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HOUSE U.S.-EUROPEAN UNION CAUCUS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-2306

6043 HUDSON ROAD, SUITE 330
WOODBURY, MN 55125
(651) 731-5400

110 2ND STREET S, SUITE 232
WAITE PARK, MN 56387
(320) 253-5931

www.bachmann.house.gov

July 13, 2012

The Honorable Keith Ellison
1027 Longworth House Office Building
United States House of Representatives
Washington D.C., 20515

Dear Representative Ellison:

Thank you for your letter dated July 12, 2012. I am responding to the concerns your letter outlined as well as clarifying a few points that were misrepresented.

As you know, on June 13, 2012, Members of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, myself included, and the House Judiciary Committee, sent letters to the Inspectors General of the Department of Defense, Department of State, Department of Justice, Department of Homeland Security, and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence. The purpose of these letters was to request a multi-department investigation into potential Muslim Brotherhood infiltration into the United States Government.

We find this is not only necessary, but beyond timely, considering that departments and agencies of the U.S. Government (including but not limited to, those departments to which these Inspector General letters were sent) have in the past and continue to be advised by organizations and individuals that the U.S. Government itself has identified in federal court as fronts for the international Muslim Brotherhood. That such a widespread assessment has not been performed is troubling and is the basis for genuine concern given the stark contrast between what the U.S. Government says about these Muslim Brotherhood front groups and their continued association with these groups.

I do note that the facts we presented in the Inspector General request letters are based on information presented by U.S. Government officials in court documents, court evidence, correspondence and briefings with Congress and public statements, in addition to known media reporting. These letters were far from sole-sourced as you maintain in your letter.

While I can't speak on behalf of the other signatories of these letters, nor am I able to get into the private discussions and documentation received by the various House committees

represented by the signatories on these matters that motivated these letters to the various Inspectors General, out of respect to you I am happy to respond to some of your concerns, provide the sources you ask for, as well as clarify a few points that may have been misunderstood or misrepresented.

1) "Brotherhood operatives" within the U.S. government may have directly influenced the U.S. intelligence community's assessment of the Muslim Brotherhood, as presented by Director of National Intelligence James Clapper in testimony before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence on February 10, 2011.

In the letter to the Inspector General of the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, the reference to the February 10, 2011 testimony before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence is notable in that the Muslim Brotherhood is described by Director Clapper as "largely secular". The fact that he made this statement is not in dispute.¹ We cited his statement at that hearing in its entirety in the letter to the ODNI Inspector General.

I have to note that both Rep. Westmoreland and I were present at that hearing. Director Clapper was not speaking off the cuff, but was reading from a set of prepared briefing notes which he looked at and apparently referred to in making that statement. His statement was so widely derided that the White House quickly moved to distance themselves from it, and Director Clapper even had to retract his statement.²

Director Clapper's statement was in response to a question by Rep. Sue Myrick about information entered into evidence during the Holy Land Foundation trial – the largest terrorism finance trial in American history – that specifically identified these U.S.-based Muslim Brotherhood front organizations and their commitment to a published agenda to "destroying Western Civilization from within":

According to the FBI and the Department of Justice the Brotherhood is actually inside America and I hold this up because it's from the 2008 Holy Land Foundation terrorist finance support trial evidence was introduced by prosecutors titled "Explanatory Memorandum." And under a section titled "Understanding the Role of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America, the document says the

¹ Z. Byron Wolf, "Director of National Intelligence James Clapper: Muslim Brotherhood 'Largely Secular'," *ABC News*, February 10, 2011, <http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2011/02/director-of-national-intelligence-james-clapper-muslim-brotherhood-largely-secular/>.

² "Obama Administration Corrects Clapper's Claim that Muslim Brotherhood is 'Secular'," *Fox News*, February 10, 2011, <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2011/02/10/administration-corrects-dni-clapper-claim-muslim-brotherhood-secular/>; Josh Gerstein, "DNI Clapper Retreats From 'Secular' Claim for Muslim Brotherhood," *Politico*, February 10, 2011, http://www.politico.com/blogs/joshgerstein/0211/DNI_Clapper_Egypt_Muslim_Brotherhood_largely_secular.html.

Brotherhood is engaged in, and I quote “a civilization Jihadist process with all the word means. The Ikhwan, the Brotherhood must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within.” And the last page of the memo lists the names of 29 organizations in the U.S. whom the author, who was a member of the Muslim Brotherhood claims are involved in this so-called “civilization jihad process.”

