



Islamic Relief

Charity/Extremism/Terror



Middle
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Forum

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Contents

Executive Summary	1
Introduction	3
From Birmingham to Cairo	4
Origins	7
Branches and Officials	9
Government Support	17
Terror Finance	20
Hate Speech	25
Charity, Extremism & Terror	29
What Now?	32

Executive Summary

What is Islamic Relief?

Islamic Relief is one of the largest Islamic charities in the world. Founded in 1984, Islamic Relief today maintains branches and offices in over 20 countries and it has reported franchise-wide income of hundreds of millions of dollars. Western governments provide a significant proportion of this income.

Extremists at the Helm

Islamic Relief was founded - and continues to be managed - by prominent Islamist operatives. A few examples of prominent current and former IR trustees and officials include:

Hany El-Banna OBE – founder of Islamic Relief and a former trustee of several charities accused of links to Islamist extremism and terror. El-Banna established Islamic Relief while a student involved in Muslim Brotherhood circles. In 2016, El-Banna gave an interview to Al-Aqsa Voice, the official radio station of the terrorist group Hamas, during which he urged “a strong coalition” between civil society organizations and the Hamas government to “repel any foreign ideas and malignant intrusions.”

Essam El Haddad – co-founder of Islamic Relief and the foreign policy advisor to Egypt’s (now-deposed) Muslim Brotherhood President Mohamed Morsi. Egyptian law enforcement alleges that Haddad used Islamic Relief to finance the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. The Egyptian prosecution also claimed that Haddad was “financing terrorism by using global charities such as Islamic Relief.”

Khaled Lamada – chairman of Islamic Relief’s USA branch and the founder of Egyptian Americans for Democracy and Human Rights, one of the Brotherhood’s key lobbying arms in the United States. Writing and sharing Facebook posts mostly in Arabic, Lamada has circulated text praising the “jihad” of the “Mujahidin of Egypt” for “causing the Jews many defeats.” He has republished claims on Facebook that praise Hamas for inflicting a “huge defeat” against the “Zionist entity.”

Issam Al-Bashir – a prominent member of the European Council for Fatwa and Research, a body of Muslim Brotherhood clerics led by Muslim Brotherhood spiritual leader Yusuf Qaradawi, who has advocated killing Jews and homosexuals. Bashir previously served as the Minister of Guidance and Religious Endowments in the genocidal Sudanese regime.

Ahmed Al-Rawi – a former director of Islamic Relief Worldwide, who also served as a director of the Muslim Association of Britain, which the *Daily Telegraph* has named as the Muslim Brotherhood’s “main declared British affiliate.” In 2004, Al-Rawi signed a declaration in support of jihad against British and American forces in Iraq.

Terror Finance

Islamic Relief has long been accused of funding terror. Both Israel and the United Arab Emirates have designated Islamic Relief as a terror-financing organization. In 2005, Russian authorities accused Islamic Relief of supporting terrorism in Chechnya. And in 2012, the Swiss banking giant UBS closed down Islamic Relief’s accounts and “blocked donations coming from its customers to the charity,” reportedly over terror financing fears. Four years later, HSBC did the same.

In the Gaza Strip, Islamic Relief funds organizations closely linked to the terrorist organization, Hamas. In February 2015, for example, Islamic Relief UK, using Swedish monies, funded a project run by the Al-Falah Benevolent Society to provide aid to “displaced families.” Al-Falah is run by senior Hamas figure, Ramadan Tamboura, and Jamal Hamdi Al-Haddad, who manages a Hamas-run Hebrew language program for Palestinians in Gaza titled “Know Your Enemy.”

Another key partner for Islamic Relief branches in Gaza is the Gaza Zakat Committee, also known as the Islamic Zakat Society (IZS). IZS works closely with the Hamas government. It is managed by a prominent Hamas preacher named Hazem Al-Sirraj, a former student of Hamas founder Sheikh Yassin. In 2018, Islamic Relief Worldwide submitted an appeal for \$420,000 for IZS through a United Nations fundraising scheme.

Islamic Relief also maintains financial links with several terrorism-linked groups in the Middle East, including the Charitable Society for Social Welfare, which was founded by Al-Qaeda terrorist and “Bin Laden loyalist” Abdul Majeed Al-Zindani.

Hate Preachers

The Middle East Forum has identified dozens of prominent extremist clerics and Islamist activists who continue to speak regularly at Islamic Relief events. Examples include Abdullah Hakim Quick, who claims that the Islamic position on homosexuality is “death”; Haitham Al-Haddad, who describes Jews as “pigs and apes”; and Abdul Nasir Jangda, who defends sex slavery and advocates killing apostates.

In April 2017, *The Times* of London reported that Britain’s Charity Commission was investigating the charity’s decision to organize a tour with Yasir Qadhi, an extremist preacher who had previously told audiences that killing homosexuals was part of his religion.

Governmental Support

Islamic Relief has enjoyed a great deal of access to prominent government officials. In the U.S., Islamic Relief officials have dined

at the White House, accepted appointments as advisors to the State Department, and enjoyed speeches by administration officials at Islamic Relief events. In the U.K., Islamic Relief events have featured speeches by Prince Charles, the deputy Prime Minister and various cabinet ministers.

In fact, Islamic Relief enjoys the support of taxpayers and politicians across the globe. The Middle East Forum has identified over \$80 million in grants and donor matching schemes from Western governments, the European Union and the United Nations since 2007.

Private Support

Between 2000 and 2016, American community and corporate foundations have given Islamic Relief over \$4.3 million. The largest single donation was provided by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, which handed Islamic Relief almost \$1.4 million.

Islamic Relief also benefits from the credibility of its non-Muslims partners and admirers. Even prominent Jewish charities have worked closely with Islamic Relief, despite its long history of promoting anti-Semitism. Leading newspapers and cable news networks encourage readers to donate to Islamic Relief and produce regular puff-pieces about Islamic Relief's officials and their work.

Waking Up to the Threat

Islamic Relief's claims to be a moderate organization are gradually losing credibility. Since Islamic Relief was designated as a terrorist organization by the United Arab Emirates, a number of Western countries have started examining the international charity's activities.

In the United States, agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Internal Revenue Service and Office of Personnel Management reportedly put together a criminal case relating to Islamic Relief in 2016. The Middle East Forum submitted requests for documents concerning Islamic Relief under the Freedom of Information Act to the agencies involved. In January 2018, the OPM confirmed the existence of a criminal investigation, stating: "We are withholding the records ... as they were compiled for law enforcement purposes and their disclosure could reasonably be expected to interfere with ongoing enforcement proceedings, by—for example—suggesting the scope of an investigation and alerting potential subjects as to the nature of the Government's evidence and strategy."

In Germany, in November 2016, Christian Gaebler, a Secretary of State in the Berlin Senate, responded to a written question about Islamic Relief's Islamist connections by declaring: "Islamic Relief Germany has connections to organizations surrounding the Muslim Brotherhood." In January 2017, however, Germany's Federal Court of Auditors announced it was investigating Islamic Relief Deutschland for a "potential misuse of the aid money." Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg, a German radio station, reported in 2017 that the investigation is suspected to relate to the movement of funds from Islamic Relief Deutschland to the Islamic Relief Worldwide headquarters in Britain.

In Sweden, according to a recent government report into the activities of the Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic Relief is a "key organization" in providing "credibility" to the Muslim Brotherhood. The report reveals that Muslim Brotherhood official Haytham Rahmeh is part of Islamic Relief Sweden, and notes that "[Rahmeh] has been involved in supporting militias linked to the Muslim Brotherhood in the Syrian conflict, through lobbying and weapons purchases."

Recommendations

For decades, Western governments have bestowed funds and legitimacy on Islamic Relief. This patronage has ensured that a small group of Islamist students and activists from a city in England would come to manage a vast global franchise that has the ear of Princes and Presidents, while serving as the vanguard for Islamism in the West and a fig-leaf for the extremism that grips Muslim communities.

Western governments must stop funding Islamic Relief. All government partnerships with Islamic Relief must end. Further, legislators in both the U.S. and Europe should encourage law enforcement agencies and charity regulators to look into Islamic Relief's activities in the Gaza Strip and Syria, and examine allegations made by Egyptian prosecutors that Islamic Relief branches were funding Morsi's Muslim Brotherhood government. Politicians should also appeal to international bodies to exclude Islamic Relief and halt all funding.

Ultimately, if Western governments are serious about fighting the intolerant, divisive and violent effects of global Islamism, then Islamic Relief must be shut down. It is the flagship institution of lawful Islamism in the West. There are certainly Muslim charities that do not promote extremism and subsidize terrorism. Why should taxpayers all over the world fund a charity that does?



Introduction

Islamic Relief is one of the largest Islamic charities in the world. Its officials have dined at the White House, mixed with European royalty and enjoyed the financial support of governments across the world.

Founded in 1984 by students in the British city of Birmingham, the Islamic Relief franchise is today managed by a global headquarters, named Islamic Relief Worldwide (IRW), which coordinates Islamic Relief branches and representatives – some “partner offices”, others (ostensibly) independent entities – in Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chechnya, Germany, Ireland, Italy, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Mauritius, Norway, Pakistan, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States; as well as 23 other countries in which Islamic Relief has “independently registered implementing partners,” most of which operate under the Islamic Relief name.¹

The most recent figure available for Islamic Relief’s income across its entire franchise was reported in 2014 as \$240 million.² A considerable proportion of this revenue comes from international bodies and Western governments – at least \$80 million since 2007.³ Yet because of Islamic Relief’s reported links to Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic Relief Worldwide is designated a terrorist entity in Israel and the United Arab Emirates.⁴ Both UBS and HSBC have closed Islamic Relief bank accounts over reported concerns about terrorism financing.⁵ In Bangladesh, the government has banned Islamic Relief from providing aid to Rohingya refugees over fears about radicalization.⁶ And in America, federal investigators have reportedly built a criminal case against Islamic Relief.⁷ How has this happened? What is Islamic Relief and why is this international taxpayer-funded charity so dangerous?

1. “2016 Annual Report & Financial Statements,” Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2017. <http://www.islamic-relief.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Islamic-Relief-Annual-report-2016.pdf>

2. “2014 Annual Report & Financial Statements,” Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2015. http://www.islamic-relief.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/IRW_AR2014_WEB.pdf

3. Most of Islamic Relief Worldwide’s largest donations came from the UK government, the United Nations and the European Commission. See: “Annual Reports,” Islamic Relief Worldwide. <http://www.islamic-relief.org/annual-reports/>

4. Ya’akov Levi, “Crackdown on Hamas: Israel Bans ‘Islamic Relief’ Charity for Funding Hamas,” *Israel National News*, June 19, 2014.

<http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/181938>;

“UAE Cabinet approves list of designated terrorist organisations, groups,” *UAE News Agency*, November 15, 2014. <http://wam.ae/en/details/1395272478814>

5. Shafik Mandhai, “HSBC bank cuts off services to Muslim charity,” *Al-Jazeera*, January 4, 2016. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/01/hsbc-bank-cuts-services-islamic-relief-charity-160104152429151.html>

6. “Bangladesh bans three charities from giving aid to Rohingyas,” *Hindustan Times*, October 12, 2017. <http://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/bangladesh-bans-three-charities-from-giving-aid-to-rohingyas/story-ApyoRPqHUygrMsRKsdFELO.html>

7. Middle East Forum, FOIA Request # 2017-05962, United States Office of Personal Management, October 6, 2017



Muslim Brotherhood supporters from Birmingham in the UK - Photo by David Holt

From Birmingham to Cairo

In July 2013, Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi was arrested by his own military, following five days of protest by millions of Egyptians against his Muslim Brotherhood regime. A coalition of political and military officials – led by General Abdel Fattah El-Sisi – formed an interim government and announced new presidential elections. Along with Morsi, dozens of senior Muslim Brotherhood officials were arrested, including **Essam El-Haddad**, Morsi's senior foreign policy advisor. Since the coup, Sisi has ruled Egypt, winning a Presidential election in May 2014. Although the new government is not itself a beacon of liberal values, the Egyptian people had clearly expressed their opposition to Islamist rule. Two years after Morsi's arrest, in June 2015, an Egyptian court convicted the deposed Islamist leaders of terrorism offenses.⁸

While the world's media was preoccupied with the death sentence handed down to Morsi, little attention was paid to Essam El-Haddad, who was given a life sentence.⁹ Haddad is not, however, just a Muslim Brotherhood leader. He is also the co-founder of the global Islamic charity franchise, Islamic Relief – one of the largest Muslim charities in the world. From the charity's establishment in the British city of Birmingham in 1984, until 2012, Haddad served as one of Islamic Relief's key officials. Haddad's rise, and eventual fall, is a tale of the influence wielded and danger posed by lawful Islamists. His story reveals the close involvement of Islamic Relief with the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), and the importance that global Islamism places on the use of charitable fronts.

