

# The Muslim Brotherhood



## A Case for U.S. Designation as a Foreign Terrorist Organization Designation

### Executive Summary

The Muslim Brotherhood (MB), a transnational Islamist movement founded in Egypt in 1928, has established an extensive organizational network across the United States over the past six decades.

This report maps the most significant figures and organizations affiliated with or associated with the Brotherhood in America, examining their historical development, documented connections, financial networks, and activities.

Drawing on court evidence, investigations, research, and recent developments, the following analysis provides an overview of the Brotherhood's American infrastructure and highlights the need to follow Texas and Florida lead in designating the Muslim Brotherhood as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO).

The George Washington University Program on Extremism reported in 2025 that institutions such as CAIR, ISNA, NAIT, and MAS are components of the Muslim Brotherhood's U.S. infrastructure.<sup>12</sup> The Hudson Institute describes these same groups as "camouflaged extensions" of the Brotherhood's international mission, whereas GlobalMBWatch has revealed detailed personnel and funding overlaps among CAIR, IAP, HLF, and other Brotherhood-linked entities.<sup>3 4</sup>

The network grew by extensive foreign funding from Gulf states and Islamist institutions, channeling billions of dollars into mosques, schools, Islamic centers, and community organizations that serve as long-term organizing hubs. Despite heightened scrutiny after 9/11, major terrorism-financing convictions, and weathering Global MB exile from post-Morsi Egypt, the Brotherhood's U.S. infrastructure has demonstrated resilience by rebranding itself through civil rights advocacy, interfaith engagement, and community services, all while enabling continued institutional access and influence and finding a new state sponsor in Turkey.

With the strategic intent, as outlined in the Holy Land Foundation terrorism-financing trial, being a "civilization-jihadist process" aimed at undermining Western societies from within through institutional capture rather than overt violence, it behooves American lawmakers to better understand the threat and intentions and background of the Muslim Brotherhood at large.

## Background and Development of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood

### Historical Foundation

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in 1928 in Egypt by Hassan al-Banna as an Islamic revivalist movement with explicitly political and militant objectives.<sup>5</sup> From its inception, the organization sought to overthrow Arab governments and establish Islamic rule based on Sharia law through both organizational infiltration and violent force.

Al-Banna's ideology forms the foundation of contemporary political Islam and explicitly endorses **violence as a legitimate means to achieve Islamic governance**. The Brotherhood's foundational documents reveal a clear agenda of religious supremacism and violent opposition to Western democratic values and influence.

### MB's Motto and Militant Doctrine

The Brotherhood's official motto, established by al-Banna, explicitly promotes armed struggle and martyrdom:

*"Allah is our objective, the Prophet is our leader, the Koran is our constitution, jihad is our way, dying in the way of Allah is our highest hope."<sup>6</sup>*

MB's explicit endorsement of "jihad as our way" and "dying in the way of Allah as our highest hope" demonstrates the organization's commitment to violence and martyrdom operations.

### Anti-Western and Anti-American Ideology

The Muslim Brotherhood's founding ideology is fundamentally opposed to Western civilization, democratic governance, and American values. This opposition is not merely political, but represents a comprehensive rejection of secular democracy, capitalism and individual liberty in favor of theocratic rule.

Contemporary Brotherhood leadership continues this anti-Western stance. In 2010, then-Supreme Guide Mohammed Badie declared: "Resistance is the solution against Zio-American arrogance and tyranny."<sup>7</sup>

## Antisemitic and Anti-Christian Doctrine

The Brotherhood has consistently promoted hatred toward Jews and Christians as core elements of its ideology.

Prominent Brotherhood cleric **Yusuf al-Qaradawi**, who served as the organization's chief theological authority for decades, "issued a fatwa legitimizing terrorist attacks against American troops in Iraq... deemed the Holocaust to be a 'punishment for Jews,' and expressed hope that another Holocaust would someday be carried out by his fellow Islamists."<sup>8</sup>



Yusuf al-Qaradawi  
Source: [Al Jazeera](#)

The Brotherhood as an institution has "preached hatred towards Jews, denied the Holocaust, and called for Israel's destruction" according to congressional testimony.<sup>9</sup>

## 1960s-1970s :Early U.S Presence

The Muslim Brotherhood began establishing its presence in the United States during the 1960s, when Muslim immigrants from the Middle East and South Asia arrived seeking refuge from government crackdowns in their home countries.

According to the George Washington University Program on Extremism, many Brotherhood members fleeing persecution in Egypt, Syria, and other Arab and Muslim states recognized that "American social and political liberties would enable them to easily spread their Islamist ideology," though they initially "cloaked themselves in secrecy."<sup>10</sup>

The 1960s also marked the beginning of Saudi Arabia's global Islamization project, which partnered extensively with Muslim Brotherhood members. In 1962, the Muslim World League (MWL) was established in Mecca with Saudi government funding - a contribution

that would grow to approximately \$13 million by 1980 and eventually billions of dollars over subsequent decades. MWL became a primary funding conduit for Brotherhood activities worldwide, including in North America.<sup>11</sup>

## 1960s-1970s :The Student Movement Foundation

The first formal organizational structure emerged with the founding of the **Muslim Students Association (MSA)** in the early 1960s at the University of Illinois. Muslim Brotherhood members established the MSA as a vehicle for spreading Islamist ideology among Muslim students on American campuses. The organization has since expanded to more than 600 college campuses across North America, including Columbia University, New York University, and the University of California, Berkeley.<sup>1213</sup>

In 1969, Brotherhood members founded the International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations (IIFSO), creating an international student network coordinating Brotherhood activity across continents.<sup>14</sup>