So, the danger of the Muslim Brotherhood is not just encouraging terrorism through their ideology but also trying to take over governments so everyone has to succumb and live under their ideology. The 9-11 Commission Report says we must address ideologies that give rise to Islamic terrorism.³

And in fact, Director Clapper at the conclusion of his response to Rep. Myrick’s question deferred to FBI Director Mueller to address the issue of the Muslim Brotherhood in America, to which Director Mueller stated:

I can say at the outset that elements of the Muslim Brotherhood both here and overseas have supported terrorism. To the extent that I can provide information, I would be happy to do so in closed session. But it would be difficult to do it in open session.⁴

Considering that many U.S. Government agencies, including some of those in the intelligence and law enforcement community, have engaged in outreach programs with organizations and their leaders identified by the U.S. Government as Muslim Brotherhood members and fronts, it is entirely reasonable to ask exactly how Director Clapper arrived at the conclusion that the Muslim Brotherhood was a “largely secular” organization. It is also important to ask what advisory role that any of these Muslim Brotherhood front organizations had played in the intelligence community’s assessment as expressed in the briefing notes that Director Clapper was reading from which stated that the Muslim Brotherhood was a “largely secular” organization.

In light of the ongoing events in the Middle East and the rapid ascendancy of the Muslim Brotherhood, there has yet to be an assessment of how Director Clapper and the intelligence community got their analysis of the Muslim Brotherhood so inherently flawed, the implications of which we could continue to live with for decades to come.

³ The “Explanatory Memorandum” can be found on the U.S. District Court – Northern District of Texas website dedicated to the U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation trial: <http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-25-08/Elbarasse%20Search%203.pdf>. The quote Rep. Myrick read from that document on “destroying Western Civilization from within” can be found on the page marked “7 of 18” in the FBI translation of the document, and the referenced list of 29 organizations can be found on page 32.

⁴ House Select Committee on Intelligence, “International Security Threats”, *C-SPAN*, February 10, 2011, <http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/297949-1> (1:26:55-1:27:12) {INCLUDE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD PAGE}

No better example of the outworking of this intelligence analysis is the statement made during President Obama's 2011 Super Bowl halftime interview just days before Director Clapper made his statement where he said with respect to the Muslim Brotherhood, "They don't have majority support in Egypt."⁵ As we now know from the Egyptian parliamentary and presidential elections earlier this year, this analysis by our intelligence community was wrong.⁶

2) "The mother, brother and deceased father of Huma Abedin, Deputy Chief of Staff to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, are connected to the Muslim Brotherhood, and that she, too, by extension, may be working on the organization's behalf."

Not once in the letter to the Inspector General of the Department of State, as you summarize, was it stated that "by extension, (Ms. Abedin), may be working on the organization's behalf." In fact, what we wrote was that:

...the Deputy Chief of Staff, Huma Abedin, has three family members – her late father, her mother and her brother – connected to Muslim Brotherhood operatives and/or organizations. Her position provides her with routine access to the Secretary and to policy-making.

That her family members are connected to the Muslim Brotherhood has been reported and referenced widely in the Arab-language media, including *Al-Hayat*, the *Arab Times* and *Al-Jazeera*.⁷

A 2002 law review article by Director of the Center for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations states with respect to Ms. Abedin's father:

Professor Syed Z. Abedin took a different approach in dealing with the contemporary challenge to the traditional Islamic views. Trained in social science and being of Indian origin, Professor Abedin was the founder of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, an institution that had the quiet

⁵ "Obama: Muslim Brotherhood Lacks Major Support," *CBS News*, February 7, 2011, http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-202_162-7324320.html.

⁶ "Egypt's Islamist Parties Win Elections to Parliament," *BBC News*, January 21, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-16665748>; Alexander Marquardt, "Muslim Brotherhood's Morsi Wins Egyptian Presidential Election," *ABC News*, June 24, 2012, <http://abcnews.go.com/International/muslim-brotherhoods-morsi-wins-egyptian-presidential-election/story?id=16640917>.

⁷ http://www.gulfintimedia.com/index.php?m=opinions&id=1305034&lim=15&lang=ar&tblpost=2011_07&PHPSESSID=062;

http://www.arabtimes.com/portal/article_display.cfm?Action=&Preview=No&ArticleID=22653;
<http://www.aljazeera.net/mob/f6451603-4dff-4ca1-9c10-122741d17432/a0dd2ea2-24da-4095-bbf0-b9b70d134444>. (translation generated by Google Translate)

but active support of the then General Secretary of the Muslim World League, Dr. Umar Abdallah Nasif.⁸

As the Pew Forum notes, the Muslim World League has a longtime history of being closely aligned and partnering with the Muslim Brotherhood.⁹

That Ms. Abedin is a close confidante of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and that her position provides her with access to the Secretary and puts her in a position to influence policy-making is not controversial.¹⁰

The concerns about the foreign influence of immediate family members is such a concern to the U.S. Government that it includes these factors as potentially disqualifying conditions for obtaining a security clearance, which undoubtedly Ms. Abedin has had to obtain to function in her position.¹¹

For us to raise issues about a highly-based U.S. Government official with known immediate family connections to foreign extremist organizations is not a question of singling out Ms. Abedin. In fact, these questions are raised by the U.S. Government of *anyone* seeking a security clearance.

