sup> including another CAIR board member, Ghassan Elashi.<sup>94</sup> Despite criminal ties, copious connections to the Saudi "Wahhabi lobby" in America,<sup>95</sup> and blatant Brotherhood affiliations, CAIR boasts of its reputation as the pre-eminent Muslim civil rights group in the United States.<sup>96</sup>

CAIR has ties at the highest level of government. For instance, Awad participated in Vice President Al Gore's Civil Rights Advisory Panel to the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security. According to the CAIR Web site, Awad is also "a regular participant in the U.S. Department of State's "International Visitors Program which welcomes foreign dignitaries, journalists and academics who are currently visiting the President of the United States."<sup>97</sup>

U.S. blindness is not limited to CAIR. ISNA, another unindicted coconspirator in the HLF case,<sup>98</sup> has been warmly embraced by the Obama administration. ISNA President Ingrid Mattson has spoken at various White House functions, including the inauguration, and was invited to join the White House Council on Women and Girls.<sup>99</sup> Eboo Patel, an ISNA member, was appointed to the President's Advisory Council on Faith-Based and Neighborhood partnerships.<sup>100</sup>

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*"The Brotherhood exploits those weaknesses and uses Western democratic rules to gain inroads into all aspects of life in the West. Promoting political correctness and using Western legal systems, they methodically and successfully intimidate most of their critics into silence."*

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As recently documented by the Investigative Project on Terrorism, ISNA has hosted multiple conferences featuring speakers and publications

advocating jihad, terrorism, and radical Islam.<sup>101</sup> It has been described by Islam scholar Steven Schwartz as "one of the chief conduits through which the radical Saudi form of Islam passes in the United States."<sup>102</sup> Among its many functions, the powerful group reportedly holds the deeds to anywhere from 50 percent to 80 percent of the mosques in the United States through its affiliate organization, NAIT.<sup>103</sup>

ISNA was the primary endorser of imams assigned to federal prisons until the federal Bureau of Prisons suspended it in 2003.<sup>104</sup> The suspension was meant to stop the spread of Islamic radicalization in American prisons fueled by ISNA's imams. As Donald van Duyn, deputy assistant director of the FBI's Counterterrorism Division testified to Congress in 2006: "Prison radicalization primarily occurs through anti-U.S. sermons provided by contract, volunteer, or staff imams, radicalized inmates who gain religious influence, and extremist media. Ideologies that radicalized inmates appear most often to . . . include the Salafi form of Sunni Islam (including revisionist versions commonly known as "prison Islam") and an extremist view of Shia Islam similar to that of the government of Iran and Lebanese Hizballah."<sup>105</sup>

ISNA's former chaplain-endorsing agent, Dr. Louay Safi, is affiliated with the terror-linked IIIT, an operation involving both Anwar and Qaradawi.<sup>106</sup> Safi was an unindicted coconspirator in the trial of Professor Sami Al-Arian who was convicted of raising funds for the terrorist group, Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ). Safi was also ISNA's man at the Fort Hood military base where he was an instructor to Army psychiatrist and assassin<sup>107</sup> Major Nidal Mali Hassan who massacred thirteen people in 2009, shouting the telltale jihadist cry, "Allahu Akhbar" (God is great).<sup>108</sup> As of December 2010, ISNA was still one of the two organizations that vet Muslim chaplains in the American military.<sup>109</sup>

And there is more. ISNA is part of the Coordinating Council of Muslim Organizations (CCMO), another Brotherhood group in the United States. As of 2007, CCMO included terror-tied groups such as CAIR, IIT, and the Dar al Hijrah Mosque.<sup>110</sup> The Obama administration reportedly hosted a group from CCMO in 2010 to teach participant groups how to "cut through red tape" to "receive direct access" to "funding, government assistance and resources." News of the financial workshop was revealed after an ISNA e-mail was leaked to the press.<sup>111</sup>

There are many other examples of organizations with similarly dangerous ties successfully working together with the American government and press. The Muslim Brotherhood invested a lot of effort in creating an identity that was marketable in the West. The strategy seems to have succeeded.

## THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS INVOLVING THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN EGYPT AND TUNISIA

Shortly after Tunisia's President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia on January 14, 2011, the exiled leader of the Islamic party, Rashid al-Ghannouchi, returned to Tunisia. He returned from London, where he lived in exile for 20 years, to galvanize the Muslim affiliated Ennahda and claim power in the new government.<sup>112</sup> Not all Tunisians welcomed his return because Tunisian Muslims are more secular than Muslims in most Arab countries. Thousands demonstrated along Bourguiba Avenue in the capital, Tunis, demanding a secular Tunisia, after a man from the Muslim Brotherhood murdered a Polish Catholic priest.<sup>113</sup>

Like those of Qaradawi, Ghannouchi's ties to the global Brotherhood network are anchored in the European Council for Fatwa Research (ECFR) and the International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS). He is also a founding member of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), a Brotherhood-Saudi-Wahhabi terror-linked charity.<sup>114</sup> Ghannouchi has known ties to Iran and Sudan and called for Muslim boycotts and violence against the United States for spearheading the 1992 Gulf War.<sup>115</sup>

WAMY has sponsored many of the international leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood and has been supported by Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan, a major supporter of Hamas, and Anwar Ibrahim, a close friend of Qaradawi who heads Malaysia's opposition party and is an important proponent of "Islamic (shariah based) Democracy" and Islamic banking.

When Hamas's prime minister of Gaza, Isma'il Haniya, praised Ghannouchi after he returned to Tunisia, Ghannouchi responded by saying, "Gaza and its steadfastness were the source of inspiration and salvation for the Tunisian people."<sup>116</sup> Still, like Qaradawi, Ghannouchi is portrayed as promoting moderate Islam.<sup>117</sup> In his recent statements on creating a

"democratic society" modeled on Turkey's Justice and Development party (AKP), he claims to share Ennahda's ideology.<sup>118</sup> It is strange that most Western commentators and media fail to notice that Ghannouchi and Qaradawi, like other Muslim Brotherhood affiliated leaders, are not calling for democracy and justice according to Western principles. Instead, they call for democracy based "on the platform of Islam."<sup>119</sup>

The demonstrations that brought down Mubarak were relatively calm, and this may be one of the strongest indicators of the Muslim Brotherhood's power and chameleon-like ability to exploit crisis situations. The Egyptian Revolution began with severe street clashes. However, things quieted down after the first few days once the Brotherhood became actively involved in organizing protests.

First to arrive was Muslim Brotherhood groupie, Iran sympathizer, former director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and Nobel laureate Mohamed ElBaradei. He arrived in Cairo two days after the uprising began and immediately entered into negotiations with Mubarak's regime. In interviews with the media, ElBaradei confirmed that the MB agenda as set forth by Banna is "completely political." He stated repeatedly that it is "not a radical organization" and that "the group would always reject the use of arms and would remain loyal to democracy."<sup>120</sup> The Western media has gulped down his false and empty rhetoric.

In reality, the prospects for Western democracy in Egypt are not encouraging. A 2007 Pew poll revealed that "virtually all men (98%) and women (99%) say religion plays an important role in their lives . . . [and] 64 percent of Egyptian men and women say Shari'a should be the only source of legislation." More than half (54 percent) favor public separation of men and women, and the vast majority (82 percent) believe persons convicted of adultery should be stoned, while 84 percent favor the death penalty for anyone Muslim who converts from Islam to another religion.<sup>121</sup>

Egypt, the most populous Arab nation, has held a historically influential position in the region. It controls the Suez Canal, a critical shipping line for 7.5 percent of global trade and an important source of revenue for Egypt.<sup>122</sup> In 2009, "an estimated 1.0 million bbl/d of crude oil and refined petroleum products flowed northbound through the Suez Canal to the Mediterranean."<sup>123</sup> Egypt's 1956 and 1967 closures of the canal resulted in war.<sup>124</sup>

On February 1, 2011, senior Egyptian Brotherhood leader Muhammad Ghannem stated on the Iranian Arabic TV network Al-Alam that the Muslim Brotherhood would demand the closure of the Suez Canal as soon as the organization gets into a position of power.<sup>125</sup> His statement alone spiked the oil price. His further declaration that Egypt should go to war with Israel was unsettling as well.

Even without the Muslim Brotherhood, the military junta that runs the show has already allowed Iranian warships to pass through the canal for the first time since 1979, further escalating the instability of the region and endangering oil supplies and the world economy.

## CONCLUSION

It is too early to predict whether the Muslim Brotherhood and its affiliates will emerge as the leading power in the reshaping of the emerging governments in the Middle East, North Africa, and beyond. However, the Brotherhood's tremendous power surge is hard to dismiss. The organization's influence has grown exponentially in the past several years, bolstered by support from its international charity network, partners in the international nongovernmental organization community, and sympathetic Middle-Eastern regimes. American and European media, politicians, academics, and celebrities joined by a broad, well-organized "grassroots" of mosque-inspired supporters help the Muslim Brotherhood to promote its false image as a tolerant, peace loving, progressive organization.

The Brotherhood's successful campaign to deceive the West seems to incorporate time-tested techniques used by some of the world's most successful totalitarian regimes. Its fundamentalist dogma, which elevates death as the foremost contribution to advance Islamic global rule, makes it difficult to defeat. Thus far the West has demonstrated mostly ignorance and naïveté in its assessment of this insidious global organization. The Brotherhood exploits those weaknesses and uses Western democratic rules to gain inroads into all aspects of life in the West. Promoting political correctness and using Western legal systems, they methodically and successfully intimidate most of their critics into silence.