## 1970s-1980s: Institutional Infrastructure

In 1973, Muslim Brotherhood members established the **North American Islamic Trust (NAIT)**, structured as a waqf (Islamic endowment) to hold titles to mosques, Islamic centers, and schools across the United States.<sup>15</sup> Today, NAIT claims ownership of approximately 300 Islamic centers, mosques, and schools in the United States, holding properties worth hundreds of millions of dollars in at least 42 states.<sup>16</sup>

The organizational expansion accelerated in 1981 with the founding of two critical institutions:

- **The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)** - Incorporated in Indiana on July 14, 1981, ISNA emerged as the largest and most influential Muslim advocacy organization in the United States, serving as an umbrella group coordinating various Brotherhood-linked entities.<sup>17 18</sup> Federal prosecutors later listed ISNA among "individuals/entities who are and/or were members of the US Muslim Brotherhood" in the Holy Land Foundation terrorism financing trial.<sup>19</sup>
- **The International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT)** - A think tank dedicated to the "Islamization of knowledge," founded by Muslim Brotherhood members.<sup>20 21</sup> IIIT



North American Islamic Trust  
Source: [NAIT Facebook](#)

serves as an intellectual center promoting Islamist ideology and has been described by the U.S. Department of Justice as part of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood network.

## 1980s-1990s: The Palestine Committee and Hamas Support Network

A particularly significant development occurred in 1988 when the Muslim Brotherhood established the **Palestine Committee** within the U.S., explicitly to support Hamas—the terrorist organization that emerged from the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood during the First Intifada in 1987.<sup>22 23</sup>

The Palestine Committee operated through three primary front organizations:

1. **Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP)** - Founded in 1981 and described by the U.S. government as having "disseminated information/propaganda" for Hamas,<sup>24</sup> IAP leadership included senior Hamas figures such as **Mousa Abu Marzook** (Hamas political bureau chair) and **Khaled Mashal** (former Hamas chairman and current Hamas leader abroad).<sup>25</sup>



Islamic Association for Palestine  
Source: [Middle East Forum](#)

2. **Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF)** - Once the largest Muslim charity in the United States, HLF was designated as a terrorist organization in 2001 and its leaders were convicted in 2008 on 108 counts of providing material support to Hamas, funneling millions of dollars to the terrorist organization.<sup>26 27</sup>



Holy Land Foundation  
Source: [Middle East Forum](#)

3. **United Association for Studies and Research (UASR)** - Founded in 1989, UASR served as a Hamas-linked think tank producing propaganda and political analysis supporting the terrorist organization.<sup>28</sup>

## The 1991 Strategic Memorandum

The most striking evidence of the Muslim Brotherhood's coordinated strategy in America came to light during the Holy Land Foundation trial with a 1991 internal memorandum authored by Mohamed Akram titled "An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America."

The memorandum stated that the Muslim Brotherhood's 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." <sup>29</sup>

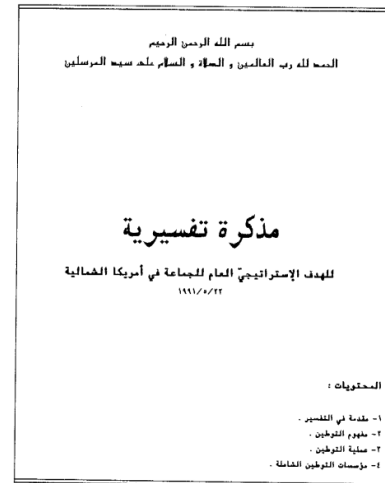
The document listed ISNA, NAIT, MSA, IIIT, and 25 other organizations as part of this coordinated network. Headlining the page with a hopeful comment - "imagine if they all march according to one plan". <sup>30</sup>

The last five pages of Akram's memorandum detail, in fact, how the Brotherhood can and must form organizations that would, operating on different levels, further the group's agenda.

Akram notes that most of these organizations do already exist, yet operate without much central control. The goal of the Brotherhood must be that of merging them and coordinating their work in a cohesive manner.

## Post 9/11 Adaption and Rebranding

In the immediate aftermath of the September 11 attacks, Muslim Brotherhood organizations in the U.S. initiated a strategic pivot to protect their infrastructure from



Akram's 1991 Strategic Memorandum  
Source: [Investigative Project on Terrorism](#)

Date #ISE-SW 1B10/ 0000427

Attachment number (1)

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

Organizations listed on the 1991  
Memorandum

Source: [Investigative Project on Terrorism](#)

government scrutiny. Recognizing that overt support for violent jihad was no longer tenable, groups like **CAIR and ISNA aggressively rebranded themselves as civil rights and social justice organizations**. They adopted the language of American progressivism, framing their Islamist agenda in terms of “religious freedom,” “anti-discrimination,” and “political inclusion,” thereby gaining allies among the political left.

This rebranding effort was exemplified by the carefully managed public appearances of leaders like Muzammil Siddiqi and Hamza Yusuf, who condemned terrorism in general terms while avoiding specific denunciations of Hamas or Hezbollah. By positioning themselves as the “moderate” interlocutors for the Muslim community, they successfully monopolized access to government officials and media outlets. This allowed them to act as gatekeepers, filtering out non-Islamist Muslim voices and presenting their specific ideological grievances as the consensus view of American Muslims.<sup>31</sup>

## 1990s-2000s: Current MB-Affiliated Organizations

During the 1990s and 2000s, new organizations were created to build upon the existing Muslim Brotherhood infrastructure while adapting to changing political circumstances:

### **Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) -**

Founded in 1994 by Nihad Awad and Omar Ahmad, both former IAP officials, CAIR emerged from a 1993 Hamas meeting in Philadelphia.<sup>32</sup> Federal prosecutors named CAIR as an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation trial, identifying it as part of the U.S Muslim Brotherhood network.<sup>33</sup>