Haddad's leap from an Islamist activist in Europe to one of Egypt's most powerful figures took place during the "Arab Spring" in 2011, which saw Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak succumb to a popular revolt. Haddad was then chairman of Islamic Relief's board of trustees. While an Islamic Relief trustee, he was also a member of the Guidance Bureau – one of the highest decision-making bodies in the Muslim Brotherhood.¹⁰

In the wake of the Egyptian revolution, elections were announced. For the first time, the Muslim Brotherhood was able to field a presidential candidate. Haddad agreed to return to Egypt and become Mohamed Morsi's campaign manager. In June 2012, Morsi narrowly beat Ahmed Shafik, who had served as the last prime minister under the Mubarak regime. By then, Haddad claimed to have completely left his role managing Islamic Relief. He had now become one of the new Muslim Brotherhood president's most senior advisors.

As Morsi's key foreign policy official, Haddad played a crucial role in managing Muslim Brotherhood duplicity – presenting Islamism as a benign force for good to the West in meetings with world leaders, including President Obama,¹¹ while shopping for help with theocratic rule from long-established rogue states. In 2013, *The Times* revealed that Haddad had met in Cairo with Iranian spy chief, Qassem Suleimani, "to advise the Government on building its own security and intelligence apparatus, independent of the national intelligence services."¹²

8. Mahmoud Murad, "Egypt sentences Muslim Brotherhood leader, others to death," *Reuters*, April 11, 2015.

<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-court-brotherhood-idUSKBN0206A20150412>

9. "Egypt court upholds Morsi death sentence," *Al-Jazeera*, June 16, 2015. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/06/egypt-court-upholds-morsi-death-sentence-150616104041261.html>

10. Nadine Marroushi, "Renaissance man: Gehad El-Haddad works as the Islamist project's pragmatist," *Egypt Independent*, July 31, 2012. <http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/renaissance-man-gehad-el-haddad-works-islamist-project-s-pragmatist>

11. Kim Ghattas, "President Obama's post-revolution dilemma in Egypt," *BBC*, July 3, 2013. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-23156942>

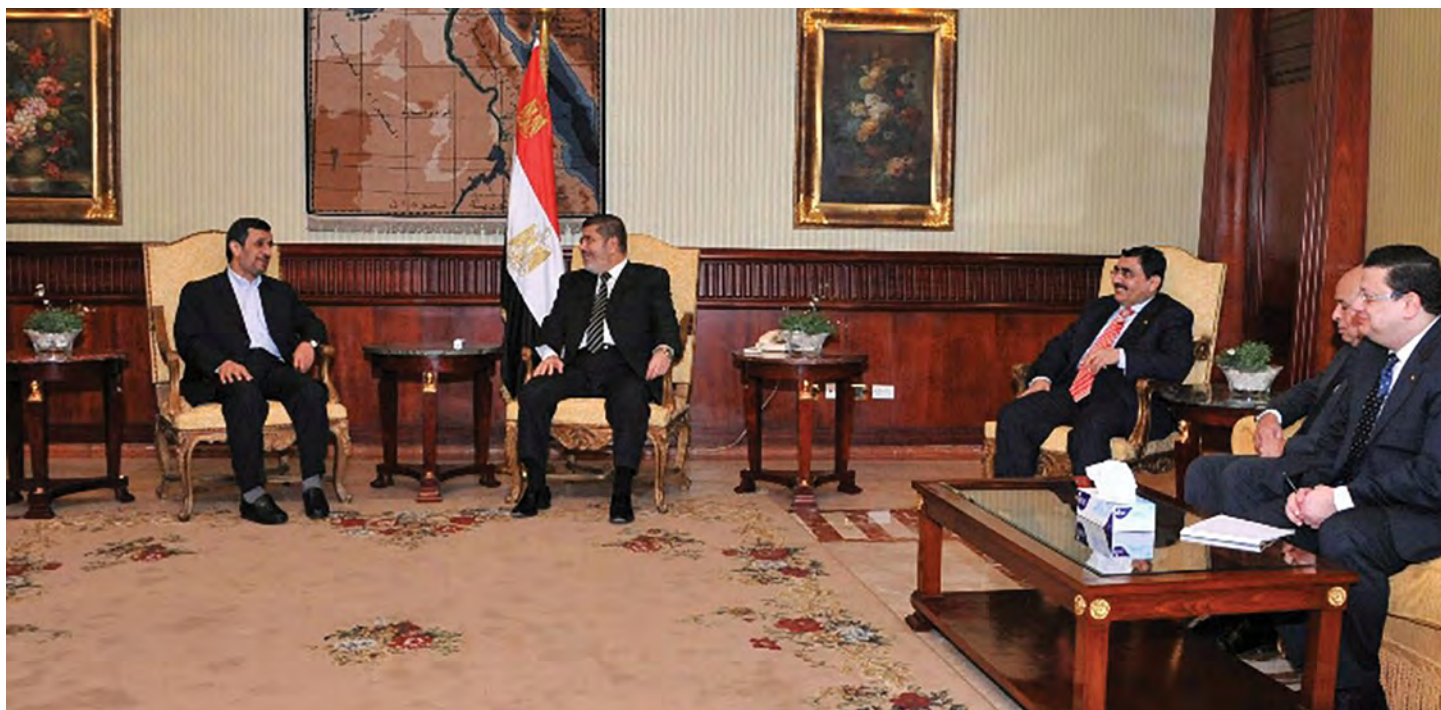
12. Hugh Tomlinson, "Iranian spy chief's visit to Cairo was meant to 'send a message to America,'" *The Times*, January 8, 2013. <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/iranian-spy-chiefs-visit-to-cairo-was-meant-to-send-a-message-to-america-qxrgkws09dw>

Haddad was also accused of “financing terrorism by using global charities such as Islamic Relief.”

While Haddad helped lead the renewed Islamist push on the world stage, Islamic Relief claimed he was no longer part of the global charitable franchise at all.¹³ But after Morsi was deposed in 2013, reports in the Egyptian media, along with recently uncovered documents, revealed that Haddad was still closely involved with Islamic Relief after his resignation as a trustee of Islamic Relief Worldwide.¹⁴ Sisi's government and a number of Egyptian newspapers maintained that Islamic Relief, the beneficiary of millions of dollars of taxpayers' money from across the Western world, was in fact financing the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood.¹⁵

In 2015, Haddad's lengthy trial and eventual conviction found him and his co-defendants guilty of passing “defense secrets” to “elements of the Iranian revolutionary guard,” and collaborating with terrorist groups Hamas and Hezbollah to “create a state of chaos” in order to seize power in Egypt.¹⁶ Haddad was also accused, according to his family, of “financing terrorism by using global charities such as Islamic Relief.”¹⁷

In 2014, the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Yawm Al-Sabi* uncovered documents revealing Islamic Relief's operations in Egypt.¹⁸ The documents, stamped with the Islamic Relief logo, reveal that although Haddad resigned his trusteeship of Islamic Relief Worldwide, he subsequently opened a branch of Islamic Relief in Cairo while serving as a Muslim Brotherhood government official and with the support of Brotherhood leaders. According to the newspaper *Al-Ahram*, the Cairo branch was reportedly given approximately 20 million Egyptian Pounds (\$250,000) by the “parent organization” in Britain.¹⁹ Haddad used the Islamic Relief branch in Cairo, reported *Al-Yawm Al-Sabi*, to finance the Muslim Brotherhood “under the guise of being monies destined for charitable purposes.”²⁰ The leaked documents reveal that Islamic Relief Cairo planned to open bank accounts with the British bank HSBC in order to bring in additional funds.²¹



From left to right, former Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, former Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi, and Islamic Relief founder Essam El-Haddad

13. Randeep Ramseh, “Islamic Relief defies Israeli ban and continues operations in Palestine,” *The Guardian*, December 11, 2014.

<http://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/dec/11/islamic-relief-charity-palestine-work-continues-israel>

14. “Documents reveal links between the international organization of the Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Relief Association,” *Al-Yawm Al-Sabi*, February 27, 2014. <http://goo.gl/h2SpBk>

15. Ibid.

16. “Court announces reasons behind lifetime sentence against Morsi and death sentences against 16 MB leaders,” State Information Service. July 2, 2015

[http://web.archive.org/web/20151113162031/](http://web.archive.org/web/20151113162031/http://www.sis.gov.eg/En/Templates/Articles/tmpArticles.aspx?CatID=4231#.V9cSKjtv-Qo) <http://www.sis.gov.eg/En/Templates/Articles/tmpArticles.aspx?CatID=4231#.V9cSKjtv-Qo>

17. Abdullah El-Haddad and Aishah El-Haddad, Rolling Press Statement on Dr. Essam El-Haddad, National Security Assistant to President Morsi, and his son Gehad El-Haddad, Spokesperson of the Muslim Brotherhood. December 14, 2014. GoogleDocs. http://docs.google.com/document/d/1m68ceoxCeDxeCk_ZXwKmW92FyAVJ4BtNWgc338IFIM/pub

18. “Documents reveal links between the international organization of the Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Relief Association,” *Al-Yawm Al-Sabi*, February 27, 2014. <http://goo.gl/h2SpBk>

19. Adham Khalifah, “Transfer of funds from the Islamic Relief Organization,” *Al-Ahram*. September 18, 2013. <http://www.ahram.org.eg/NewsQ/232444.aspx>

20. “Documents reveal links between the international organization of the Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Relief Association,” *Al-Yawm Al-Sabi*, February 27, 2014. <http://goo.gl/h2SpBk>

21. Ibid.

In addition, another Egyptian paper, *El-Watan*, reported that Islamic Relief issued requests for Haddad to end his involvement with the Islamic Relief Cairo branch, so as not to draw attention to links between Islamic Relief and Morsi's government. *El-Watan* also reported that **Ibrahim Zayat**, another trustee of Islamic Relief, was involved in financing the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood.²² At the same time, the Egyptian State Information Service alleges, European Muslim Brotherhood groups were financing the Egyptian Brotherhood by fundraising "under the pretext of supporting the Palestinian issue," such as "through covers for the international organization such as the Islamic Relief Organization in Germany."²³

It is tempting to distrust the claims of prosecutors and journalists in Sisi's Egypt, where the regime is not much less illiberal than the Muslim Brotherhood government it replaced. But as this dossier will show, Islamic Relief is a flagship institution of global Islamism. It was established by the Muslim Brotherhood and today it remains a key part of the Brotherhood's international infrastructure. This connection can be mostly clearly seen by examining the Islamist operatives that established Islamic Relief, and continue to manage the charity and its many branches today.