Given the reasonable assumption that Ms. Abedin has a high-level security clearance, as a member of the House Select Committee on Intelligence I am particularly interested in exactly how, given what we know from the international media about Ms. Abedin's documented family connections with the extremist Muslim Brotherhood, she was able to avoid being disqualified for a security clearance. If these known and documented family ties to the Muslim Brotherhood would not disqualify someone for a security clearance, what specifically is the standard to be disqualified on foreign influence grounds?

3) The Organization of Islamic Cooperation, an international organization of 57 countries to which President George W. Bush created a special envoy position, is "determined to impose shariah worldwide" and undermine the U.S. Constitution.

⁸ Jorgen S. Nielsen, "Contemporary Discussions on Religious Minorities in Islam," *BYU Law Review* 353 (2002), 355-356.

⁹ "Muslim Networks and Movements in Western Europe," Pew Forum, September 15, 2010, <http://www.pewforum.org/Muslim/Muslim-Networks-and-Movements-in-Western-Europe-Muslim-World-League-and-World-Assembly-of-Muslim-Youth.aspx>.

¹⁰ E.g. Nia Malika Henderson, "Huma Abedin, Rep. Anthony Weiner's Unflappable Wife," *Washington Post*, July 7, 2011, http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/huma-abedin-weiners-unflappable-wife/2011/06/07/AG4jFILH_story.html.

¹¹ Defense Human Resource Activity, "Foreign Influence," *Adjudicative Desk Reference: Background Resources for Personnel Security Adjudicators, Investigators and Managers*, <http://www.dhra.mil/perserec/adr/index.htm>.

That President George W. Bush created a position of envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is, once again, beyond dispute. As noted on the State Department's website, President Bush appointed Sada Cumber to the newly created position on February 27, 2008.¹² President Obama later appointed Rashad Hussain to that same position on February 13, 2010.¹³

The agenda of the OIC is equally non-controversial since they post their positions and statements in English on their own website.¹⁴

Concerns about the OIC's agenda stems from the fact that it makes bona fide claims to being the second largest inter-governmental organization in the world with membership of 56 states and the Palestinian Authority; claims to represent the "collective voice of the Muslim world;"¹⁵ defines its governing domain as the entire *Ummah* – the Muslim Community; rests its authority in summits attended by heads of state.¹⁶

There are other reasons for concern for the OIC's promotion of shariah as part of a global agenda.

The OIC defines human rights strictly in terms of shariah – Islamic law. Promulgated in 1990 on behalf of its Member States, the "Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam" was subsequently served as a legal instrument to the United Nations in 1993. That human rights is derived exclusively from shariah according to the OIC was made explicit in the final two articles of the Declaration where it states in Article 24 that "all the rights and freedoms stipulated in this Declaration are subject to the Islamic shariah" while Article 25 asserts that "the Islamic shariah is the only source of reference for the explanation or clarification of any of the articles of this Declaration."¹⁷

There are consequences to negotiating issues of human rights in the international arena and not knowing that the other side has defined human rights in a fundamentally different manner. This concern is not limited to the international arena.

The OIC also makes jurisdictional claims over Muslims living in non-Muslim countries, which includes Muslims living in the United States. In the OIC Charter, it states:

¹² "Special Envoy to the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC)," State Department, <http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/io/c25494.htm>.

¹³ William Wan, "Obama Names Rashad Hussain Special Envoy to Muslim World," *Washington Post*, February 13, 2010, http://onfaith.washingtonpost.com/onfaith/undergod/2010/02/obama_names_special_envoy_to_muslim_world.html.

¹⁴ <http://www.oic-oci.org/home.asp>

¹⁵ Organization of The Islamic Conference – About OIC, http://oic-oci.org/page_detail.asp?p_id=52.

¹⁶ Article 6, *Charter of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference*.

¹⁷ Annex to Res. No. 49 / 19-P, The Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, Resolution NO. 49 / 19-P, On the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, The Nineteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Session of Peace, Interdependence and Development), Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt, OIC, 9-14 Muharram 1411H (July 31 to August 5, 1990), <http://www.oic-oci.org/english/article/human.htm>.

The objectives of the Organization of the Islamic Conference shall be: To safeguard the rights, dignity and religious and cultural identity of Muslim communities and minorities in non-Member States; ...¹⁸

The OIC takes this charge seriously and produces annual *Observatory Reports* that track issues it designates as “Islamophobia.” On the status of Muslims living in non-Muslim countries, the 2010 *OIC Observatory Report* stated that “Muslim[s] should not be ... attempted to be assimilated. Accommodation is the best strategy for integration.”¹⁹ In other words, Muslims should be allowed to live in non-Muslim states without having to necessarily obey its laws.