Source: [www.cair.com/](http://www.cair.com/)

CAIR has grown into one of the most visible Muslim advocacy organizations in America, positioning itself as a civil rights group while maintaining documented connections to Hamas operatives. At least five CAIR officials have been convicted or deported for terrorism-related charges.<sup>34</sup>

### **In 2025, Texas and Florida designated CAIR and the Muslim Brotherhood as FTOs.**<sup>35 36</sup>

Similarly, in 2025, U.S. Representative Jared Moskowitz (D-FL) and Representative Mario Díaz-Balart (R-FL) introduced H.R. 4097, the "Designate CAIR as a Terrorist Organization Act," citing CAIR's role as an unindicted co-conspirator in the 2007 Holy Land Foundation terrorism financing trial.<sup>37</sup>

## **Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) -**

Incorporated in Indiana in 1981, ISNA emerged directly from the Muslim Students Association and has grown into the largest Muslim advocacy organization in the United States.<sup>38</sup>



Source: [ISNA.net](https://www.isna.net)

ISNA was listed in the 1991 Mohamed Akram strategy memorandum as part of the Brotherhood's American network and was named as an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation terrorism financing trial.<sup>39</sup> Court documents from the HLF trial include a phone book recovered from a Brotherhood associate listing ISNA board members as Muslim Brotherhood officials.<sup>40</sup> Annual ISNA conventions have featured speakers who expressed support for terrorist groups, and the organization has received direct funding from Saudi sources, including a \$275,000 grant from the Saudi Islamic Development Bank in 2005."<sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup>

**Muslim American Society (MAS) -** Founded in 1993, MAS has been identified as part of the Muslim Brotherhood in America. A former MAS leader testified under oath that MAS was created as a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in America<sup>43</sup> and was later convicted on terrorism charges for funneling more than \$1 million to a UK-based al-Qaeda affiliate.<sup>44</sup>



Source: [MAS](https://www.mas.us)

**American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) -** Established in 2006 by University of California, Berkeley lecturer Hatem Bazian, AMP emerged from the remnants of the defunct Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP).<sup>45</sup> Many IAP leaders transitioned to AMP, including current Executive Director Osama Abuirshaid, who previously edited IAP's Hamas propaganda publication.<sup>46</sup> AMP has become central to anti-Israel activism on American campuses and is the primary sponsor of Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) chapters nationwide.



Source: [AMPalastine.org](https://www.ampal.org)

**Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) -** Also co-founded by Hatem Bazian in the 1990s, SJP operates chapters across over 200 college campuses and receives financial support, training, and resources from AMP.<sup>47</sup> Since the October 7, 2023, Hamas massacre, SJP has been at the forefront of campus protests that have included antisemitic and anti-American rhetoric, glorification of Hamas, and harassment of Jewish students.<sup>48</sup>



Source: [NSJP Instagram](https://www.nsjp.org)

**U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO)** - Founded in 2014, USCMO serves as an umbrella organization coordinating Brotherhood-linked groups and is "comprised almost solely of elements of the US Muslim Brotherhood," including CAIR, ICNA (Islamic Circle of North America), MAS, and AMP.<sup>49</sup> As of November 2023, USCMO claimed 42 member organizations with more than 210 chapters and over 660 associated mosques.<sup>50</sup>



Source: [USCMO](#)

## U.S-Based Muslim Brotherhood Leadership

### Nihad Awad

Nihad Awad is the co-founder and longtime executive director of CAIR, the most prominent Muslim Brotherhood-linked Muslim advocacy organization in the United States. Awad attended the 1993 Philadelphia meeting of Hamas supporters, later revealed through FBI wiretaps introduced at the Holy Land Foundation trial, and publicly stated in the early 1990s that he supported Hamas.<sup>51 52</sup>



Nihad Awad,  
Source: [DAWcN](#)

Under his leadership, CAIR has functioned as a political and legal shield for the Brotherhood network, engaging in aggressive lawfare against critics and lobbying to purge counter-terrorism training materials referencing Islamist ideology.<sup>53</sup>

Awad has repeatedly praised senior Muslim Brotherhood ideologues. In 2022, he publicly lauded **Yusuf al-Qaradawi** as "the most influential contemporary Muslim scholar," despite Qaradawi's extensive record of extremist incitement.<sup>54 55</sup> Awad similarly eulogized former **Supreme Guide** of the Muslim Brotherhood **Mohamed Akef** in 2017, employing language commonly associated with Brotherhood rhetoric.<sup>56 57</sup>



Qaradawi (second on the left) with Awad (right), 2012  
Source: [Investigative Project on Terrorism](#)

Beyond rhetoric, Awad has participated in conferences and initiatives affiliated with Qaradawi's **International Union of Muslim Scholars** (IUMS) and related networks known for extremist and anti-Western messaging, as well as articulated a long-term strategy closely mirroring the Muslim Brotherhood's doctrine of gradualism and "civilizational jihad."<sup>58</sup> In public remarks, he has spoken of building a large cadre of Muslim professionals to influence media, education, and political institutions, language paralleling the

Brotherhood’s 1991 “Explanatory Memorandum” outlining plans to reshape Western societies from within.<sup>59 60 61</sup>

## Jamal Badawi

**Dr. Jamal Badawi** is a prominent Egyptian-Canadian scholar who has played a significant ideological and organizational role within the Muslim Brotherhood–aligned network in North America. He served as a board member of **CAIR-Canada** (now NCCM, the National Council of Canadian Muslims) and also sat on the board of CAIR National (U.S.A.) directly linking the two organizations both personally and ideologically.<sup>62 63</sup>



Jamal Badawi

Source: [Badawi’s personal website](#)

Badawi was additionally a member of the Muslim Brotherhood’s **North American Shura Council**, a senior governing body responsible for strategic and doctrinal oversight of Brotherhood activities in the region.<sup>64</sup> Closely associated with **ISNA** and related institutions, Badawi helped shape Islamist political theology in North America while maintaining a public image as a moderate academic.