Islamic Relief founder Hany El-Banna meets Prince Charles

22. Abdul Rahman Shalabi and Mohamed Ali Zidane, "Charities Funded by the Muslim Brotherhood from London," *El-Watan*. May 2, 2014. <http://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/411039>

23. "Court announces reasons behind lifetime sentence against Morsi and death sentences against 16 MB leaders," State Information Service, July 2, 2015. <http://web.archive.org/web/20151113162031/http://www.sis.gov.eg/En/Templates/Articles/tmpArticles.aspx?CatID=4231#.V9cSKjtv-Qo>

Origins

The most important figure in the establishment of Islamic Relief is **Hany El-Banna**, who founded the organization in 1984. Born in Egypt, El-Banna grew up in an area of Cairo in which the Muslim Brotherhood maintained its headquarters. El-Banna has claimed, in fact, that the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hassan Al-Banna (who he claims is no relation), “used to pray in the mosque where my father gave khutbahs (sermons).”²⁴ Hany El-Banna moved to Britain in 1977 to study medicine. Once he arrived, El-Banna recently told *Emel Magazine*, he “began to read Sayed Qutb’s classic *In the Shade of the Qur’an*.” Qutb was one of the most important Islamist theorists and served as key ideologue for the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. He has inspired jihadist groups around the world, including Al-Qaeda. In the same interview with *Emel*, El-Banna also expressed praise for the Muslim Brotherhood founder and advocate of violent jihad, Hassan Al-Banna: “You could breathe Al-Banna’s teachings in the air. He was held in so much awe and respect.”²⁵

In 1982, two years before Hany El-Banna established Islamic Relief, civil war was tearing apart Lebanon. El-Banna, then still a student in England, was busy raising money from mosques in the city of Birmingham for the Islamic Medical Association, a key institution of the Lebanese Muslim Brotherhood, ostensibly to “help the victims of war.”²⁶ During his studies, El-Banna served as a committee member of the Federation of Student Islamic Societies (FOSIS), which British government reports have more recently named as a Muslim Brotherhood organization.²⁷ In 1983, the FOSIS committee voted for El-Banna to visit Sudan, to attend a medical conference and appraise the civil war and famine taking place.²⁸ Returning to Britain, El-Banna raised £5000 (over \$7000) from British mosques, his friends and family. A few months later, Islamic Relief was born.²⁹

Today, El-Banna remains closely involved with Islamic Relief branches all across the globe. Although he no longer holds any official position within Islamic Relief Worldwide, he remains on the board of some Islamic Relief branches, and he frequently speaks on behalf of Islamic Relief at important international events. In 2004, in recognition of his charitable endeavors, Queen Elizabeth II appointed El-Banna to the Order of the British Empire, one of Britain’s highest honors. But while El-Banna and Islamic Relief have enjoyed lavish praise from governments, faith leaders and the media, other organizations with which El-Banna has worked have also been accused of extremism and links to terror.

In their book, *Charitable Crescent: Politics of Aid in the Muslim World*, Jonathan Benthall and Jerome Bellion-Jourdan write that when El-Banna visited Sudan, just before establishing Islamic Relief, he met with officials of Islamic Relief Agency (ISRA) – a separate organization with a similar name – who asked El-Banna to establish the British branch of ISRA. In 2004, the U.S. government designated ISRA – which also uses the acronym IARA – as a terrorist organization, citing its financial support for Hamas and its links to Al-Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden.³⁰ The authors claimed that according to their “ISRA informants,” El-Banna declined at the time to establish an ISRA branch because of an ongoing disagreement between the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and Sudanese Islamists, but that Islamic Relief nevertheless later provided office space to ISRA at its headquarters in Birmingham.³¹

El-Banna was also previously a trustee of Muslim Aid, a London-based charity that once admitted to funding two Hamas organizations,³² and which Bangladeshi organizations have also accused of funding the violent Islamist group Jamaat-e-Islami, during the time El-Banna was involved.³³ Marie Juul Petersen, an academic at the Danish Institute for Human Rights, writes that at Islamic Relief’s Bangladeshi branch, “there have been rumours that some staff members would support the Jama’at-e-Islami, privileging Jama’at organisations when selecting partner organisations.”³⁴ In 2017, the Bangladeshi government banned both Islamic Relief and Muslim Aid from providing humanitarian aid to Rohingya refugees, reportedly over concerns that these displaced Muslims would be radicalized.³⁵

El-Banna has also established several umbrella groups, of which Islamic Relief has been the leading member: Zakat House, the Humanitarian Forum and the Muslim Charities Forum.³⁶ These organizations have previously shared offices and staff with Islamic Relief. In 2015, the Muslim Charities Forum lost a British government grant of £250,000 (\$320,000) after the *Daily Telegraph* exposed the extremist links of the umbrella body’s members. The then-Communities Secretary Eric Pickles told Parliament that the

24. Mahmoud Al-Rashid, “Taking a smile to the world,” Interview with Hany El-Banna. *Emel*. Issue 5, May-June 2004. http://www.emel.com/article?id=&a_id=1568

25. Ibid.

26. Suma Din, *Dr Hany El-Banna: A Servant to the World’s Poorest People*, Kube Publishing, 2011. Page 9; for reference to the Islamic Medical Union’s Muslim Brotherhood links, see: Robert G. Rabil, *Salafism in Lebanon: From Apoliticism to Transnational Jihadism*, Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2014, Page 88; Also see the MB’s own website: “Lebanon’s Islamic Group Launches Nahr Al-Bared Relief Campaign,” *IkhwanWeb*, June 2, 2007. <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=904>

27. “The Pakistani Muslim Community in England: Understanding Muslim Ethnic Communities,” Department for Communities and Local Government, March 2009. Page 40; Also see: Andrew Norfolk, Michael Savage, Faisal Hanif, Bel Trew, “Muslim Council ‘secretly linked’ to Brotherhood,” *The Times*, December 18, 2015.

28. Suma Din, *Dr Hany El-Banna: A Servant to the World’s Poorest People*, Kube Publishing, 2011. Page 24-28.

29. Ibid.

30. “Protecting Charitable Organizations – I,” Treasury Department.

http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/terrorist-illicit-finance/Pages/protecting-charities_execorder_13224-i.aspx

31. Jonathan Benthall and Jerome Bellion-Jourdan, *Charitable Crescent: Politics of Aid in the Muslim World*, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003. Page 168.

32. Andrew Gilligan, “Muslim Aid: Hopeless Charity Commission whitewashes yet another Islamist group,” *The Daily Telegraph*, December 17, 2010.

33. Syed Enam, “Written evidence submitted by the International Forum for Secular Bangladesh, UK Branch-Ekattorer Ghatok Dalal Nirmul Committee, Juktoraajyo Shakhha,” International Development Select Committee, Houses of Parliament, December 8, 2009.

<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200910/cmselect/cmintdev/memo/bangladesh/ucm1602.htm>

34. Marie Juul Petersen, “For humanity or for the umma? Ideologies of aid in four transnational Muslim NGOs,” University of Copenhagen, 2011. Page 180

35. “Bangladesh bans three charities from giving aid to Rohingyas,” *Hindustan Times*, October 12, 2017.

<http://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/bangladesh-bans-three-charities-from-giving-aid-to-rohingyas/story-ApyoRPqHUYgrMsRKsdELO.html>

36. Hany El-Banna, LinkedIn Page, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/dr-hany-el-banna-5a88a82b/>

Prominent Egyptian journalist Youssef Alhosseiny has described El-Banna as “one of the most important leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood’s International Organization in London.”

cancellation of the grant “illustrates our resolve to cease funding any organisation that supports or is linked to individuals who fuel hatred, division and violence.”³⁷

In recent years, El-Banna has continued his involvement in Islamist circles. In 2016, he provided a 45 minute interview to the Gaza-based *Al-Aqsa Voice*, the official radio station of the terrorist group Hamas, which openly broadcasts jihadist anthems, encourages “the spirit of sacrifice,” and refers to its reporters as fighters in the jihadist struggle.³⁸ In his interview, El-Banna discussed Islamic Relief’s long history of involvement with the Gaza Zakat Committee, a charitable body which is regulated by the Hamas government and whose officials include a prominent Hamas figure [see Terror Finance section]. El-Banna also urged “a strong coalition” between civil society organizations and Gaza’s government [Hamas] “in order to repel any foreign ideas and malignant intrusions.”³⁹

A prominent Egyptian journalist, Youssef Alhosseiny, has described El-Banna as “one of the most important leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood’s International Organization in London.”⁴⁰ Alhosseiny’s 2016 documentary, *The Organization*, alleged that Zakat House and the Muslim Charities Forum “are a front for the activities of the Brotherhood,” and that both raise money “to finance either the military wings of the Brotherhood such as Hamas, or whatever presence they have in conflict zones like Somalia or Sudan, for example.” Abdel Sattar Al-Melejji, whom the documentary describes as a former member of the Muslim Brotherhood’s advisory board, explained: “Hany El-Banna’s organizations in particular are relief organizations well-known in Europe who do real aid work. ... But ultimately the management and the governing ideology is that of the Brotherhood.”⁴¹

Marie Juul Petersen has also written about the Muslim Brotherhood beginnings of Islamic Relief. Petersen is not particularly critical of the organization, and in fact dedicates her paper to Islamic Relief’s staff. Nevertheless, she states that Islamic Relief’s founding trustees had “personal or professional relations to key Muslim organisations in Europe and the Middle East, including e.g. the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, the Federation of Islamic Organisations in Europe and the Egyptian Human Relief Agency, closely related to the Muslim Brotherhood, just like some individuals were also directly involved with the Muslim Brotherhood.” In a footnote, she adds: “This is not something that Islamic Relief publicly announces; however, several former and current staff members confirm the relation.”⁴²

Of course, if Hany El-Banna and other inaugural Islamic Relief officials and staff were indeed Muslim Brotherhood operatives, this does not prove that the entire Islamic Relief franchise was and remains a Muslim Brotherhood front – especially given its dozens of branches around the world and several generations of trustees and directors. In fact, **Mohamed Ashmawey**, who recently served as the chief executive of Islamic Relief Worldwide, the charity’s headquarters in Britain, has explicitly denied that Islamic Relief is a Muslim Brotherhood organization. When confronted with Essam El-Haddad’s role as a senior aide to Mohammed Morsi, Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood president, Ashmawey conceded: “No point in denying history. Yes, this gentleman is one of the founders of Islamic Relief. And he served Islamic Relief as a trustee for so many years. He resigned on the day he joined Morsi. ... No external organization or political agenda influences, let alone controls Islamic Relief.”⁴³

While Islamic Relief may claim to have no connection with the Muslim Brotherhood, the evidence in this report clearly demonstrates otherwise. Islamic Relief is one of the most important Muslim Brotherhood institutions in the world. Ashmawey himself, in fact, was previously a director of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), which, in 2008, American federal prosecutors identified as a key component of the Muslim Brotherhood.⁴⁴ And from 1993 to 1998, Ashmawey was president of the Muslim Arab Youth Association, which several U.S. lawmakers later included on a list of organizations that they argued “finance terrorism and perpetuate violence.”⁴⁵ Across the globe, it seems, Islamic Relief’s most important branches are run by individuals closely connected with local Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist networks.

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39. Hany El-Banna, “إلغاء الراديو لإذاعة صوت الأقصى مع د هاني البنا عن العمل الإغاثي في فلسطين وتجربة الأغاثة الإسلامية”

YouTube, November 15, 2016. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=88RLL_qZiuM

40. Youssef Alhosseiny, “The Organization,” YouTube, August 5, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GpWb-E9AlzM>

41. Ibid.

42. Marie Juul Petersen, “For humanity or for the umma? Ideologies of aid in four transnational Muslim NGOs,” University of Copenhagen, 2011. Page 169.

43. Randeep Ramseh, “Islamic Relief defies Israeli ban and continues operations in Palestine,” *The Guardian*, December 11, 2014.

<http://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/dec/11/islamic-relief-charity-palestine-work-continues-israel>

44. List of Unindicted Co-conspirators,” The Investigative Project on Terrorism. http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/423.pdf

45. Charles E. Grassley, et al., Letter to IRS Commissioner Mark Everson, December 22, 2003. <http://www.grassley.senate.gov/sites/default/files/po4r01-14.pdf>

Branches and Officials

Islamic Relief USA

IR-USA is a powerful organization. Incorporated in 1993 in Buena Park, California, by 2015 it was reporting over \$110 million in revenue. Under the Obama administration, IR-USA staff attended White House dinners and had their work profiled on the White House website, while senior administration figures spoke at Islamic Relief events.⁴⁶

While IR-USA enjoyed access to the highest offices in the land, in 2016, government agents began to put together a criminal case relating to Islamic Relief.