The situation is not helped by the fact that when meeting with Muslim entities from within the United States, the OIC tends to meet with groups known to be Muslim Brotherhood front organizations known to be dedicated to “establishing an effective and stable Islamic Movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood which adopts Muslims’ causes domestically and globally, and ... presents a civilization alternative, and supports the global Islamic State wherever it is.”²⁰

For example, in 2007, the OIC General Secretary, Elmeleddin Ihsanoglu, met with Nihad Awad, President of the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) to discuss “cooperation on future projects.”²¹ In 2010²² and then again in 2011,²³ the OIC organized “Islam and Muslims in America” Conferences in Chicago that were promoted by CAIR, with keynote speakers being the OIC General Secretary along with senior leaders of Muslim Brotherhood front groups like ISNA.²⁴ Both CAIR and ISNA were identified as Muslim Brotherhood entities when designated as unindicted coconspirators in the Holy Land Foundation case.²⁵ The Bylaws of the International Muslim Brotherhood state that:

¹⁸ Objective 16, Article 1, Chapter 1, “Objectives and Principles,” *Charter of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference*, <http://www.oic-oci.org/is11/english/Charter-en.pdf>.

¹⁹ *Third OIC Observatory Report on Islamophobia: Intolerance & Discrimination against Muslims*, May 2009 to April 2010, *OIC Observatory*, May 22, 2010, http://www.oic-oci.org/uploads/file/Islamphobia/2010/en/Islamphobia_rep_May_22_5_2010.pdf.pdf, 30.

²⁰ Explanatory Memorandum: On the General Strategic Goal for the Group,” Mohamed Akram, May 22, 1991, Government Exhibit 003-0085/3:04-CR-240-G U.S. v. HLF, et al., United States District Court, Northern District of Texas, <http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-25-08/Elbarasse%20Search%203.pdf>, at 18. Cited hereafter as *Explanatory Memorandum*

²¹ Maha Akeel, “Awad, Ihsanoglu Discuss Future CAIR-OIC Projects,” *Arab News*, July 4, 2007, <http://archive.arabnews.com/?page=1§ion=0&article=98157>.

²² “OIC Secretary Speaks to Muslim American Leaders in Chicago: education, moderation, and full involvement at local and national levels,” OIC News Release, September 2, 2010, http://www.oic-oci.org/topic_detail.asp?t_id=4367&x_key

²³ OIC Secretary General Attends the 2nd Conference on Islam and Muslims in America, OIC News Release, September 17, 2011, http://www.oic-oci.org/topic_detail.asp?t_id=5664&x_key=

²⁴ “Ahmed Rehab to Speak at “Islam and Muslims in America” Conference,” *CAIR-Chicago Press Release*, September 15, 2010, <http://www.cairchicago.org/2010/09/15/ahmed-rehab-to-speak-at-islam-and-muslims-in-america-conference>.

²⁵ Attachment A, List of Unindicted Co-conspirators and/or Joint Ventures, United States of America vs. Holy Land Foundation, United States District Court for Northern District of Texas, Dallas Division, Case

...the Muslim Brotherhood is an international Muslim Body, which seeks to establish Allah's law in the land by achieving the spiritual goals of Islam and the true religion ...”

It goes on to speak of:

“the need to work on establishing the Islamic State, ... Defend the (Islamic) nation against the internal enemies, ...²⁶

At least on its face, there seems to be an ongoing relationship between a foreign governing entity, the OIC, that claims jurisdiction over Muslims in non-Muslim lands, defines human rights as shariah, and advocates that Muslims not assimilate into the cultures of non-Muslim countries. The OIC meets with known subversive front groups dedicated to the imposition of Islamic law and the subversion of host nation governments and societies.

Given that the OIC defines human rights as shariah for the Muslim world and CAIR designates itself as a Muslim Civil Rights organization, couldn't this indicate a common commitment to the implementation of shariah law inside the United States just as the Muslim Brotherhood's mission statement attests? There are national security implications to allowing a foreign governing entity to maintain ongoing relationships with domestic front groups. And the evidence of collaboration between the OIC and U.S.-based Muslim Brotherhood front groups needs to be investigated if for no other reason than to rule out what may reasonably appear to be questionable behavior from a national security perspective.

Objecting to their names being published on a list of unindicted coconspirators associated with the Holy Land Foundation Case, ISNA and CAIR asked the trial court to strike their names from public documents filed by the government. In his July 2009 opinion, Judge Solis responded:

Finally, CAIR, NAIT and ISNA ask the Court to strike their names from any public document filed or issued by the government. (Mot. at 6.) While it is clear from the *Briggs* line of cases that the Government should have originally filed the unindicted co-conspirators' names under seal, the Court declines to strike CAIR, ISNA and NAIT's names from those documents. The Government has produced ample evidence

3:04-cr-00240, Document 656-2, March 29, 2007, pg. 5, no. 11 (CAIR) and pg. 8, no. 3 (ISNA), http://www.nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/HLF/US_v_HLF_Unindicted_Coconspirators.pdf.
²⁶ “Bylaws of the International Muslim Brotherhood,” Ikhwanweb.com, (downloaded) January 18, 2010, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=22687> (note: *Ikhwanweb* has since removed the bylaws from their website).

to establish the associations of CAIR, ISNA and NAIT with HLF, the Islamic Association for Palestine (“IAP”), and with Hamas.²⁷

It should be noted that Article 2 of the Hamas Covenant identifies Hamas as a Muslim Brotherhood entity while Article 7 calls for the global killing of all Jews.²⁸

Among the more immediate concerns regarding the OIC, is an attempt at imposing speech standards on non-Muslim countries and cultures including the United States. Such an initiative would undermine American notions of free speech as stated in the First Amendment of the Constitution that we took oaths to support and defend.