## Hatem Bazian

Hatem Bazian is a founding board member of Zaytuna College and the founder of **American Muslims for Palestine** (AMP), widely identified as a successor organization to the **Muslim Brotherhood’s Palestine Committee**. Bazian has a long history of radical activism, including participation in confrontational protests and rhetoric hostile to U.S. and Israeli institutions.<sup>65 66</sup>



Hatem Bazian

Source: [Bazian’s personal website](#)

Through AMP and its close coordination with **Students for Justice in Palestine** (SJP), Bazian has played a central role in campus-based mobilization advancing Brotherhood-aligned narratives under the banner of human rights activism.<sup>67</sup>

## Osama Abuirshaid

Jordanian-born Osama Abuirshaid serves as National Director of **AMP** (American Muslims for Palestine), AMP’s lobby arm **AJP Action** (Americans for Justice in Palestine Action), and Chairman of the **USCMO** (U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations). Prior to his current role, Abuirshaid was a member and employee of the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP).



Osama Abuirshaid

Source: [AMP website](#)

Abuirshaid has maintained organizational, professional, and personal affiliations with the **Islamic Action Front**, the political subdivision of the **Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood**, its newspaper, **Al-Sabeel**, and its senior officials.<sup>68</sup>

## Omar Suleiman

Imam Omar Suleiman is a Texas-based cleric of Palestinian decent and public intellectual who exemplifies the Muslim Brotherhood-aligned network's next generation of leadership in North America. He is the founder and president of the **Yaqeen Institute for Islamic Research** and operates within institutional circles overlapping **MAS**, **ISNA**, and related Brotherhood-linked organizations. His prominence has been reinforced by sustained access to mainstream media, academic platforms, and government-adjacent events, positioning him as a key intermediary between Islamist institutions and broader American audiences.<sup>69</sup>



Omar Suleiman  
Source: [Instagram](#)

Suleiman's institutional ties reflect the Brotherhood's long-term strategy of influence through education and moral authority rather than overt political activism. Investigative reporting documents his repeated appearances at **MAS** and **ISNA** conventions and close collaboration with figures such as **Hatem Bazian**.<sup>70</sup> Analysts note that Yaqeen's blend of traditional Islamic theology and contemporary social-justice language mirrors the Brotherhood's post-9/11 adaptation strategy, enabling ideological continuity while reducing public scrutiny.<sup>71</sup>

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## U.S-Based Strongholds and Religious Figures

### State-Level MB Strongholds

The Muslim Brotherhood's infrastructure is not evenly distributed but rather concentrated in specific key states that serve as operational hubs:

- **Virginia**, particularly Northern Virginia suburbs of Washington D.C., functions as the movement's financial and intellectual nerve center, including Dar al-Hijrah Mosque (linked to Anwar al-Awlaki and 9/11 hijackers), IIIT, and charities in Herndon and Fairfax counties.
- **Illinois**, and specifically the **Chicago** area, hosts the Bridgeview Mosque (Mosque Foundation), Holy Land Foundation's former base, and headquarters of American Muslims for Palestine (AMP).

- In **Texas**, the Richardson and Dallas-Fort Worth areas host major chapters of CAIR and MAS, as well as the Holy Land Foundation's former headquarters.
- **California's Orange County and Bay Area** have seen a proliferation of advocacy groups and student organizations centered around universities like UC Berkeley.
- **New York and Michigan**, with their large Muslim populations, provide essential recruitment grounds and financial support bases, with mosques and community centers often serving as the primary points of contact for the movement.



Figure 1: The largest nodes in the Muslim Brotherhood U.S. network.

## Imams

Numerous imams and Islamic scholars in the United States have advanced MB ideology and plans. The following are several of the most notable:

### Siraj Wahhaj

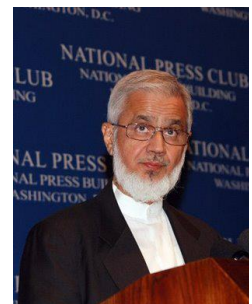
Siraj Wahhaj, a prominent Brooklyn imam leading Masjid At-Taqwa, was named an unindicted co-conspirator in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing trial and served as a character witness for "Blind Sheikh" Omar Abdel Rahman.<sup>72</sup> He served on the Majlis Ash-Shura of **ISNA** and as its vice president, while his sermons have advocated for replacing the U.S. constitutional system with Islamic law, famously stating, **"In time, this so-called democracy will crumble, and there will be nothing, and the only thing that will remain will be Islam."**<sup>73</sup> , Wahhaj is a regular speaker at ISNA, ICNA, and MAS conventions and his mosque has been identified as a hub of radical activity by law enforcement.<sup>74</sup> His son, Siraj Ibn Wahhaj, and other relatives were arrested in New Mexico in 2018 for running an armed compound where children were allegedly trained for violent jihad; prosecutors described the site as linked to anti-government and extremist activities. CAIR publicly defended Wahhaj during the fallout from the New Mexico arrests, issuing a statement of "condolences and support for the Wahhaj family".<sup>75</sup><sup>76</sup><sup>77</sup><sup>78</sup>



Siraj Wahhaj,  
Source: [HalalTube](#)