But while IR-USA enjoyed access to the highest offices in the land, in 2016, agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Internal Revenue Service and Office of Personnel Management reportedly began to put together a criminal case relating to Islamic Relief. In 2017, the Middle East Forum submitted requests for documents concerning Islamic Relief under the Freedom of Information Act to the agencies involved. In January 2018, the OPM confirmed the existence of a criminal investigation, stating: “We are withholding the records ... as they were compiled for law enforcement purposes and their disclosure could reasonably be expected to interfere with ongoing enforcement proceedings, by—for example—suggesting the scope of an investigation and alerting potential subjects as to the nature of the Government’s evidence and strategy.”⁴⁷

It is not known whether the criminal investigation related to terror financing. A study of the key personnel involved with IR-USA, however, reveals a long history of staff and officials expressing support for extremism and terror.

Today, the chairman of IR-USA’s board of directors is **Khaled Lamada**,⁴⁸ whom the Egyptian newspaper *El-Watan* has named as one of several key Muslim Brotherhood operatives active in the United States.⁴⁹ Lamada openly wears and promotes Muslim Brotherhood insignia,⁵⁰ including the notorious R4BIA sign⁵¹ – exhibited by Muslim Brotherhood supporters since 2013.⁵²

Writing and sharing posts mostly in Arabic, Lamada has circulated text praising the “jihad” of the “Mujahidin of Egypt” for “causing the Jews many defeats.”⁵³ He has republished claims on Facebook that praise Hamas for inflicting a “huge defeat” against the “Zionist entity.”⁵⁴

Further, Lamada has circulated videos that claim the current leader of Egypt, President Sisi, is secretly Jewish, and that he opposes the Muslim Brotherhood on the orders of the Jews. The video also claims that Jews are sowing division among Egyptian Muslims by encouraging sexual activity. Lamada’s only comment about these anti-Semitic conspiracies is: “I hope this is not true.”⁵⁵ Lamada has even disseminated claims that America is controlled by a Zionist lobby, which is working to demonize Muslims and plan an invasion of Sudan and the Nile Valley.⁵⁶



IR-USA Chairman Khaled Lamada with Suspected Terror Financier Mazen Mokhtar

46. “Islamic Relief USA Attends the White House Iftar,” Islamic Relief USA. <http://irusa.org/islamic-relief-usa-attends-the-white-house-iftar>; “Islamic Relief USA Starts Its First Summer Food Service Program,” White House archive website, August 10, 2011. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/08/10/islamic-relief-usa-starts-its-first-summer-food-service-program>; “Remarks by Administrator Gayle Smith at the Islamic Relief USA Keynote,” USAID website, October 13, 2016. <https://www.usaid.gov/news-information/speeches/oct-13-2016-administrator-gayle-smith-islamic-relief-usa-keynote>

47. FOIA Request # 2017-05962, United States Office of Personal Management, January 12, 2018

48. “Board of Directors,” Islamic Relief Worldwide. <http://irusa.org/board-of-directors/>

49. Ahmed Al-Tahiri, “With Names, Identities, and Roadmap... *El-Watan* Exposes Brotherhood Cells in America,” *El Watan*, 18 October 2013.

<http://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/341683>

50. Lamada’s Facebook page. Photo. October 17, 2013 and May, 8 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10151971532429187&set=a.471535129186.252052.544049186&type=3&theater> and <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10152438401424187&set=pb.544049186.-2207520000.1466444121.&type=3&theater>

51. Khaled Lamada, Facebook page. Photo. August 15, 2015 <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10153575462529187&set=pb.544049186.-220752.1471972720.&type=1&theater>

52. “‘Four-Finger Salute’ Shows Solidarity with Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*, August 24, 2013.

<http://www.rferl.org/content/egypt-four-finger-salute/25085068.html>

53. Khaled Lamada, Facebook Post, January 2, 2014. <http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Screen-Shot-2017-08-01-at-15.10.05.png>

54. Khaled Lamada, Facebook Post, July 21, 2014. <http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Screen-Shot-2017-08-01-at-15.01.34.png>

55. Khaled Lamada, Facebook Post, April 22, 2014. <http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Screen-Shot-2017-08-01-at-15.13.30.png>

56. Khaled Lamada, Facebook Post, September 17, 2012. <http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Screen-Shot-2017-08-01-at-15.19.22.png>

Yousef Abdallah, IR-USA's east coast operations manager, has published a story romanticizing "martyrs" who provide guns to "kill more than 20 jews" and "fire rockets at Tel Aviv."

Lamada also appears to be a close friend of Mazen Mokhtar, who serves as the National Executive Director of Muslim American Society, another prominent Muslim Brotherhood organization.⁵⁷ In 2004, a federal affidavit accused Mokhtar of managing a website that "solicited funds for the Taliban and Chechen mujaheddin."⁵⁸

Finally, Lamada also serves as a trustee and founder of Egyptian Americans for Democracy and Human Rights (EADHR),⁵⁹ an organization which does little to hide its status as an American lobbying branch of the Brotherhood.⁶⁰ *El-Watan* has also listed EADHR director **Ahmed Shehata** as a Muslim Brotherhood operative.⁶¹ Shehata has served as IR-USA's operations manager since 2004⁶² and is also involved with the Turkish American Steering Committee (TASC), a front group for Turkey's Islamist regime.⁶³

Given his extremism, Lamada was a fitting pick for chairman. From its very beginning, IR-USA has been run by activists linked to the Muslim Brotherhood. IR-USA's founder, **Ahmad Esmat El-Bendary**, was also included on *El-Watan*'s list of Muslim Brotherhood operatives.⁶⁴ El-Bendary served in leadership positions of IR-USA from 1993 to 2006.⁶⁵ He is currently a member of the board of trustees of the Muslim American Society (MAS), which federal prosecutors declared

"was founded as the overt arm of the Muslim Brotherhood" during the Holy Land Foundation terrorism trial in 2008.⁶⁶ Khaled Lamada also served as the co-chairman of MAS's annual national conference,⁶⁷ and Ahmed Shehata was a member of its planning committee.⁶⁸

Another former chairman of IR-USA, **Mohamed Amr Attawia**, is listed in a 1991 phone directory, introduced by federal prosecutors as evidence during the Holy Land trial, as the director of the New England Muslim Brotherhood.⁶⁹ Attawia was also once the vice-president of MAS, and, from 2008 to 2010, he was also listed as a director of Islamic Relief Worldwide. In 2011, IR-USA's chairman of the board was **Yasser Haddara**. While chairman, Haddara travelled to Egypt to meet with Essam El-Haddad. By 2013, having left his role at IR-USA, Haddara was working for Mohammed Morsi, Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood leader.

IR-USA's employees are just as worrying. **Yousef Abdallah** is the east coast operations manager for IR-USA. When Republican politician Chris Christie backtracked after referring to the West Bank and Gaza as "occupied," Abdallah wrote: "Christie kneels down on his knees before the jewish [sic] lords and says 'I am sorry'. Only money makes stuff like this happen. Mr. Christie. Muslims should remember this very well."⁷⁰

Abdallah has published a story romanticizing "martyrs" who provide guns to "kill more than 20 jews [sic]" and "fire rockets at Tel Aviv." His other posts included references to Jews as "stinking" and claims that "the Jews put the outside wall of Al-Aqsa [the mosque in Jerusalem] on fire." Abdallah has also 'liked' a comment on his Facebook post that calls on God to wreak "revenge on the damned rapists Zionists. O God they are no challenge for you. Shake the Earth beneath their feet and destroy them as you destroyed the peoples of Ad, Thamud and Lot."⁷¹

From 2010 to 2015, IR-USA's public relations officer was **Omar Shahin**,⁷² who, in 2002, preached: "You will keep on fighting with the Jews until the fight reaches the east of Jordan river then the stones and trees will say: oh Muslim, oh (servant) slaves of Allah, there is a Jew behind me; come and kill him."⁷³ In 2001, Shahin told the Los Angeles Times that the Islamic Center in Tucson, of which he was previously the imam, raised money for Bin Laden during the 1980s.⁷⁴ The mosque was previously run by Wa'el Hamza Julaidan, whom, in 2002, the Treasury Department designated as "an associate of Usama bin Laden and a supporter of al-Qa'ida terror."⁷⁵

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62. "Ahmed Shehata," Profile Page, LinkedIn. <http://www.linkedin.com/in/ahmed-shehata-a6174b17>

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Yousef Abdallah

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IR-USA Official Yousef Abdallah Posts Anti-Semitic Statements

According to the Investigative Project on Terrorism, in 2004, IR-USA's spokesperson, **Ahmed Shama:**

*"...was slated to speak at an event sponsored by the University of Irvine Muslim Student Union to discuss 'the martyrdom of Sheikh Ar-Rantisi.' Senior Hamas leader Abdel Aziz Rantisi was killed by Israeli security forces on April 18, 2004. The event announcement stated that Rantisi was 'the second of the leaders of Hamas to be martyred in under a month, so please come to educate yourselves about the situation.'"*⁷⁶

IR-USA's current development coordinator is **Saad Hassanin**.⁷⁷ Hassanin previously served as a senior representative of the Islamic Services Foundation,⁷⁸ an educational organization led by several prominent Muslim Brotherhood leaders — including Ghassan Hitto, the Muslim Brotherhood's candidate for Prime Minister of the interim Syrian government;⁷⁹ and Nabil Sadoun, who has since been deported after the U.S. government declared that he had ties to terrorist groups in the Middle East.⁸⁰

IR-USA has been linked to extremist operatives from its very start. Its incorporation documents list its registered agent as Kazbek Soobzokov, the former attorney for terror operative Wagdy Ghoneim, a prominent anti-Semitic preacher and fundraiser for the terrorist group, Hamas.⁸¹ In 2009, the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Masry Al-Youm* reported that Mr. Ghoneim was included on a list held by the Egyptian authorities naming the 90 leaders of the "International Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood."⁸² In 2014, Interpol

issued a red notice for Ghoneim, after Egyptian authorities charged him with "participating with others in crimes of violence and murder" and "unlawful detention and torture."⁸³ Ghoneim is reported to be a close friend of Mohamed Ashmawey, the recent chief executive of Islamic Relief Worldwide.⁸⁴

Today, other IR-USA officials and employees include **Azhar Azeez**, who is also president of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), which federal prosecutors named as an unindicted coconspirator during the 2008 Holy Land Foundation terror financing trial; and **Hamdy Radwan**, who describes the terror group Hamas — a Muslim Brotherhood affiliate — as "freedom fighters."⁸⁵ *El-Watan* has also named Hamdy Radwan as a Muslim Brotherhood operative.⁸⁶

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Islamic Relief Canada

Yasser Haddara, the director of Islamic Relief Canada from 2005 to 2011,⁸⁷ is a former director of Islamic Relief USA and president of the Muslim Association of Canada.⁸⁸ In 2011 and 2012, he and his brother, Wael, travelled to Egypt and met with Essam El-Haddad.⁸⁹ Just like Haddad, the Haddara brothers decided to help the Muslim Brotherhood obtain power in Egypt. By 2012, both Yasser and Wael were reportedly senior advisors to Morsi, Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood president.⁹⁰ Both Yasser and Wael also served as board members of the Muslim Association of Canada (MAC). According to the *Toronto Sun*, "MAC has expressed open support for Hamas' ideological forebears, the Muslim Brotherhood, which Egypt considers a terrorist organization. Older versions of MAC's website list the Muslim Brotherhood's founder, Hassan Al-Banna, as a major influence."⁹¹

Back in 2000 and 2002, Wael Haddara had served as a director of IRFAN-Canada, which the Canadian government later shut down after finding that it "transferred approximately \$14.6-million worth of resources to various organizations associated with Hamas," a designated terrorist organization under Canadian law.⁹² Canadian law enforcement further revealed that MAC, of which both Haddara brothers were directors, provided \$296,514 between 2001 and 2010 to IRFAN-Canada.