Promulgated in 2005 and designated the “Ten Year Programme of Action,” the OIC formally recognized Islamic speech standards as being binding on the entire world and formulated a plan to subordinate all speech to Islamic speech standards by “endeavoring to have the United Nations adopt an international resolution to counter Islamophobia, and call upon all States to enact laws to counter it, including deterrent punishments.”²⁹

While such an initiative is abhorrent to American’s First Amendment rights, the OIC’s Ten Year Programme of Action to subordinate free speech to Islamic law is quite serious.

Even more distressing is the appearance of the U.S. Department of State participating in a process, called the “Istanbul Process,” that seeks implementation of the Ten Year Programme through ratification of United Nations Resolution 16/18. Drafted by Pakistan on behalf of the OIC and written in facially neutral language,³⁰ the OIC Secretary General acknowledged upon its passage that Resolution 16/18, heavily promoted by the current administration, fulfilled OIC objectives on defamation that the West had up until that time consistently opposed.³¹

²⁷ Judge Jorge Solis, Memorandum Opinion Order, *U.S. v Holy Land Foundation*, Case 3:04-cr-00240-P, Dallas Division, U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Texas, July 1, 2009, 14.

²⁸ HAMAS Covenant (1988), Articles 2 and 7, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

²⁹ VII “Combating Islamophobia,” Ten-Year Programme of Action to Meet the Challenges Facing the Muslim Ummah in the 21st Century, Third Extraordinary Session of the Islamic Conference, Makkah al Mukarramah – Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 5-6 dhul qa’dah 1426h 7-8 December 2005, <http://www.oic-oci.org/ex-summit/english/10-years-plan.htm>. Cited hereafter as “OIC 10 Year Plan.”

³⁰ “Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related form of Intolerance, follow-up and Implementation of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action Human Rights Council, Agenda Item 9, Sixteenth Session, *Human Rights Commission*, United Nations A/HRC/16/L.38, March 21, 2011, http://ap.ohchr.org/documents/E/HRC/d_res_dec/A_HRC_16_L.38.pdf.

³¹ Patrick Goodenough, “Religious Tolerance Resolution Backed by Obama Administration Aligns With Islamic Bloc’s Interests,” *CMS News*, December 16, 2011, <http://cnsnews.com/news/article/religious-tolerance-resolution-backed-obama-administration-aligns-islamic-bloc-s>

When committing to its passage and implementation, Secretary Clinton committed to the OIC Secretary General “to use some old-fashioned techniques of peer pressure and shaming”³² against those who choose not to submit to the new speech requirements.

From the OIC’s own stated agenda to define universal rights in accordance with shariah, their claims on Muslims living outside of their member countries (including our own), the cooperation and coordination from Islamic groups inside the U.S., and the U.S. Government’s complicity in furthering that agenda by “pressuring and shaming” its own citizens in violation of the U.S. Constitution, raises considerable concerns about U.S. sovereignty – concerns that must to be addressed by independent authorities, such as the various Inspectors General.

4) The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), an umbrella organization of American Muslim groups, is "the largest Muslim Brotherhood front in the United States."

ISNA bills itself as “the largest Muslim umbrella organization in the United States and Canada.”³³

In naming ISNA as an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation trial, federal prosecutors identified the group as among “entities who are and/or were members of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood.”³⁴

Thus, if ISNA identifies itself as “the largest Muslim umbrella organization in the United States” and federal prosecutors identify the group as “members of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood”, it is reasonable to deduce that ISNA can fairly be described as “the largest Muslim Brotherhood front in the United States.”

In 2008, Department of Justice prosecutors filed with the federal district court a motion opposing the removal of ISNA from the Holy Land Foundation unindicted co-conspirator list. In its motion it stated that “During last year’s trial, numerous exhibits were entered into evidence establishing both ISNA’s and NAIT’s intimate relationship with the

³² “Remarks at the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) High-Level Meeting on Combating Religious Intolerance,” Hilary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State, United States Department of State, given at the Center for Islamic Arts and History, Istanbul, Turkey, July 15, 2011, <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2011/07/168636.htm>.

³³ Mohamed Elsanousi, “ISNA Joins President Obama’s Call for Courage, Respect and Unity to Confront Extremism,” ISNA Press Release, May 25, 2010, <http://www.isna.net/articles/Press-Releases/ISNA-Joins-President-Obamas-Call-for-Courage-Respect-and-Unity-to-Confront-Extremism.aspx>.