### Muzammil Siddiqi

Dr. Muzammil Siddiqi served as ISNA president from 1997 to 2001 and gained national prominence three days after the September 11 attacks when he led a prayer at the National Cathedral with President Bush in attendance, providing crucial legitimacy to ISNA and the Brotherhood network at a critical moment. Siddiqi has a history of extreme rhetoric, including a speech in the 1990s in which he praised jihad: "When people really carry on Jihad, they carry on the Islam in its peak in its totality... That means in order to gain the honor, Jihad is the path, Jihad is the way to receive the honor."<sup>79</sup> As Chairman of the Fiqh Council of North America, Siddiqi played a central role in interpreting Islamic law for the American context. His son, Imran Siddiqi, is current director of CAIR-Washington and unsuccessfully ran for Congress in 2024.<sup>80</sup>



Muzammil Siddiqi  
Source: [Facebook](#)

## Bassem Khafagi

Bassem Khafagi served as community relations director for CAIR and was a founding member and president of the Islamic Assembly of North America (IANA). In 2003, he was arrested and pleaded guilty to visa and bank fraud charges; the investigation revealed IANA had received al-Qaeda-linked funding and hosted websites promoting violent jihad. Khafagi was deported to Egypt, where he continued his Muslim Brotherhood activities.<sup>81</sup>

## Hamza Yusuf

Sheikh Hamza Yusuf, born Mark Hanson in Walla Walla, Washington, converted to Islam in 1977 and has become one of the most influential Muslim scholars in the Western world. A founder of Zaytuna College, he has been a keynote speaker at multiple ISNA conventions, including in 2023. His Zaytuna co-founder, Hatem Bazian, founded American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), a recognized Brotherhood front organization. While Yusuf cultivates an image of moderation and often criticizes political Islam publicly, his institutional affiliations and frequent appearances at Brotherhood-sponsored events reveal a more complex relationship.<sup>82</sup> His post-9/11 interfaith initiatives, including meetings with President Bush, provided crucial legitimacy to the Brotherhood network at a critical juncture.<sup>83</sup>



Hamza Yusuf,  
Source: [Zaytuna College](#)

## Mahdi Bray

Imam Mahdi Bray (died 2024), a former Baptist minister who converted to Islam in the 1970s, served as executive director of the Brotherhood-tied **Muslim American Society (MAS) Freedom Foundation**, becoming one of the most visible African-American leaders within the Brotherhood's American network.<sup>84</sup> He appeared at rallies supporting Hamas and Hezbollah, organized protests against counter-terrorism measures, and built coalitions with far-left groups including **CODEPINK** and the **ANSWER Coalition**.<sup>85</sup>

A video from a 2000 protest in Washington shows Bray attending a rally where **Abdurahman al-Amoudi** (a founder of the Muslim American Council, who would later be convicted of terror financing) proclaimed from the podium, "I have been labeled by the media in New York to be a supporter of Hamas. Anybody support this Hamas here?", drawing fist pumps from Bray.<sup>86</sup>

## Turkey's Diyanet: The Muslim Brotherhood's New State Sponsor

Since the 2013 military coup in Egypt that overthrew Muslim Brotherhood president Mohamed Morsi, Turkey under Prime Minister Erdogan has emerged as the movement's most important state sponsor. Erdogan personally hosted Morsi supporters in Turkey, granted Turkish citizenship to Brotherhood leaders, allows Brotherhood media operations to broadcast from Istanbul, and defends the organization internationally even as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE designated it a terrorist organization.<sup>87</sup>



Source: [Diyanet Site](#)

“Diyanet” is Turkey's governmental body of Religious Affairs. It operates with a budget of over \$2 billion annually, with significant portions directed toward international operations including in the United States, where Turkish diplomatic missions coordinate with Brotherhood-affiliated organizations on political lobbying and provide financial resources.<sup>88</sup>

The **Diyanet Center of America (DCA)** in Maryland functions as the nerve center for approximately **29 Turkish government-controlled mosques across the United States**, all receiving direct funding, personnel, and theological direction from Ankara.<sup>89 90</sup>



Source: [Diyanet Center of America](#)

Erdogan's Turkey has provided sanctuary to senior Muslim Brotherhood leaders fleeing crackdowns in Egypt and other Arab states, with dozens of Brotherhood officials now operating from Istanbul. This political alignment has translated into operational coordination on American soil, where Diyanet-controlled mosques and Brotherhood organizations like CAIR, ISNA, and MAS frequently collaborate on political campaigns, religious programming, and community organizing. The Diyanet's Friday sermons, written in Ankara and distributed to mosques worldwide, employ rhetoric mirroring Brotherhood ideology, emphasizing grievance narratives against the West and promoting Palestinian causes.

The Diyanet network serves dual purposes: religious influence and intelligence gathering for the Turkish state. German and European intelligence services have documented extensive surveillance operations conducted through Diyanet mosques, with imams reporting on Turkish diaspora communities, Kurdish activists, and critics of the Erdogan

regime. The FBI has investigated Turkish espionage activities linked to Diyanet-affiliated institutions. The DCA in Maryland received over \$140,000 in Maryland state taxpayer funding in 2023 despite its foreign government control and political activities.<sup>91</sup> The Diyanet's influence extends through educational programs, youth camps, and social services that promote Turkish nationalist and Islamist ideology to second-generation Turkish-Americans and converts, effectively functioning as a state-sponsored indoctrination apparatus operating within the United States.<sup>92 93</sup>

## Financial Infrastructure of the Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S.

### Saudi and Qatari Funding

The Muslim Brotherhood's American network has received billions of dollars in funding from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states over the past six decades. The primary funding conduits include:

### Muslim World League (MWL)

- The MWL was founded in 1962 with Saudi government funding.<sup>94</sup>
- Annual contribution grew from \$13 million in 1980 to billions over subsequent decades.<sup>95</sup>
- Funded construction of mosques, Islamic centers, and schools across North America.
- MWL provided grants directly to ISNA, CAIR, NAIT, and other Brotherhood-affiliated organizations.
- A 2005 grant of \$275,000 from the Saudi Islamic Development Bank to ISNA is documented.<sup>96</sup>

### Qatar

Recent research has exposed Qatar's extensive funding of Muslim Brotherhood activities in the United States, particularly targeting higher education:

- Qatar has allegedly invested<sup>97</sup> more than \$20 billion into American colleges as part of the Muslim Brotherhood's ideology<sup>98</sup> to infiltrate Western institutions.
- Qatar provides refuge and financial support to senior MB leaders, including Hamas officials.