IR-Canada's other staff and directors express open admiration for the Muslim Brotherhood. **Dr. El-Tantawy Attia**, for instance, is also the director of the Masjid Toronto, at which the Muslim Association of Canada is based. The *National Post* reports that at these institutions, Attia has unabashedly stated, "Here, we follow the teachings of the Muslim Brotherhood."⁹³ Attia's Facebook page is adorned with posters urging the release of Khaled Al-Qazzaz,⁹⁴ who was previously the "foreign relations secretary" for Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi.⁹⁵

The Twitter account belonging to the current Islamic Relief Canada CEO, **Zaid Al-Rawni**, includes several posts in support of the Muslim Brotherhood and retweets of statements by senior Brotherhood figures.⁹⁶

Islamic Relief Germany

In November 2016, Christian Gaebler, a secretary of state in the Berlin Senate, responded to a written question about Islamic Relief's Islamist connections by declaring: "Islamic Relief Germany has connections to organizations surrounding the Muslim Brotherhood."⁹⁷ Gaebler noted that Islamic Relief shared staff and officials with Islamische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland (IGD), which is described by the German security services as "the central organization for Muslim Brotherhood supporters in Germany."⁹⁸ IR-Germany's officials include **Almoutaz Tayara**, who is also the spokesperson for IGD. Tayara is also a current trustee of Islamic Relief Worldwide.

Another key IR-Germany official is Ibrahim El-Zayat, whom German security services official Hartwig Möller has described as a "spider in the web of Islamist organizations."⁹⁹ Although Zayat denies belonging to the Muslim Brotherhood, the MB's own website has named him as one of its officials (although this was later claimed to be a mistake).¹⁰⁰

In 2008, an Egyptian court convicted Zayat *in absentia* for financing the Egyptian branch of the Brotherhood while he was a senior official of Islamic Relief.¹⁰¹ Zayat has also been a trustee of Islamic Relief Worldwide. He is married to Sabiha Erbakan, the niece of notorious anti-Jewish ideologue and "father of Turkish Islamism," Necmettin Erbakan, who founded the Turkish Islamist movement Milli Görüş.¹⁰² An investigation by *Al-Ahram*, a prominent Egyptian newspaper, concluded that "Brotherhood leaders in the UK control 13 organizations in London alone through three Egyptian leaders, Essam Al-Haddad, Ibrahim Mounir and Ibrahim Al-Zayat."¹⁰³

German security services official Hartwig Möller described IR-Germany official Ibrahim El-Zayat as a "spider in the web of Islamist organizations."

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Islamic Relief Sweden

The director of the Islamic Relief Sweden, **Abdallah Salah**, is frequently pictured brandishing Muslim Brotherhood symbols.¹⁰⁴ On social media, Salah has circulated conspiracy claims that wealthy Jews control the world economy, were behind the global financial crisis in 2007, “killed the US President John F. Kennedy” and “gave Hitler money to burn the Jews in order to gain palestine with the sympathy of the world.”¹⁰⁵

According to a recent Swedish government report, Islamic Relief is a “key organization” in providing “credibility” to the Muslim Brotherhood. The report noted that Brotherhood official Haytham Rahmeh has long been involved within IR- Sweden, and notes that “[Rahmeh] has been involved in supporting militias linked to the Muslim Brotherhood in the Syrian conflict, through lobbying and weapons purchases.”¹⁰⁶

In fact, *Sveriges Radio* revealed that Rahmeh “was one of the rebels’ key weapons suppliers and that he had been bringing arms into the civil war-torn country for the last 18 months.”¹⁰⁷

According to a recent Swedish government report, Islamic Relief is a “key organization” for providing “credibility” to the Muslim Brotherhood.

Islamic Relief Australia

In the Far East and South Asia, one of Islamic Relief’s best known officials is **Fadlullah Wilmot**, who has served in leadership roles at Islamic Relief branches in Pakistan and Afghanistan and is now a senior official at Islamic Relief Australia.¹⁰⁸

In a report on “*Radical Islamic Ideology in Southeast Asia*,” published by the United States Military Academy at West Point, the authors identify a book written by Wilmot, titled *Islamic Movement Now*, as a key Islamist text behind the growth of radical Islam in Malaysia. The authors explain that Wilmot’s book “explores the rise of the call to return to Islam and make it the basis of Muslim activities, using the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the Islamic Group in India as its examples.”¹⁰⁹

In a candid interview with the Berkley Center at Georgetown University, Wilmot admits that while living in Indonesia, he “formed a friendship with the leader of the independence struggle there ... Muhammad Dawud Beureuh.”¹¹⁰ Beureuh was hardly a freedom fighter. He was a leader of Darul Islam, which the Council on Foreign Relations describes as “a violent radical movement that advocated the establishment of Islamic law in Indonesia.”¹¹¹ Darul Islam members have gone on to form some of South East Asia’s most prominent jihadist organizations. The last message left by one of the suicide bombers behind the infamous 2002 Bali attack called upon Muslims to “shed your blood so you will not be ashamed to face Allah, you who acknowledge yourselves to be children of DI/NII [Darul Islam].”¹¹²

Other Islamic Relief Australia trustees include Ibrahim Zayat, the German Muslim Brotherhood leader (profiled above), and **Heshmat Khalifa**, who, although based in Britain, has also served as a director of Islamic Relief South Africa and Islamic Relief Germany. Khalifa also runs a British charity called the Bayt Ul Maqdis Foundation, which works in the Palestinian territories and appears closely connected with Raed Saleh,¹¹³ a prominent Hamas activist who has declared that those who killed the “Martyr, Sheikh Osama Bin Laden” have “sold their consciences to Satan.”¹¹⁴

104. Photo of Salah brandishing R4BIA sign. Stand for Peace. <http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Screen-Shot-2015-04-17-at-15.40.50.png>

105. Abdallah Saleh, Screenshot of Facebook Post, March 15, 2014 <http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Abdallah-Salah-Islamic-Relief-Sweden.pdf>

106. Dr. Magnus Norell, “Muslimska Brödraskapet i Sverige,” Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, December 2016. Page 11.

https://www.msb.se/Upload/Kunskapsbank/Studier/Muslimska_Brodraskapet_i_Sverige_DNR_2107-1287.pdf

107. “Swedish imam smuggles weapons to Syria,” *The Local*, October 31, 2013. <https://www.thelocal.se/20131031/swedish-imam-smuggling-weapons-into-syria-report>

108. AMUST Media, “Mover and shaker back in Australia,” *The Australasian Muslim Times*. October 2, 2014. <http://www.amust.com.au/2014/10/mover-and-shaker-back-in-australia/>; Fadlullah Wilmot, Twitter account. <https://twitter.com/hfwilmot>

109. Scott Helfstein, ed., “Radical Islamic Ideology in Southeast Asia” (2009), *The Combating Terrorism Center at West Point*. Columbia International Affairs Online. Page 15. <http://ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Southeast-Asia-Report.pdf>

110. The Berkeley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, “A Discussion with Fadlullah Wilmot, Country Director, Muslim Aid Bangladesh,” Georgetown University. November 11, 2009. <https://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/interviews/a-discussion-with-fadlullah-wilmot-country-director-muslim-aid-bangladesh>

111. The Council on Foreign Relations, “Jemaah Islamiyah (a.k.a. Jemaah Islamiyah),” *The Council on Foreign Relations*. June 19, 2009. <http://www.cfr.org/indonesia/jemaah-islamiyah-k-jemaah-islamiyah/p8948>

112. Sidney Jones, “Darul Islam’s Ongoing Appeal,” *Tempo Magazine*. International Crisis Group. August 18, 2010. <https://web.archive.org/web/20160520001947/http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-east-asia/indonesia/op-eds/jones-darul-islams-ongoing-appeal.aspx>

113. “Bayt ul maqdis foundation - UK - Raed salah,” YouTube, September 22, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kl5o12mqcQ>

114. “Raed Salah’s Islamic Movement Mourns Osama Bin Laden,” *Harry’s Place*, June 17, 2011. <http://hurryupharry.org/2011/06/17/raed-salahs-islamic-movement-mourns-osama-bin-laden/>

Islamic Relief Palestine

In the Palestinian territories, Islamic Relief officials have been directly tied to Hamas. In 2006, Israeli police arrested Ayaz Ali, the “coordinator” for Islamic Relief in Gaza. According to the Israeli government, Ali admitted to cooperating with Hamas operatives in Jordan. Furthermore,

Maali Turk, an Islamic Relief official in the Palestinian territories has posted: “O Muslim, O servant of Allah, behind me is a Jew. Come and Kill him.”

Incriminating files were found on Ali’s computer, including documents that attested to the organization’s ties with illegal Hamas funds abroad (in the UK and in Saudi Arabia) and in Nablus. Also found were photographs of swastikas superimposed on IDF symbols, of senior Nazi German officials, of Osama Bin Laden and Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, as well as many photographs of Hamas military activities ... Ali admitted that he was aware that several of the organizations supported by the IRW in Judea, Samaria and Gaza were indeed identified with Hamas.¹¹⁵

Islamic Relief Palestine staff express violently anti-Semitic rhetoric. **Maali Turk**, an Islamic Relief official once featured in a BBC puff piece, has posted on his social media accounts: “I ask god to paralyze the pillars of the Jews and cut their legs and paralyze their hands,” as well as: “O Muslim, O servant of Allah, behind me a Jew. Come and Kill him.”¹¹⁶ **Mohammed Elaiwa**, the Gaza-based “logistics coordinator” for Islamic Relief, has posted pictures of Hamas founder Ahmed Yassin, writing: “This is a picture of a man with a weak body. Yet he is strong in courage and determination... The founder of the Islamic Organization [Hamas] who has placed Jewish noses in the dirt.”¹¹⁷

Islamic Relief Palestine also shares employees with a Hamas-linked charity named the Unlimited Friends Association [see Terror Finance section], which regularly hosts events in Gaza, with money raised in America, to benefit “the families of martyrs and prisoners.”¹¹⁸

Islamic Relief Worldwide and Islamic Relief UK

A sceptic might argue that just because major Islamic Relief branches are controlled by Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas-linked operatives, this does not mean Islamic Relief is itself a Muslim Brotherhood institution, and that perhaps Islamist activists simply find charities such as Islamic Relief easy to infiltrate. This reasoning does not hold up, however, when we consider the finances, officials and history of the core Islamic Relief organization: Islamic Relief Worldwide.

Islamic Relief Worldwide (IRW) is the mothership for all Islamic Relief branches and operations in 40 countries across the globe. In 2015, the UK-based IRW reported expenditures of over £100 million (\$130 million). Half of IRW’s total income comes from seventeen different Islamic Relief branches around the world, which send significant proportions of their own income to IRW. In 2015, the largest branch donor was Islamic Relief USA, which gave IRW just under £20 million (\$30 million).¹¹⁹

Islamic Relief was first established in 1984. For its entire history, IRW has been managed by operatives from the global Muslim Brotherhood. Alongside the Islamist operatives mentioned above – Essam El-Haddad, Hany El-Banna, Ibrahim Zayat and Almoutaz Tayara – other trustees, directors and staff of Islamic Relief UK and Islamic Relief Worldwide have included:

Ahmed Al-Rawi – a director of IRW from 1992 to 2000. Rawi is the former head of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe, a group described by the analyst Steven Merley as “an umbrella group that comprises the global Muslim Brotherhood in Europe.”¹²⁰ Rawi also was a director of the Muslim Association of Britain, which the *Daily Telegraph* describes as the Muslim Brotherhood’s “main declared British affiliate.”¹²¹ In addition, Rawi has been a director of the European Institute for Human Sciences, a Muslim Brotherhood seminary based in Wales,¹²² as well as the Europe Trust, a British charity with property assets of £8.5 million. The latter, journalist Andrew Norfolk reports, “sends rental income from its properties to an unofficial network of Brotherhood-linked organizations throughout the continent.”¹²³

In 2004, Al-Rawi reportedly signed a declaration in support of jihad against British and American forces in Iraq.¹²⁴

115. Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “British national arrested for assisting Hamas,” Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. May 29, 2006.