But it's not too late to expose the Muslim Brotherhood's agenda, its members and supporters, and their funding sources. Congress should hold hearings

immediately to unmask the group and identify their affiliated organizations that have been operating here for decades to subvert the principles established by the founding fathers, most notably—those relating to freedom.

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[1- Establishing an effective and stable Islamic Movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood.

2- Adopting Muslims' causes domestically and globally.

3- Expanding the observant Muslim base.

4- Unifying and directing Muslims' efforts.

5- Presenting Islam as a civilization alternative. ...

"In order for Islam and its Movement to become 'a part of the homeland' in which it lives, 'stable' in its land, 'rooted' in the spirits and minds of its people, 'enabled in the live [sic] of its society' and has firmly established 'organizations' on which the Islamic structure is built and with which the testimony of civilization is achieved, the Movement must plan and struggle to obtain 'the keys' and the tools of this process in carry [sic] out this grand mission as "Civilization Jihadist" responsibility which lies on the shoulders of Muslims and—on top of them—the Muslim Brotherhood in this country. Among these are ...

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

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

#### **7- The conviction that the success of the settlement of Islam and its Movement in this country is a success to the global Islamic Movement and a true support for the sought-after state, God willing:**

There is a conviction—with which this memorandum disagrees—that our focus in attempting to settle Islam in this country will lead to negligence in our duty towards the global Islamic Movement in supporting its project to establish the state. We believe the reply is in two segments: One—The success of the Movement in America in establishing an observant Islamic base with power and effectiveness will be the best support and aid to the global Movement project. ...

#### **17- Understanding the role and the nature of work of "The Islamic Center" in every city with what achieves the goal of the process of settlement:**

The center we seek is the one which constitutes the "axis" of our Movement, the "perimeter" of the circle of our work, our "balance center," the "base" for our rise and out "Dar al-Arqam" to educate

us, prepare us and supply our battalions in addition to being the "niche" of our prayers.

This is in order for the Islamic center to turn—in action not in words—into a seed "for a small Islamic society" which is a reflection and a mirror to our central organizations. The center ought to turn into a "beehive" which produces sweet honey. Thus, the Islamic center would turn into a place for study, family, battalion, course, seminar, visit, sport, school, social club, women gathering, kindergarten for male and female youngsters, the office of the domestic political resolution, and the center for distributing our newspapers, magazines, books and our audio and visual tapes.

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

Meaning that the "center's" role should [be] the same as the "mosque's" role during the time of God's prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him.[.] [W]hen he marched to "settle" the Dawaa' in its first generation in Madina from the mosque, he drew [on] the Islamic life and provided the world [with] the most magnificent and fabulous civilization humanity knew. This mandates that, eventually, the region, the branch and the Usra turn into "operations rooms for planning, direction, monitoring and leadership for the Islamic center in order to be a role model to be followed.

#### **Understanding the importance of the "Organizational" shift in our Movement work and doing Jihad in order to achieve it in the real world with what serves the process of settlement and expedites its results. ..."**

The reason this paragraph was delayed is to stress its utmost importance as it constitutes the heart and core of this memorandum. It also constitutes the practical aspect and the true measure of our success or failure in our march towards settlement. ... The talk about the organizations and the "organizational" mentality or phenomenon does not require much [sic] details. ... And this was done by the pioneer of contemporary Islamic Dawaa', Imam martyr Hasan al-Banna. ... leading him to establish organizations [of all kinds]: economic, social, media, ... professional and even the military ones. We must say we are in a country which understands no language other than the language of organizations, and one which does not respect or give weight to any groups without effective, functional and strong organizations. And, in order for us to clarify what we mean with the comprehensive, specialized organization, we mention here the characteristics and traits of each organization of the "promising" organizations.

#### **1- From the Dawaa' and educational aspect [The Dawaa' and Educational Organization] to include**

- The Organization to spread the Dawaa' (Central and local branches).
- An institute to graduate Callers and Educators.
- Scholars, Callers, Educators, Preachers and Program Anchors.
- Art and communication technology, Conveyance and Dawaa' ...
- A television station.
- A specialized Dawaa' magazine.
- A radio station.
- The Higher Islamic Council for Callers and Educators.
- The Higher Council for Mosques and Islamic Centers.
- Friendship Societies with the other religions ... and things like that.

#### **2- Politically [The Political Organization] to include**

- A central political party.
- Local political offices. ...
- Relationships and alliances.
- The American Organization for Islamic Political Action.
- Advances Information Centers ... and things like that.