## Muslim Brotherhood Techniques and Strategies

### Legal Warfare and Strategic Lawsuits

Muslim Brotherhood-linked organizations, particularly CAIR, have mastered the art of “lawfare”—the use of legal systems and institutions to damage or silence opponents. This strategy involves filing or threatening defamation lawsuits against journalists, researchers, and activists who expose the network’s ties to terrorism, most recently against the state of Florida for its designation of CAIR as a terror organization.<sup>99</sup> This creates a “chilling effect” that discourages media outlets from investigating their activities.

A prime example of this tactic was the “**Flying Imams**” case in 2006, where six imams were removed from a US Airways flight after engaging in suspicious behavior that alarmed passengers and crew. CAIR subsequently filed a discrimination lawsuit not only against the airline but also against the “John Doe” passengers who reported the behavior. This aggressive legal maneuver was widely viewed as an attempt to intimidate citizens into silence and undermine the “See Something, Say Something” reporting system critical to national security.<sup>100</sup>

Additionally, these groups systematically file civil rights complaints with the Department of Justice and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to pressure law enforcement agencies and private employers. They have successfully lobbied to purge counter-terrorism training materials that reference Islamist ideology, arguing that such materials are discriminatory. This strategic litigation has effectively blinded law enforcement to the ideological drivers of terrorism, forcing agencies to adopt “politically correct” terminology that obscures the nature of the threat.<sup>101</sup>

### Financial Flows and Money Laundering

The financial sustainability of the Muslim Brotherhood in America relies on a complex web of local charities, offshore accounts, and illicit funding mechanisms. Beyond the documented funding from the Muslim World League, the “**Safa Group**” network in Northern Virginia represents one of the most sophisticated examples of this infrastructure.

In March 2002, federal agents raided over 100 homes and businesses linked to the **SAAR Foundation**, uncovering a labyrinth of shell companies designed to layer and launder funds destined for terrorist groups abroad.<sup>102</sup>

Investigative reports have revealed that funds raised for humanitarian relief are frequently diverted to support violent activities. Techniques include “**zakat**” (alms) collection fraud,

where money collected for orphans or disaster relief is funneled to families of suicide bombers or directly to militant groups. The conviction of the Holy Land Foundation leaders demonstrated how these organizations use charitable status to mask material support for terrorism, employing reverse money laundering to move legally obtained funds into illicit channels.<sup>103</sup>

CAIR, too, seems to partake in this strategic masking of funding and its use. CAIR's public financial disclosures are limited and inconsistent. In some years, it has failed to file standard IRS Form 990 reports or has done so through multiple similarly named entities (e.g., CAIR Foundation, CAIR Action Network, state chapters), complicating efforts to trace the origins and usage of its funding, multiple entities with separate bank accounts and inconsistent filings or failure to register or renew charitable licenses in certain states while continuing to solicit donations.

Some CAIR chapters have also received direct or indirect funding from Zakat committees in Kuwait and Qatar, which have been criticized for a lack of oversight in their charitable disbursements. Although CAIR argues that these donations were for humanitarian or community development programs, critics suggest that the lack of financial transparency raises the possibility that the funds helped sustain ideologically aligned activism.<sup>104</sup>

Currently, Qatar has emerged as a primary financier, utilizing more opaque mechanisms than direct wire transfers. Funding is often routed through **consulting contracts, academic endowments, and real estate investments** to avoid regulatory scrutiny. This sophisticated financial engineering allows the Muslim Brotherhood to maintain a steady stream of resources for its operations in the U.S. while maintaining plausible deniability regarding the ultimate source and purpose of the funds.<sup>105</sup>

## **Institutional Infiltration: Chaplaincy Programs**

The systematic infiltration of **U.S. military and prison chaplaincy programs** represents one of the Muslim Brotherhood's most successful strategic initiatives. Central to this effort was Abdurahman Alamoudi, who founded the **American Muslim Armed Forces and Veterans Affairs Council (AMAF&VAC)** in 1991. Through this organization, Alamoudi gained the authority to certify Muslim chaplains for the U.S. military, effectively becoming the gatekeeper for Islamic religious instruction within the armed forces. While presenting himself as a moderate voice to Pentagon officials, Alamoudi was secretly funneling hundreds of thousands of dollars to al-Qaeda operatives.<sup>106</sup>

**The Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences (GSISS), founded by Brotherhood ideologue Taha Jaber al-Alwani,** became the primary training ground for these chaplains.