³⁴ Josh Gerstein, “Islamic Groups Named in Hamas Funding Case,” *New York Sun*, June 4, 2007, <http://www.nysun.com/national/islamic-groups-named-in-hamas-funding-case/55778/>.

Muslim Brotherhood, the Palestine Committee, and the defendants in this case.”³⁵ One of those exhibits was a document identifying ISNA as one of the “apparatuses” of the Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S.³⁶

In that same motion the federal prosecutors make note of the extensive evidence connecting ISNA to the Muslim Brotherhood, but also the Hamas terrorist organization:

During the trial, the Court entered into evidence a wide array of testimonial and documentary evidence expressly linking ISNA and NAIT to the HLF and its principals; the Islamic Association for Palestine and its principals; the Muslim Brotherhood in the United States and its Palestine Committee, headed by HAMAS official Mousa Abu Marzook; and the greater HAMAS-affiliated conspiracy described in the Government’s case-in-chief. See, e.g., Government Exhibits 1-16, 3-1, 3-3, 3-23, 3-49, 3-50, 3-64, 3-85, 3-89, 5-1 through 5-14, 5-23 through 5-26, 5-42, 5-78, 16-59, 16-87, 20-33.³⁷

The prosecutors added that ISNA was not distantly related to the Holy Land Foundation’s conspiracy to support Hamas, but was intimately tied to it:

During the early years of the HLF’s operation, HLF raised money and supported HAMAS through a bank account it held with ISNA at NAIT. Govt. Exh. 5-1 through 5-14, 5-23, 5-24, 5-25, 5-26, 5-42. Indeed, HLF (under its former name, OLF) operated from within ISNA, in Plainfield, Indiana, where Defendant Shukri Baker was employed. Govt. Exh. 5-6, p. 3; 1-16. ISNA checks deposited into the ISNA/NAIT account for the HLF were often made payable to “the Palestinian Mujahadeen,” Govt. Exh. 5-23, 5-24, 5-25, the original name for the HAMAS military wing. Govt. Exh. 1-174. From that ISNA/NAIT account, the HLF sent hundreds of thousands of dollars to HAMAS leader Mousa Abu Marzook, Nadia Elashi (defendant Ghassan Elashi’s cousin and Marzook’s wife), Sheikh Ahmed Yassin’s Islamic Center of Gaza, the Islamic University, and a number of other individuals associated with HAMAS. Govt. Exh. 20-55, 20-56.³⁸

The FBI also conducted surveillance of a 1993 meeting of Hamas leaders in Philadelphia, the transcripts of which were entered into evidence during the Holy Land Foundation trial, where the attendees openly discussed using ISNA as an official cover for their activities – thus making it by very definition a “front” organization.³⁹

³⁵ Government’s Amended Memorandum in Opposition to Petitioners Islamic Society of North America and North American Islamic Trust’s Motion for Equitable Relief, *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, CR NO. 3:04-CR-240-P, July 11, 2008, p. 2, http://www.aclu.org/images/asset_upload_file142_36171.pdf.

³⁶ *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, Government Exhibit Elbarasse Search – 4, pg. 8, <http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-25-08/Elbarasse%20Search%204.pdf>.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

Interestingly, the motion by the government prosecutor notes that ISNA denied in a press release at the time of the Holy Land Foundation mistrial in 2007 that it “never was, is not now, affiliated with or influenced by any international organizations including the Muslim Brotherhood.”⁴⁰

And yet, ISNA officials had told the *Chicago Tribune* exactly the opposite just a few years before:

The Islamic Society of North America, the umbrella group for the Muslim Youth of North America and the Muslim Students Association, says Brotherhood members helped form those groups but that their overall influence has been limited.⁴¹

The federal judge presiding over the Holy Land Foundation case rejected ISNA’s denials and sided with the government prosecutors, ruling in a sealed order (later unsealed by order of the appellate court) that the evidence presented during the trial conclusively demonstrated ISNA’s founding and operation as a Muslim Brotherhood front organization, also going into great detail about the evidence presented at trial showing its connection to the Holy Land Foundation’s terrorist fundraising.⁴²

5) The Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) and Muslim Advocates, two civil rights organizations, "exercise influence in ways that align with Muslim Brotherhood agendas."

In the letter we specifically identify, “The Investigative Project on Terrorism, among other organizations, has identified MPAC as an entity long and closely associated with the Muslim Brotherhood.”⁴³

Federal prosecutors entered into evidence U.S. Muslim Brotherhood documents identifying one of the founders and senior advisers to MPAC as operating in support of the group.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ “Islamic Society of North America, HLF Verdict Press Statement,” ISNA Press Release, <http://www.isna.net/articles/Press-Releases/ISLAMIC-SOCIETY-OF-NORTH-AMERICA-HLF-VERDICT-PRESS-STATEMENT.aspx>.