<http://web.archive.org/web/20130120194747/http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Terrorism+Obstacle+to+Peace/Terrorism+and+Islamic+Fundamentalism-/British+national+arrested+for+assisting+Hamas+29-May-2006.htm>

116. Maali Turk, Facebook Page. Screenshots with Author.

<http://www.facebook.com/maalit/posts/814776301877060> <http://www.facebook.com/maalit/posts/803063639714993>

117. Mohammed Elaiwa, Facebook Page. Screenshots with Author. <http://www.facebook.com/moh.elaiwa/posts/608054049280076>

118. “Unlimited Friends Association organise Iftar in the central Gaza Strip,” *Maan News Agency*. February 9, 2009. (In Arabic)

<http://maannews.net/Content.aspx?id=223103>

119. Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2015 Annual Reports & Financial Statements, Birmingham: Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2015.

http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends58/0000328158_AC_20151231_E_C.pdf

120. “U.K. Condolences Gathering Held for Faisal Mawlawi,” The Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch. June 2, 2011.

<http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2011/06/02/u-k-condolences-gathering-held-for-faisal-mawlawi/>

121. Andrew Gilligan, “How the Muslim Brotherhood fits into a network of extremism,” *The Telegraph*. February 8, 2015.

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/11398538/How-the-Muslim-Brotherhood-fits-into-a-network-of-extremism.html>

122. Sophie Gilliat-Ray, *Muslims in Britain: An Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Page 77.

123. Andrew Norfolk, “The money trail: from student digs to ‘mothership of Islamism,’” *The Times*, November 2, 2015.

<http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article4493452.ece>

Tahir Salie — the chair of IRW until 2016, and a board member of Islamic Relief branches in Australia and South Africa. Salie also serves on the board of governors of the International Business Forum, an annual event held in Istanbul “under the patronage of H.E. Recep Tayyip Erdogan,” Turkey’s Islamist president.¹²⁵ (Essam El-Haddad was also listed in 2012 as a member of the Forum’s Board of Governors¹²⁶). Salie previously served as an advisor to Ebrahim Rasool, a South African politician who has praised Hamas, declaring its founder, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, as an “inspiration.”¹²⁷ Rasool has spoken at fundraising events hosted by Islamic Relief South Africa.¹²⁸

Mohamed Ashmawey — until 2015, the chief executive of IRW and a board member of the Disasters Emergency Committee. Ashmawey has also served on the board of the American charity Mercy International, a Muslim Brotherhood institution that was formerly known as Human Concern.¹²⁹ Mercy International was originally established to support jihad efforts against the Soviets in Afghanistan. Its Pakistan branch was headed by the Osama bin Laden associate and Al-Qaeda financier Ahmed Khadr. In 2001, federal prosecutors revealed Mercy International’s involvement in the 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in Kenya. Telephone records showed that Osama bin Laden’s satellite phone had been in contact with the charity’s officials.¹³⁰

Ashmawey was also a director of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), which was identified by federal prosecutors as a key component of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood during the Holy Land Foundation terror financing trial.¹³¹

From 1993 to 1998, Ashmawey was president of the Muslim Arab Youth Association (MAYA). In 1995, under Ashmawey’s watch, MAYA invited the military leader of Hamas, Sheikh Muhammad Siyam, to address its conference. Siyam told the crowd, “Finish off the Israelis. Kill them all. Exterminate them. No peace ever.”¹³²

While president of MAYA, Ashmawey also expressed support for Egyptian cleric and Hamas financier Wagdy Abd el-Hamied Mohamed Ghoneim; Ashmawey reportedly even let Ghoneim stay at his house.¹³³ The British Home Office describes Ghoneim as someone “considered to be engaging in unacceptable behaviour by seeking to foment, justify or glorify terrorist violence in furtherance of particular beliefs and to provoke others to commit terrorist acts.”¹³⁴ In 1998, Ghoneim chanted in front of an audience in New York: “No to the Jews, Descendants of the Apes.”¹³⁵

In 2004, U.S. lawmakers included the Muslim Arab Youth Association on a list of organizations that they claimed “finance terrorism and perpetuate violence.”¹³⁶

Issam Al-Bashir — a director of IRW from 1992 to 2001. Bashir is a prominent member of the European Council for Fatwa and Research,¹³⁷ a body of Muslim Brotherhood clerics led by Muslim Brotherhood spiritual leader Yusuf Qaradawi, who has advocated killing Jews and homosexuals.¹³⁸

Bashir previously served as Minister of guidance and religious endowments in the Sudanese regime.¹³⁹ In June 2015, he addressed a banquet sponsored by Sudanese dictator Omar Bashir (no relation), whom the International Criminal Court has indicted for conducting a campaign of mass killings and rape against the inhabitants of Darfur.¹⁴⁰

Adnan Saif — a current trustee of IRW. Saif was previously the head teacher of the Scientific Institute in Birmingham, which, according to Yemeni writer Nu’man Abd Al-Wahid, was one of a large number of Yemeni institutions designed to instill Islamist values.¹⁴¹ Saif also runs the Muath Trust, a British charity that works closely with the Muslim Association of Britain, the public face of the Muslim Brotherhood in Britain. In 2012, the Muath Trust hosted an event in support of the Muslim Brotherhood’s presidential candidate in

124. Nicholas Rufford and Abul Taher, “British Muslim says troops are fair target,” *The Sunday Times*, October 31, 2004.

<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/british-muslim-says-troops-are-fair-target-rfonkl965wc>

125. “14th MUSIAD International Fair and the 16th International Business Forum,” Oxford Business Group, October 11, 2012.

<http://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/event/14th-musiad-international-fair-and-16th-international-business-forum>

126. “ESSAM EL HADDAD, President assistant for foreign relations and external cooperation Bio,” Facebook Page: Office of Assistant to President of Egypt on Foreign Relations - Official, December 11, 2012. <https://www.facebook.com/Foreign.Relations.President.Asst.Egy/photos/a.522553531102409.121628.522537587770670/522553534435742/>

127. “Why appeasement doesn’t work,” Guide to the Perplexed, May 17, 2007. <http://guidetotheperplexed.blogspot.com/2007/05/17-may-2007-why-appeasement-doesnt-work.html> See also: Ebrahim Rasool with Tahir Salie, Instagram, 2015. <https://www.instagram.com/p/4up5GAtPBv/>

128. “Annual Report 2015,” Islamic Relief South Africa, 2015. <http://www.islamic-relief.org.za/download/7956/>

129. Mercy International (Human Concern), “An Explanatory Memorandum: On the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America.” May 22, 1991. The Investigative Project on Terrorism. <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/20.pdf>

130. Benjamin Weiser, “Prosecutors Portray the Strands of a Bin Laden Web of Terror,” *New York Times*, January 23, 2003.

http://www.nytimes.com/2000/01/23/world/prosecutors-portray-the-strands-of-a-bin-laden-web-of-terror.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

131. “Shura Council Report on the future of the Group,” Investigative Project, accessed on 5/10/16:

<http://www.investigativeproject.org/document/21-shura-council-report-on-the-future-of-the-group>

132. David Firestone, “The Money Trail: F.B.I. Traces Hamas’s Plan to Finance Attacks to ‘93,” *New York Times*, December 6, 2001.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2001/12/06/world/mideast-flare-up-money-trail-fbi-traces-hamas-s-plan-finance-attacks-93.html>

133. “Muslim cleric’s jailing in Canada angers followers,” *Toronto Star*, January 11, 1998

134. “Who is on UK ‘least wanted’ list?” *BBC News*, May 5, 2009. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk/8033319.stm>

135. “Ghoneim: No to the Jews,” Investigative Project, May 24, 1998. <http://www.investigativeproject.org/567/ghoneim-no-to-the-jews#>

136. Charles E. Grassley, et al., Letter to IRS Commissioner Mark Everson, December 22, 2003. <http://www.grassley.senate.gov/sites/default/files/p04r01-14.pdf>

137. European Council for Fatwa and Research, June 27, 2006. <https://web.archive.org/web/20131113183224/http://www.e-cfr.org/ar/index.php?ArticleID=245>

138. “Qaradawi Video Compilation,” Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch, March 20, 2010.

<http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2010/03/20/recommended-viewing-qaradawi-video-compilation/>

139. “Interview with Head of the Muslim Brotherhood in Sudan Nour Al-Dayem,” Ikhwanweb, July 20, 2008. <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17403>

140. “Sudanese Muslim Brotherhood Figure Issam El-Bashir Addresses Ramadan Banquet Attended By Sudanese President; Omar Al-Bashir Wanted by ICC for War Crimes,” The Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch, August 2, 2015. <http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2015/08/02/sudanese-muslim-brotherhood-figure-issam-el-bashir-addresses-ramadan-banquet-attended-by-sudanese-president-omar-al-bashir-wanted-by-icc-for-war-crimes/>

Egypt, Mohammed Morsi, who addressed the audience remotely. Several prominent Brotherhood leaders also attended.¹⁴²

Abdul Wahab Noorwali — a former trustee of IRW and a current trustee of the Humanitarian Forum, an Islamist umbrella body established by Islamic Relief founder Hany El-Banna. Noorwali is also a trustee of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), a Saudi youth organization founded by Muslim Brotherhood official Kemal Helbawi. Several governments, including the U.S. and India, have accused WAMY of financing terrorism. In 2003, Hamas founder Ahmed Yassin thanked WAMY for its financial support.¹⁴³ Noorwali was responsible for distributing WAMY publications, which include tracts against Shi'ites and Jews.¹⁴⁴ WAMY's booklet, *"The Difference Between The Shiites and the Majority of Muslim Scholars"* claims that Jews conspired to create division within Islam, and planted the "Jewish ideas" which became Shia Islam.¹⁴⁵ Other WAMY publications include *"Animosity Toward the Jews,"* which lists reasons for Muslims to hate Jews, including, "The Jews are humanity's enemies: they foment immorality in this world."¹⁴⁶

Osama Saeed — a former media spokesperson for IRW and a representative of the Muslim Association of Britain, the main British branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. Saeed also ran the Scottish Islamic Foundation, a Muslim Brotherhood institution that arranged for senior Scottish politicians to meet with the Hamas commander Mohammed Sawalha and prominent Muslim Brotherhood leaders in 2008.¹⁴⁷

Yasmin Hussein — IRW's former director of communications, who now works at Amnesty International. In 2012, *The Times* reported that Hussein was staying at the home of Adly Al-Qazzaz, an official of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood government who was accused by a teachers' union of enforcing Muslim Brotherhood ideology in the Egyptian education system.¹⁴⁸ Hussein is also a director of the Claremont Trust, a Qatari-funded organization that state security investigators of the United Arab Emirates listed as part of a web of Islamist organizations that supported the Emirati Muslim Brotherhood.¹⁴⁹

Lamia El-Amri — the current chair of IRW's board of trustees. El-Amri, who lives in Sweden, also founded the European Forum of Muslim Women (EFOMW) in 2006, and currently serves as its chairwomen.¹⁵⁰ EFOMW is named as a "central institution" of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE),¹⁵¹ which is widely recognized by several European governments as the "umbrella organization" for Muslim Brotherhood groups in Europe.¹⁵² In 2007, El-Amri's EFOMW launched its first conference, at which the guest of honor was a prominent British Islamist named Salma Yaqoob,¹⁵³ who has referred to the 7/7 bombings in London as "reprisal attacks,"¹⁵⁴ and justified attacks against Western troops in Iraq and Afghanistan.¹⁵⁵

Fadi Itani — until recently, a director of IRW and the former executive director of the Muslim Welfare House, a prominent Muslim Brotherhood institution. The Muslim Welfare House was founded by Kamal Helbawi, an outspoken supporter of Osama Bin Laden who once said, "[The Palestinian cause] is an absolute clash of civilizations: a satanic program led by the Jews and those who support them and a divine program carried by Hamas and the Islamic Movement in particular and the Islamic peoples in general."¹⁵⁶ In 2013, Egyptian newspaper *Al-Masry Al-Youm* claimed that Ibrahim Munir, the secretary-general of the International Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood, was providing funds to the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood through the Muslim Welfare House — but under the guise of fundraising for Palestinians in Gaza.¹⁵⁷ Fadi Itani refers to Israelis as Nazis¹⁵⁸ and deems Israel's conflict with Hamas in Gaza as a second "Holocaust."¹⁵⁹

Despite these connections to the Muslim Brotherhood and other extremist causes, however, Islamic Relief continues to be the partner of choice for the United Nations, Western governments and aid organizations.