The Department of Defense contracted with GSISS to educate Muslim chaplains, unaware that the curriculum was steeped in Brotherhood ideology. This arrangement allowed the Brotherhood to place its operatives in sensitive positions where they could influence military personnel and gain access to secure facilities. The arrest of Chaplain James Yee at Guantanamo Bay on suspicion of espionage in 2003 exposed the vulnerabilities created by this infiltration.<sup>107</sup>

Beyond the military, the Brotherhood also targeted prison chaplaincy programs, recognizing incarcerated populations as fertile ground for recruitment and radicalization. The “Warith Deen Umar” controversy in the New York state prison system revealed that chaplains certified by Brotherhood-linked organizations were distributing extremist literature and preaching anti-American doctrines to inmates. This strategy aligns with the Brotherhood’s documented goal of building a support base among disenfranchised groups to challenge state authority from within.<sup>108</sup>

### **Institutional Infiltration: Intimidation of Law Enforcement Tactics**

CAIR has intervened in police, FBI, and Department of Defense training programs, on numerous occasions, demanding the exclusion of counterterrorism experts and curriculum addressing Islamist ideology. Through media pressure and lobbying, the group has succeeded in removing speakers like John Guandolo from law enforcement trainings across several U.S. states.<sup>109 110 111 112</sup> In 2013, the Obama administration quietly revised over 1,000 counterterrorism documents and training presentations at the FBI and DoD after CAIR and its allies claimed they were 'offensive to Muslims', despite being factually accurate and vetted by national security personnel. This campaign directly impaired the military and federal agencies' ability to understand the ideological motivations behind groups like ISIS, al-Qaeda, and Hamas.<sup>113 114 115 116 117 118 119</sup>

### **Academic Infiltration Beyond Student Groups**

The Muslim Brotherhood's influence in American higher education extends far beyond campus activism, operating through a sophisticated strategy of financial capture underwritten by Qatar. Since 2001, Qatar has funneled over \$6.25 billion into U.S. universities, creating institutional dependencies that facilitate Muslim Brotherhood-aligned scholarship and suppress critical inquiry. Major recipients including Georgetown, Northwestern, and Texas A&M have expanded Middle East studies programs, raising concerns of systemic spread of Brotherhood-sympathetic influence.

This Qatari sponsorship operates in tandem with contributions from Saudi Prince Alwaleed bin Talal, who donated \$20 million each to Harvard and Georgetown to establish Islamic studies centers. These Brotherhood-affiliated academic hubs produce

scholarships that sanitizes the movement's extremist objectives while marginalizing researchers who expose its radical agenda. The result is a systematic bias in American Middle East studies driven by Muslim Brotherhood affiliation and sustained by foreign financial leverage.

Qatar's financial influence has created an academic infrastructure where critical scholarship on Islamist movements is actively suppressed, and dissenting voices are professionally marginalized. Title VI federal funding compounds this problem by subsidizing studies programs that present pro-Islamist perspectives while excluding research on the persecution of religious minorities and the Brotherhood's authoritarian ambitions. Through this combination of Qatari sponsorship and ideological gatekeeping, the Muslim Brotherhood has successfully embedded its narrative within American universities, ensuring that the next generation of foreign policy experts operates within an intellectual framework shaped by the movement's strategic interests.<sup>120 121 122</sup>

## The Case for Extensive Muslim Brotherhood Designation

The evidence in this report makes a strong case for federal investigation into Muslim Brotherhood activity, affiliations and organizations in the U.S., and possibly its designation as Foreign Terror Organizations. Such investigation and designation will not only help protect national security, stability, and democracy, but it will also allow for increased counter-terrorism cooperation with U.S. allies who have already designated the Muslim Brotherhood, including Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE. Additionally, as the Brotherhood funds and provides other support to other terrorist groups, including Hamas, designating the MB would help stymie the efforts of other groups trying to harm the U.S. and its allies.

### ***A. Legal Justification for Designation***

The Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) statute, codified at 8 U.S.C. § 1189(a), requires<sup>123</sup> three elements for designation:

1. **Foreign organization** - The entity must be foreign in nature.
2. **Engages in terrorist activity** - The organization must engage in terrorist activity or terrorism or retain the capability and intent to engage in such activity.
3. **Threatens U.S. interests** - The terrorist activity must threaten the security of U.S. nationals or the national security of the United States.

## **B. The Muslim Brotherhood Meets FTO Criteria**

### **1. Foreign Organization with Transnational Structure**

The Muslim Brotherhood operates as a centralized transnational organization with:

- Guidance Council – The movement’s executive leadership body.
- Shura Council – A consultative assembly coordinating international activities.
- National chapters - Organized branches in more than 70 countries, including the United States.

Documentation from the Holy Land Foundation trial, the 1991 Akram memorandum, and recent Shura Council meeting minutes (2018-2021) demonstrate that the Brotherhood functions as a unified organization with coordinated strategy and shared objectives, not merely as a diffuse ideological movement.<sup>124</sup>

### **2. Engages in and Supports Terrorist Activity**

The Muslim Brotherhood has direct organizational and financial ties to terror:

#### **Hammas:**

- Hamas emerged in 1987 from the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>125</sup>
- The Brotherhood's Palestine Committee was explicitly created to support Hamas activities.<sup>126</sup>
- Senior Hamas leaders (Khaled Mashal, Mousa Abu Marzook) are Muslim Brotherhood members.<sup>127</sup>
- The Brotherhood continues to provide political, financial, and operational support to Hamas.

#### **Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)**

- The Muslim Brotherhood has maintained longstanding ideological and operational alignment with Jamaat-e-Islami (Pakistani Islamist party) viewing it as its counterpart in the shared project of establishing Islamist governance through gradualist and militant means.
- This alignment has translated into cooperation with JI’s militant subsidiaries, including **Hizbul Mujahideen, Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen**



Hizbul Mujahideen,  
Source: [Counter Terrorism Guide](#)

**Bangladesh (JMB)**, and factions tied to **Lashkar-e-Taiba**, all of which have been designated or linked to terrorism in the U.S (2017, 2018 and 2001 respectively).