⁴¹ Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe and Laurie Cohen, “A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 2004, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/watchdog/chi-0409190261sep19,0,4605917,full.story>.

⁴² Josh Gerstein, “Judge Snubbed U.S. Islamic Groups in Secret Ruling,” *Politico*, November 1, 2009, http://www.politico.com/blogs/joshgerstein/1109/Judge_snubbed_US_Islamic_groups_in_secret_ruling.html; Jason Trahan, “Court Unseals 2009 Order on Holy Land Foundation Unindicted Co-Conspirator List,” *Dallas Morning News*, November 19, 2010, <http://crimeblog.dallasnews.com/2010/11/court-unseals-2009-order-on-ho.html/>.

⁴³ The Investigative Project on Terrorism’s detailed report on MPAC is available online: <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/358.pdf>.

More recently, MPAC has affirmatively demonstrated its allegiance to the international Muslim Brotherhood, hosting events on Capitol Hill for Tunisian Muslim Brotherhood Al-Nahda party leader Rachid Ghannouchi and members of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party (the latter was abruptly cancelled when news of the event was being investigated by the press).⁴⁵

MPAC and Muslim Advocates alignment with organizations identified by the U.S. government as Muslim Brotherhood front groups can be traced back several years, including both groups longtime alliance with the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR).⁴⁶ During the Holy Land Foundation trial, FBI Agent Lara Burns testified that CAIR was a front for Hamas and founded by the Muslim Brotherhood's Palestine Committee to support Hamas.⁴⁷

Last October, MPAC and Muslim Advocates joined several identified Muslim Brotherhood front groups, including CAIR and ISNA, by signing onto joint letters signed by these organizations in calling for the creation of a "White House" "interagency taskforce" to conduct a "purge" of counterterrorism training materials.⁴⁸

The same day as that letter was sent to the White House, these same organizations met together with Department of Justice Assistant Attorney General of the Civil Rights Division Tom Perez in calling for "a legal declaration that U.S. citizens' criticism of Islam constitutes racial discrimination." This call to subvert the First Amendment should have been challenged by the Department of Justice, but wasn't.⁴⁹ That is deeply troubling. Muslim Advocates and MPAC officials are regular speakers at ISNA events, such as Farhana Khera's speech at the 2010 ISNA convention.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation et al., Government Exhibit Elbarasse Search – 11, pg. 11, <http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-25-08/Elbarasse%20Search%2011.pdf>.

⁴⁵ "Attend MPAC-DC Forum on Islamic Political Movements & Dinner with Ghannouchi, Tunisian Revolution Leader," MPAC, November 29, 2011, <http://www.mpac.org/events/attend-mpac-dc-forum-on-islamic-political-movements-dinner-with-ghannouchi-tunisian-revolution-leader.php>; "Cancelled: MPAC to Host Dialogue with Political Wing of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," MPAC, April 3, 2012, <http://www.mpac.org/events/mpac-to-host-dialogue-with-political-wing-of-egypts-muslim-brotherhood.php>.

⁴⁶ "Muslim Advocates, ADC, CAIR and MPAC: Senate Homeland Security Report Lacks Substantive Analysis, Contradicts Own Recommendations," Muslim Advocates, June 23, 2008, http://www.muslimadvocates.org/press_room/muslim_advocates_adc_cair_mpac.html.

⁴⁷ Jason Trahan, "FBI: CAIR is a Front Group, and Holy Land Foundation Tapped Hamas Clerics for Fundraisers," *Dallas Morning News*, October 7, 2008, <http://crimeblog.dallasnews.com/2008/10/fbi-cair-is-a-front-group-and.html/>.

⁴⁸ Letter to Deputy National Security Adviser John Brennan, October 19, 2011, signed by Muslim Advocates, MPAC, CAIR and ISNA.

⁴⁹ Neil Munro, "Progressives, Islamists Huddle at Justice Department," *The Daily Caller*, October 21, 2011, <http://dailycaller.com/2011/10/21/progressives-islamists-huddle-at-justice-department/>.

⁵⁰ Session titled "Free to Pray," ISNA Convention, Chicago, July 3, 2010.

These examples not only demonstrate alignment with the Muslim Brotherhood's agenda, but also the OIC's stated plan to criminalize defamation of Islam. It is reported that MPAC President Salam al-Marayati has appeared at OIC events held inside the U.S. in support of the OIC's "Islamophobia" agenda.⁵¹

Al-Marayati has previously had run-ins with the federal government. In 1999 he was forced to resign his appointment to the National Commission on Terrorism after his statements in support of terrorist organizations came to light.⁵² While he had been appointed by House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt, it was Gephardt that withdrew al-Marayati's nomination.