141. "Yemen's ruling gangsters and the Birmingham connection," Yam-Yam Yemeni Productions (blog), January 31, 2010.

<http://yam-yam-yemeni.blogspot.co.uk/2010/01/yemens-ruling-gangsters-and-birmingham.html>

142. "Q&A with Dr Morsy on 4 June," Midlands Egyptian Society, June 7, 2012. <http://www.egyptiansociety.org.uk/qa-with-dr-morsy-on-4-june/>

143. Don van Natta, Jr. and Timothy L. O'Brien, "Flow of Saudis' Cash to Hamas is Scrutinized," *The New York Times*, September 17, 2003.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/09/17/world/flow-of-saudis-cash-to-hamas-is-scrutinized.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>

144. Info-Prod Research, "SAUDI ARABIA: WAMY books on Islamic Issues Get Global Distribution," HighBeam Research, February 25, 2004.

<https://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-113604994.html>

145. Foundation for Defense of Democracies, "Saudis Spread Hate in U.S.," *FrontPageMagazine.com*, September 16, 2002.

<http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=22564>

146. Jerry Markon, "U.S. Raids N.V.a. Office of Saudi-Based Charity," *The Washington Post*, June 2, 2004. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A7918-2004Jun1.html>

147. "QUILLIAM ALERT: Scottish National Party to Endorse Islamist Candidate," Quilliam Foundation, April 17, 2009.

<https://www.quilliaminternational.com/quilliam-alert-scottish-national-party-to-endorse-islamist-candidate/>

148. Andrew Norfolk, "A shadowy web traced back to Bradford," *The Times*, August 17, 2015. <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/a-shadowy-web-traced-back-to-bradford-bzxshhbrz9z>

149. Ibid.

150. "Structure and Members," European Forum of Muslim Women. <http://www.efomw.eu/tekstov1.aspx?gid=6>

151. Samuel Etchu, "Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe," Thesis, Masaryk University, December 2009, Page 13.

https://is.muni.cz/th/184801/fss_m/Etchu_s_final_thesis.pdf

152. Former Islamic Relief official Ahmed Al-Rawi also served, in fact, as the chairman of FIOE. For recognition of FIOE as an MB organization, see: Dr. Magnus Norell, "Muslimska Brödraskapet i Sverige," Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, December 2016. Page 11.

https://www.msb.se/Upload/Kunskapsbank/Studier/Muslimska_Brodraskapet_i_Sverige_DNR_2107-1287.pdf

153. "Salma Yacoob et l'engagement politique," European Forum of Muslim Women, November 5, 2007. <http://web.archive.org/web/20071219160211/http://www.efomw.eu:80/>

154. "Respect's Salma Yaqoob denies 'supporting terrorism' claim," *BBC News*, February 4, 2011. <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-birmingham-12368253>

155. "Salma Yaqoob Picks Today to Support Jihadists," *Harry's Place*, November 28, 2008. <http://hurryupharry.org/2008/11/28/salma-yaqoob-picks-today-to-support-jihadists/>

156. John Ware, "Time to Wise Up to the Muslim Brotherhood," *Standpoint*, July — August 2013 Issue. <http://standpointmag.co.uk/node/5082/full>

157. "Egyptian Newspaper Provides Details On Alleged Muslim Brotherhood Money-Laundering Ring," *Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch*, May 2, 2010. <http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2010/05/02/exclusive-egyptian-newspaper-provides-details-on-alleged-muslim-brotherhood-money-laundering-ring/>

158. Fadi Itani, Twitter post. July 22, 2014. <https://twitter.com/Itanifadi/status/491506798520958976>

159. Itani, Twitter post. July 20, 2014. <https://twitter.com/Itanifadi/status/490948288297074688>



Former British Foreign Office Minister Alistair Burt speaks at Islamic Relief event in 2012

Government Support

Islamic Relief enjoys financial support from governments and politicians around the world. In the U.S., Islamic Relief officials enjoyed close relations with the White House under the Obama administration. It has also received strong support from senior lawmakers and continues to wield influence over government departments.

In 2012, former IR-USA CEO **Abed Ayoub** was appointed as an official advisor to the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).¹⁶⁰ By 2016, the new CEO of IR- USA, Anwar Khan, also became a government advisor. In October of that year, Islamic Relief hosted an “Islamic Relief Partnership Gala” for the State Department, at which the U.S. government’s envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation praised the government’s partnership with Khan and Islamic Relief, describing one Islamic Relief staff member as his “colleague.”¹⁶¹ Under the Trump administration, Khan continues to serve on USAID’s Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid,¹⁶² and the Department for Agriculture currently describes Islamic Relief as a “partner.”¹⁶³

IRW claims to have been awarded U.S. government grants totaling \$704,662.

Islamic Relief also works closely with legislators. In September 2017, a proposed amendment to a congressional bill barring federal grants to Islamic Relief was dropped when the sponsoring congressman rushed back to Florida to deal with the threat of Hurricane Irma. Nevertheless, before the vote was due to take place, Islamic Relief quickly mobilized. The Islamist charity turned to Congressman Keith Ellison, the deputy chair of the Democratic National Committee. Ellison, who has a long history of involvement with Islamist causes, wrote to all members of the House of Representatives, urging them to vote against the amendment and stating – at odds with claims by European government officials, the British media and the Emirati government – that “IRW has never been affiliated with Hamas or the Muslim Brotherhood.”¹⁶⁴

Close involvement with lawmakers and senior government officials has paid off. IRW claims to have been awarded U.S. government grants totaling \$704,662 by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and USAID.¹⁶⁵

It is the same story in Canada. Government websites describe IR-Canada as a “partner” and government ministers speak alongside

160. “Islamist Adviser to the State Dept and USAID Exposed,” Clarion Project, October 24, 2012. <https://clarionproject.org/exclusive-islamist-adviser-state-dept-and-usaid-exposed/>

161. Arsalan Suleman, “Islamic Relief Partnership Gala,” U.S. Department of State, October 13, 2016. <http://2009-2017.state.gov/s/rga/rls/remarks/263120.htm>

162. “Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid Members,” USAID website, July 13, 2017. <http://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/organization/advisory-committee/members>

163. “Get Involved,” United States Department of Agriculture, October 3, 2017. <https://www.fns.usda.gov/get-involved/partnerships>

164. Sam Westrop, “Saved by the Hurricane,” *American Spectator*, September 21, 2017. <http://spectator.org/saved-by-the-hurricane-how-do-you-spell-islamic-relief/>

165. “Truth Not Terror: Islamic Relief Worldwide and the Appropriations Bill in Congress,” Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2017.

Islamic Relief officials.¹⁶⁶ In 2012, IR-Canada received 1.5 million Canadian dollars (\$1.9 million) from the government.¹⁶⁷ In 2017, a further 4.5 million Canadian dollars (\$5.7 million) in grants to Islamic Relief were recorded on Canadian government websites.¹⁶⁸

In Britain, Islamic Relief events have featured government ministers and members of the monarchy. In 2009, Prince Charles gave a speech at the charity's 25th anniversary Gala dinner,¹⁶⁹ which was reportedly sponsored by Britain's Foreign Office. That same year, the Conservative Party broadcast an Islamic Relief film at its annual party conference.¹⁷⁰ In 2010, Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg attended a Ramadan celebration hosted by Islamic Relief. In 2012 and 2014, government ministers in David Cameron's cabinet spoke at Islamic Relief events, where they announced government grants and praised Islamic Relief as an "important partner."¹⁷¹ From 2010 to 2016, according to Islamic Relief accounts, the British government gave the Islamist charity over £8.5 million (\$11 million) of taxpayers' money through direct grants and donor-matching schemes.¹⁷²

Islamic Relief is also a member of the Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC), a British organization that serves as a fundraising and coordinating body for 13 member charities. Although DEC is made up of private charities, £15 million (\$20 million) was contributed by the British taxpayer from 2016 to 2017.¹⁷³ The chief executive of DEC is **Saleh Saeed**, who served as the CEO of Islamic Relief Worldwide from 2008 to 2012.¹⁷⁴

Separately, from 2010 to 2011, the Scottish government handed Islamic Relief over £150,000 (\$200,000). Islamic Relief has long benefitted from the presence of Scottish ministers at its events. In fact, Scotland's current minister for transport, **Humza Yousaf**, previously worked as Islamic Relief's media spokesman.¹⁷⁵ In 2013, Scotland's International Development Department, then under Yousaf's control, reportedly revealed that £398,000 (\$530,000) was given to Islamic Relief in 2011, although this grant does not appear in the charity's published accounts.¹⁷⁶

The United Nations is another key supporter. IR-USA has been appointed by the UN to provide "emergency humanitarian assistance to Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip, worth \$6 million."¹⁷⁷ IRW, meanwhile, has reported receiving grants totaling over \$24 million from various United Nations bodies since 2010.¹⁷⁸ Between 2007 and 2015, the European Union gave Islamic Relief almost €30 million (about \$35 million).¹⁷⁹ This was on top of contributions by individual EU member-states. The German government, for example has provided IR-Germany with over €6 million (\$7 million). In January 2017, however, Germany's Federal Court of Auditors announced it was investigating IR-Germany for a "potential misuse of the aid money." Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg, a German radio station, reported in 2017 that the investigation is suspected to relate to the movement of funds from IR-Germany to the IRW headquarters in Britain.¹⁸⁰

From 2011 to 2012, the Spanish government gave IRW almost £1.1 million (\$1.5 million), and from 2012 to 2016, the Swiss government provided over £970,000 (\$1.3 million).¹⁸¹ The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), which is run by Sweden's foreign ministry, is a generous supporter of Islamic Relief. In 2014, SIDA handed Islamic Relief over \$6.8 million.¹⁸² And between 2008 and 2014, SIDA also funded an Islamic Relief project named "Cash for Work" to the tune of \$3.7 million. As part of this project, jobs were funded in Gaza, including at the Islamic University of Gaza, a key Hamas institution established by Hamas founder Ahmed Yassin.

From 2010 to 2016, the British government gave the Islamist charity over £8.5 million (\$11 million) of taxpayers' money.

166. "Minister Bibeau to make important announcement on the crisis in Myanmar," Global Affairs Canada, Government of Canada, October 30, 2017.

http://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2017/10/minister_bibeau_tomakeimportantannouncementontheisisinmyanmar.html

167. "Islamic Relief Canada -- Development," Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development Canada. Last updated August 29, 2014. <https://archive.is/uikNX>

168. "Canada's humanitarian and development assistance to Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon," Global Affairs Canada, Government of Canada, February 27, 2017.

https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2017/02/backgroundunder_-_canadahumanitariananddevelopmentassistanceetosyri.html

See also: "Canada provides funding to respond to food crises in Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan and Yemen," Global Affairs Canada, Government of Canada, March 17, 2017.

https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2017/03/canada_provides_fundingtorespondtofoodcrisesinnigeriasomaliasout.html?wbdisable=true

169. "HRH The Prince of Wales praises Islamic Relief's work over the past 25 years," Islamic Relief Worldwide, December 18, 2009.

<http://www.islamic-relief.com/NewsRoom/6-2-275-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-praises-islamic-relief-s-work-over-the-past-25-years.aspx>

170. Paul Goodman, "Pickles and Warsi wrestle for control of Government strategy on anti-Muslim hatred," *Conservative Home*, November 19, 2011.