#### **3- Media [The Media and Art Organization] to include**

- A daily newspaper.



- Weekly, monthly and seasonal magazines.
- Radio stations.
- Television programs.
- Audio and visual centers.
- A magazine for the Muslim child.
- A magazine for the Muslim woman.
- A print and typesetting machines.
- A production office.
- A photography and recording studio.
- Art banks for acting, chanting and theater.
- A marketing and art production office...and things like that.

**4- Economically [The Economic Organization]** to include

- An Islamic Central bank.
- Islamic endowments.
- Investment projects.
- An organization for interest-free loans...and things like that.

**5- Scientifically and Professionally [The Scientific, Educational and Professional Organization]** to include

- Scientific research centers.
- Technical organizations and vocational training.
- An Islamic university.
- Islamic schools.
- A council or education and scientific research.
- Centers to train teachers.
- Scientific societies in schools.
- An office for academic guidance.
- A body for authorship and Islamic curricula...and things like that.

**6- Culturally and Intellectually [The Cultural and Intellectual Organization]** to include

- A center for studies and research.
- Cultural and intellectual foundations such as [The Social Scientists Society = Scientists and Engineers Society...]
- An organization for Islamic thought and culture.
- A publication, translation and distribution house for Islamic books.
- An office for archiving, history, and authentication.
- The project to translate the Noble Quran, the Noble Sayings...and things like that.

**7- Socially [The Social-Charitable Organization]** to include

- Social clubs for the youths and the community's sons and daughters
- Local societies for social welfare and the services are tied to Islamic centers
- The Islamic Organization to Combat...the Social Ills of the U.S. Society
- Islamic houses project
- Matrimony and family cases office...and things like that.

**8- Youths [The Youth Organization]** to include

- Central and local youths foundations.
- Sports teams and clubs
- Scouting teams...and things like that.

**9- Women [The Women Organization]** to include

- Central and local women societies
- Organizations of training, vocational and housekeeping
- An organization to train female preachers.
- Islamic kindergartens...and things like that.

**10- Organizationally and Administratively [The Administrative and Organizational Organization]** to include

- An institute for training, growth, development and planning.
- Prominent experts in this field.
- Work systems, bylaws and charters fit for running the most complicated bodies and organizations
- A periodic magazine in Islamic development and administration.
- Owning camps and halls for the various activities.
- A data, polling and census bank.

- An advanced communication network.
- An advanced archive for our heritage and production...and things like that.

**11- Security [The Security Organization]** to include:

- Clubs for training and learning self-defense techniques.
- A center which is concerned with security issues [Technical, intellectual, technological and human]...and things like that.

**12- Legally [The Legal Organization]** to include

- A Central Jurisprudence Council.
- A Central Islamic Court.
- Muslim Attorneys Society.
- The Islamic Foundation for Defense of Muslims' Rights...and things like that.

"A list of our organizations and the organizations of our friends [Imagine if they all march according to one plan!!!].

- 1- ISNA = ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA
- 2- MSA = MUSLIM STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION
- 3- MCA = THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES ASSOCIATION
- 4- AMSS = THE ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SOCIAL SCIENTISTS
- 5- AMSE = THE ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS
- 6- IMA = ISLAMIC MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
- 7- ITC = ISLAMIC TEACHING CENTER
- 8- NAIT = NORTH AMERICAN ISLAMIC TRUST
- 9- FID = FOUNDATION FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
- 10- IHC = ISLAMIC HOUSING COOPERATIVE
- 11- ICD = ISLAMIC CENTERS DIVISION
- 12- ATP = AMERICAN TRUST PUBLICATIONS
- 13- AVC = AUDIO-VISUAL CENTER
- 14- IBS = ISLAMIC BOOK SERVICE
- 15- Brotherhood = MUSLIM BUSINESSMEN ASSOCIATION
- 16- MYNA = MUSLIM YOUTH OF NORTH AMERICA
- 17- IFA = ISNA FIQH COMMITTEE
- 18- IPAC = ISNA POLITICAL AWARENESS COMMITTEE
- 19- IED = ISLAMIC EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
- 20- MAYA = MUSLIM ARAB YOUTH ASSOCIATION
- 21- MISG = MALASIAN [sic] ISLAMIC STUDY GROUP
- 22- IAP = ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE
- 23- UASR = UNITED ASSOCIATION FOR STUDIES AND RESEARCH
- 24- OLF = OCCUPIED LAND FUND
- 25- MIA = MERCY INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION
- 26- ISNA = ISLAMIC CIRCLE OF NORTH AMERICA
- 27- BMI = BAITUL MAL INC
- 28- IIIT = INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ISLAMIC THOUGHT
- 29- IIC = ISLAMIC INFORMATION CENTER".

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