* * *

Attempts by the House Judiciary Committee to obtain from the Department of Justice and the FBI all of the case evidence submitted during the Holy Land Foundation trial and provided to the defense in disclosure have been fruitless.⁵³

Members of Oversight Committees must know what more these Holy Land Foundation documents contain regarding the U.S. Government's "outreach" partners. This information has already been turned over to convicted terror supporters and yet the Administration has refused all requests to turn these documents over to members of the U.S. Congress serving on Oversight Committee.

Since we sent the Inspectors General letters requesting further investigation, other shocking incidents have occurred. Chief among these was the decision just a few weeks ago by the State Department to give a member of an Egyptian designated terrorist group (which is still listed as such by the State Department's Bureau of Counterterrorism⁵⁴) a visa to not only enter the country in violation of the federal laws prohibiting material

⁵¹ "Al-Marayati to Speak at Organization of Islamic Cooperation Conference in Chicago," MPAC, September 17, 2011, <http://www.mpac.org/events/al-marayati-to-speak-at-organization-of-islamic-cooperation-conference-in-chicago.php>.

⁵² Jennifer Auther, "U.S. Muslim Leader Denies He's a Terrorist Sympathizer," *CNN*, July 29, 1999, <http://web.archive.org/web/20060618151419/http://www.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/stories/1999/07/29/terrorism.commission/>.

⁵³ Mark Flatten, "Hill Fears PC Censors Hobble FBI Counter-Terrorism," *Washington Examiner*, May 2, 2012, <http://washingtonexaminer.com/article/1266686>.

⁵⁴ State Department, Bureau of Counterterrorism, "Foreign Terrorist Organizations," January 27, 2012, <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>.

support for terrorism, but to be granted a meeting inside the White House with National Security Council officials.⁵⁵

The terror group member used the opportunity of his White House visit to call for the release of the imprisoned leader of his organization, the “Blind Sheikh,” Omar Abdel Rahman, who is currently serving a life sentence for his role in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and later planned terror plots inside the U.S.⁵⁶

Administration prosecutors and investigators have made statements backed up by considerable evidence in court raising serious concerns about many of the Muslim Brotherhood front groups, but the day-to-day operation of these departments and agencies continue “outreach” programs involving these exact same organizations as if the evidence presented in federal court or statements made in search warrant applications doesn’t exist.

In light of the information revealed during the Holy Land Foundation trial, the FBI officially cut ties with CAIR because of their activities in support of Hamas.⁵⁷ And yet just last month the new White House Director for Community Partnerships admitted that this administration has had “hundreds” of meetings with CAIR in spite of the FBI’s stated policy.⁵⁸ It has been reported the White House has worked to conceal these ties (in one case, with ISNA and MPAC).⁵⁹

As members of Congress, we are charged to oversee and hold accountable all government agencies – a charge given to us by the Constitution on behalf of the citizens of the United States. To do anything less is to subvert the oaths we took as members to protect and defend the Constitution. For us to fail to demand action on the part of the Inspectors General on this matter is to fail to uphold the oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

Again, thank you for your letter. It is my intention to wait for the investigations to be completed to comment further. I would be happy to revisit this issue with you once we have received the answers to the questions outlined in the letters.

⁵⁵ Eli Lake, “Member of Egyptian Terror Group Goes to Washington,” *The Daily Beast*, June 21, 2012, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/06/21/member-of-egyptian-terror-group-goes-to-washington.html>.

⁵⁶ Dugald McConnell and Brian Todd, “Egyptian Lawmaker Met U.S. Officials Despite Affiliation with Terrorist Group,” *CNN*, June 22, 2012, http://articles.cnn.com/2012-06-22/us/us_egypt-lawmaker-visa_1_gamaa-islamiya-terrorist-organization-el-din?_s=PM:US.

⁵⁷ Joseph Abrams, “FBI Cuts Ties With CAIR Following Terror Financing Trial,” *Fox News*, January 30, 2009, <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2009/01/30/fbi-cuts-ties-cair-following-terror-financing-trial/>.

⁵⁸ Neil Munro, “Administration Admits to ‘Hundreds’ of Meetings with Jihad Linked Group,” *The Daily Caller*, June 8, 2012, <http://dailycaller.com/2012/06/08/administration-admits-to-hundreds-of-meetings-with-jihad-linked-group/>.

⁵⁹ Neil Munro, “Obama’s Iftar Guest List Omits Controversial Attendees,” *The Daily Caller*, August 11, 2012, <http://dailycaller.com/2011/08/11/obamas-iftar-guest-list-omits-controversial-attendees/>.

Sincerely,


MICHELE BACHMANN
Member of Congress

- cc: The Honorable I. Charles McCullough III, Inspector General, Office of the
Director of National Intelligence
- The Honorable Michael B. Horowitz, Inspector General, U.S. Department of
Justice
- Ambassador Harold W. Geisel, Deputy Inspector General, U.S. Department of
State
- Ms. Lynne M. Halbrooks, Acting Inspector General, U.S. Department of Defense
- Mr. Charles K. Edwards, Acting Inspector General, U.S. Department of
Homeland Security