- **ISNA** has coordinated with Jamaat-e-Islami within the past decade.<sup>128</sup>

### **3. Threatens U.S. Nationals and National Security**

The Muslim Brotherhood poses multiple threats to U.S. interests:

#### **Direct Threats:**

- Following the October 7, 2023, Hamas attacks, senior Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood leader called for violent attacks against U.S. partners and interests.<sup>129</sup>
- Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood leaders have provided material support to Hamas militants who have killed American citizens.<sup>130</sup>
- Lebanese Muslim Brotherhood chapter (al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya) joined Hamas, Hezbollah, and Palestinian factions in launching rocket attacks against Israeli targets, threatening American civilians in the region.<sup>131</sup>

#### **Radicalization and Recruitment:**

- Multiple individuals radicalized through Brotherhood-linked organizations in the U.S. have been convicted of terrorism offenses such as 9/11 mastermind, Khaled Sheikh Mohammed (KSM),<sup>132</sup> and Anwar al-Awlaki, who inspired numerous terrorist attacks against Americans and preached at the Brotherhood-linked Dar al-Hijrah mosque in Virginia.<sup>133</sup>

#### **Ideological Subversion:**

- The 1991 Akram memorandum explicitly states the Brotherhood's goal of "eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within."<sup>134</sup>
- Brotherhood ideology justifies violence against the West and promotes supremacist, anti-democratic values.
- The U.S. Brotherhood network works to undermine American counter-terrorism efforts and defend terrorists.

### **C. International Precedents for Designation**

Multiple U.S. allies have already designated the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization:

## **Egypt**

- Designated the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization in 2013 under Penal Code Article 86.
- Prosecuted thousands of Brotherhood members for terrorism-related offenses.
- Documented evidence of Brotherhood involvement in terrorist attacks and armed insurgency.

## **United Arab Emirates (UAE)**

- Designated the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization under Federal Law No. 7 of 2014 on Combating Terrorism Offences
- Froze assets and prosecuted Brotherhood members.
- Documented Brotherhood support for terrorist activities in the region.

## **Saudi Arabia**

- Listed the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization in 2014.
- Froze more than 1,200 Brotherhood-linked bank accounts.
- Banned Brotherhood activities and literature.

## **Russia**

- Designated the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization in 2003.
- Banned Brotherhood activities as extremist.

## ***D. Domestic Legislative and Executive Actions Against the Muslim Brotherhood***

### **Presidential Executive Order (November 24, 2025):**

President Donald Trump issued an executive order titled "Designation of Certain Muslim Brotherhood Chapters as Foreign Terrorist Organizations and Specially Designated Global Terrorists," initiating a formal process for FTO designation.<sup>135</sup> The order specifically highlights the Muslim Brotherhood chapters in Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt for their engagement in violence and destabilization campaigns.

The executive order directs:

- The Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury to submit a joint report within 30 days concerning designation of Muslim Brotherhood chapters as FTOs and specially designated global terrorists.
- Implementation of designations within 45 days of the report.
- Coordination with the Attorney General and Director of National Intelligence.

While the initiation of this process is a crucial first step, it is necessary to designate the Muslim Brotherhood as a whole, including all of its chapters and affiliates in order to protect the safety and stability of the United States.

## ***E. State-Level Designations***

**Texas (November 18, 2025):** Governor Greg Abbott designated both the Muslim Brotherhood and CAIR as foreign terrorist organizations under state law, declaring them threats to Texas residents and national security.<sup>136</sup>

**Florida (December 9, 2025):** Governor Ron DeSantis issued an executive order designating the Muslim Brotherhood and CAIR as foreign terrorist organizations in Florida, citing their support for terrorism and threats to public safety.<sup>137</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The Muslim Brotherhood has established an extensive organizational network in the United States spanning six decades, including major advocacy organizations (CAIR, ISNA, MAS), property-holding trusts (NAIT), think tanks (IIIT), student organizations (MSA, SJP), and coordinating bodies (USCMO).

Federal court evidence from the Holy Land Foundation trial, the 1991 Mohamed Akram strategy memorandum, FBI investigations, and numerous academic studies document concrete organizational, financial, and operational links between U.S. organizations and the transnational Muslim Brotherhood movement.

Multiple U.S.-based Brotherhood organizations have provided material, financial, and political support to Hamas, a designated FTO. The Muslim Brotherhood support continues even after the Hamas-led October 7, 2023, massacre, which claimed the lives of Americans, Israelis, and other foreign nationals.

Numerous individuals associated with Brotherhood-linked U.S. organizations have been convicted of terrorism-related offenses, including Holy Land Foundation leaders, Abdurahman Alamoudi, Sami al-Arian, and others.

The Brotherhood's American network has received billions of dollars from Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and other Gulf states through entities like the Muslim World League and World Assembly of Muslim Youth. These funds have built mosques, schools, and Islamic centers that serve as Brotherhood organizing hubs.

The Muslim Brotherhood's self-described objective is to destroy Western civilization "from within" through a process of gradual infiltration of institutions, deception about its true objectives, and coordination with terrorist organizations, which is why it is crucial that the U.S. act expeditiously to designate the Muslim Brotherhood in its entirety, including all of its affiliates like CAIR and others.

## Recommendations

1. The Trump administration should complete the FTO designation process initiated by the November 24, 2025, executive order and ensure that not only specific national chapters are designated, but also the transnational Muslim Brotherhood organization itself and its affiliates in the U.S. and abroad.
2. The Treasury Department should immediately freeze Brotherhood-suspected assets upon designation, and the administration should work with allied governments to share intelligence and coordinate counter-Brotherhood activities.
3. The IRS should review and revoke tax-exempt status for organizations with documented Brotherhood ties, particularly CAIR, AMP, ISNA, MAS, NAIT and others.
4. The administration should initiate a federal investigation into foreign funding of Brotherhood-linked organizations, particularly from Qatar, Turkey and Saudi Arabia.
5. Congress should conduct comprehensive hearings on Brotherhood infiltration of American institutions and pass pending legislation (H.R. 3883<sup>138</sup>, S. 2293,<sup>139</sup> H.R. 4097<sup>140</sup>) designating the Muslim Brotherhood and CAIR as terrorist organizations.

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