<http://hurryupharry.org/2011/11/19/pickles-and-warsi-wrestle-for-control-of-government-strategy-on-anti-muslim-hatred/>

171. 2010: "Andrew Mitchell and Baroness Warsi visit IR Pakistan flood projects," Islamic Relief Worldwide, August 23, 2010.

<http://www.islamic-relief.com/NewsRoom/4-309-andrew-mitchell-and-baroness-warsi-visit-ir-%20pakistan-flood-projects.aspx>

2012: "Minister celebrates Ramadan with British Muslims and Islamic Relief," Foreign & Commonwealth Office, July 27, 2012.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/minister-celebrates-ramadan-with-british-muslims-and-islamic-relief>

2014: "Justine Greening's speech to mark 30 years of Islamic Relief," Department for International Development, May 1, 2014.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/justine-greenings-speech-to-mark-30-years-of-islamic-relief>

172. "Annual Reports," Islamic Relief Worldwide. <http://www.islamic-relief.org/annual-reports/>

173. DEC Annual Reports, Disasters Emergency Committee. <http://www.dec.org.uk/article/annual-reports>

174. Saleh Saeed, LinkedIn Page. <http://www.linkedin.com/in/saleh-saeed-53468b25/>

175. Charles Moore, "A shameless and brilliant bluff from Scotland's Great Pretender," *Daily Telegraph*, July 25, 2014.

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/5NP/10991109/A-shameless-and-brilliant-bluff-from-Scotlands-Great-Pretender.html>

176. "National media briefing," Third Sector, February 25, 2013. <http://www.thirdsector.co.uk/national-media-briefing-islamic-relief-worldwide-mary-shelley-theatre-trust-set-up-shelter-scotland-diabetes-uk/communications/article/1172239>

177. "Islamic Relief Supports UNRWA," Islamic Relief Worldwide. <http://irusa.org/unrwa-org-islamic-relief-usa-supports-unrwa/>

178. "Annual Reports," Islamic Relief Worldwide. <http://www.islamic-relief.org/annual-reports/>

179. Mike Nattrass, "Question for written answer to the Commission Rule 117," European Parliament, October 25, 2012. Last updated December 11, 2012.

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+WQ+E-2012-009763+O+DOC+XML+Vo//EN&language=en>

180. Sascha Adamek and Jo Goll, "Helfer im Zwielicht," *Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg*, January 25, 2017.

<https://www.rbb24.de/politik/beitrag/2017/01/bundesrechnungshof-prueft-foerderung-von-islamic-relief.html>

181. "Annual Reports," Islamic Relief Worldwide. <http://www.islamic-relief.org/annual-reports/>

182. Tobias Petersson, "Is there a connection between Swedish aid and Hamas institutions?" *The Jerusalem Post*, April 27, 2015.

<http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Is-there-a-connection-between-Swedish-aid-and-Hamas-institutions-399374>

In total, over the past ten years, we can find at least \$80 million that the Islamic Relief franchise has received from Western governments, the European Union and the United Nations.

In total, from the available data, over the past ten years, we can find at least \$80 million that the Islamic Relief franchise has received from Western governments, the European Union and the United Nations. Most of these grants were given directly to Islamic Relief Worldwide. But other taxpayer-subsidised Islamic Relief branches send a considerable proportion of their income to IRW. In 2016, for example, IRUSA gave £25 million (\$33 million) to IRW – about 20% of IRUSA's total annual income. That year, in fact, 54% of IRW's total income came from its overseas branches.¹⁸³ In other words, when taxpayers fund one Islamic Relief branch, they fund the entire Islamist franchise.

Despite the enormous amount of Western taxpayers' money subsidizing Islamic Relief around the world, there is little transparency about where the money actually ends up. No list of Islamic Relief's partners in Gaza or in other terrorist-controlled areas is publicly available, either from Islamic Relief or the governments that fund it. When the British government was asked about Islamic Relief's activities, a spokesperson for the Department for International Development stated: "Funding provided to Islamic Relief is subject to rigorous pre-grant due diligence checks which includes scrutiny of the systems they have in place to screen third parties. We have strict auditing and monitoring controls in place to ensure all funding is used as it should be."¹⁸⁴

With which organizations, then, is the Islamic Relief franchise financially involved?



Islamic Relief takes Congressman Keith Ellison to Gaza

¹⁸³. "Annual Reports," Islamic Relief Worldwide. <http://www.islamic-relief.org/annual-reports/>

¹⁸⁴. George McLaughlin, Department for International Development (DFID), Response to Media Inquiry, September 4, 2015



Islamic Relief Official Mohammed Alshawwa at the IHH offices - Behind him, the Islamic Relief logo

Terror Finance

Both Israel and the United Arab Emirates have designated Islamic Relief as a terror-financing organization.¹⁸⁵ In 2005, Russian authorities accused Islamic Relief of supporting terrorism in Chechnya.¹⁸⁶ And in 2012, the Swiss banking giant UBS closed down Islamic Relief's accounts and "blocked donations coming from its customers to the charity," reportedly over terror financing fears.¹⁸⁷ Four years later, HSBC did the same.¹⁸⁸

As this section demonstrates, Islamic Relief has long worked with charities known to promote extremism and finance terrorism. In Turkey, for example, Islamic Relief works closely with the Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH),¹⁸⁹ which was an inaugural member of the Union of Good, a coalition of Islamist charities that manages the financial support required by Hamas for both its terrorist and political activities.¹⁹⁰ As a result of its support for Hamas, the governments of Israel, Germany and the Netherlands have designated various branches of the IHH as a terrorist group. Nevertheless, three different Islamic Relief branches have working relationships with

185. Ya'akov Levi, "Crackdown on Hamas: Israel Bans 'Islamic Relief' Charity for Funding Hamas," *Israel National News*, June 19, 2014. <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/181938>; "UAE Cabinet approves list of designated terrorist organisations, groups," *UAE News Agency*, November 15, 2014. <http://wam.ae/en/details/1395272478814>

186. Ed Vulliamy, "Russia accuses Birmingham charity of aiding terror," *The Guardian*, October 13, 2005. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2005/oct/14/russia.terrorism>

187. Niki May Young, "Banking sector nerves blocking international relief, says Islamic Relief FD," *Civil Society Finance*, November 8, 2012

<http://www.civilsociety.co.uk/news/banking-sector-nerves-blocking-international-relief-says-islamic-relief-fd.html>

188. Shafik Mandhai, "HSBC bank cuts off services to Muslim charity," *Al-Jazeera*, January 4, 2016.

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/01/hsbc-bank-cuts-services-islamic-relief-charity-160104152429151.html>

189. A.E. Stahl and Sheena Reiss, "The IHH: Humanitarianism, Terrorism, and Policy Ambiguities," *International Institute for Counter-Terrorism*, December 30, 2010.

<https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1081/the-ihh-humanitarianism-terrorism-and-policy-ambiguities#gsc.tab=0>

190. Islamic Relief UK, Islamic Relief Germany and Islamic Relief Worldwide have all worked closely with the IHH. See: "3 Islamic Relief affiliates reliant on Turkey's IHH," *MoneyJihad Blog*, September 5, 2014. <https://moneyjihad.wordpress.com/2014/09/05/3-islamic-relief-affiliates-reliant-on-turkeys-ihh/>

the IHH, and Islamic Relief's branch in Turkey is based at the IHH's own offices.¹⁹¹ Furthermore, the Humanitarian Forum, a London-based charitable coalition established by Islamic Relief officials, includes IHH as one of its member-bodies. The IHH does not bother to hide its own extremism: its website features a tribute to Shamil Basayev, the Chechen terrorist responsible for the Beslan school siege, in which 350 people were murdered, including 186 children.¹⁹²

Islamic Relief's other financial partners are just as concerning. In the Gaza Strip, Islamic Relief has long supported the Hamas-linked Islamic University of Gaza.¹⁹³ During fighting with Israel in 2008, rockets and explosives fired at Israeli civilians were produced by Hamas at the university.¹⁹⁴ Hamas founder Ahmed Yassin co-founded the university in 1978,¹⁹⁵ and in 2007 it was reported that sixteen of the university's lecturers and teachers were elected Hamas members of the Palestinian legislature.¹⁹⁶

Most of Islamic Relief's work in Gaza, however, is implemented by local charitable partners. In an interview with the Hamas radio station *Al Aqsa Voice*, Islamic Relief founder Hany El-Banna revealed that, since 1997, Islamic Relief has partnered with the Gaza Zakat Committee, also known as the Islamic Zakat Society (IZS).¹⁹⁷

Founded in 1990, IZS was the project of a "group of businessmen and doctors," ostensibly "without strong political affiliations." A report published by the Swiss government, however, notes that the committee has included board members "with leanings towards Fatah, PFLP and Hamas."¹⁹⁸ The same report mentions several Western partners of IZS, including Islamist charities designated by the U.S. government as terror finance organizations: such as Interpal, whose leaders openly work with Hamas;¹⁹⁹ as well as the Holy Land Foundation. In fact, evidence introduced by U.S. federal prosecutors during the landmark 2008 Holy Land Foundation terrorism financing trial included exhibits revealing transfers of money from the Holy Land Foundation to IZS.²⁰⁰

Today, IZS is affiliated with the Awqaf Ministry in Gaza, which is managed by Hassan Al-Saifi, a prominent Hamas member. IZS projects are closely supervised by the Hamas government, and IZS often implements Hamas welfare projects directly.²⁰¹ It also runs joint grant-making projects with the Hamas police force, as reported in Hamas media.²⁰² In the rest of the Arab world, commentators also regard IZS as a Hamas institution. Prominent Jordanian political analyst Muhammad Sharif Al-Jayousi describes IZS as "Hamas's Gaza Zakat Committee," noting that it is designed to fund the "orphans and families of martyrs."²⁰³

IZS's leaders include figures closely involved with the terror group. IZS official Hazem Al-Sirraj, for example, is a prominent cleric in Gaza and IZS's most visible public figure.²⁰⁴ According to a detailed interview in Hamas newspapers *Al Resalah*, Al-Sirraj studied under the Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, before going on to study the work of Islamist luminaries such as Yusuf Al-Qaradawi and Khurshid Ahmed. And in a hagiography of Sheikh Yassin published by another Hamas daily newspaper, *Felesteen*, Al-Sirraj is quoted expressing further praise for the Hamas founder.²⁰⁵ In recent years, Palestinian newspapers have frequently sought comment from IZS's Al-Sirraj, while noting that he is "close to Hamas."²⁰⁶ Al-Sirraj regularly appears in public alongside Hamas officials. In 2007 and 2016, Palestinian media further revealed that Hamas had sent delegations of senior officials to pay their respects to Al-Sirraj.²⁰⁷ And in 2010, *Ma'an News* reported that Al-Sirraj was the keynote speaker at a Hamas conference in Gaza for the "sons of Hamas," including Hamas "founders, scientists, politicians and academics."²⁰⁸

Despite IZS officials' clear links with Hamas, and its apparent function as a Hamas welfare organization, Islamic Relief branches regard IZS as a key partner in Gaza. Islamic Relief UK and Islamic Relief Canada are both directly named by IZS as its patrons.²⁰⁹ Other Islamic Relief branches, such as Islamic Relief USA fund projects in Gaza through Islamic Relief Palestine,²¹⁰

191. Mohammed A. Alshawwa, Facebook photos, October 1, 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/mohammed.alshawwa.3/posts/762323790470171>

192. "Turkey pays homage to Basayev," IHH Website, July 14, 2017. <https://www.ihh.org.tr/en/news/turkey-pays-homage-to-basayev-655>

193. "A Delegation from Islamic Relief – Britain Visits IUG," Islamic University of Gaza website. <https://web.archive.org/web/20130718161115/http://www.iugaza.edu.ps:80/en/Media/News.aspx?NewsId=10428>

194. Ya'akov Katz, "IAF bombs Islamic University's R&D labs," *The Jerusalem Post*, December 29, 2008. <http://www.jpost.com/printarticle.aspx?id=126843>

195. Matthew Kalman, "Israeli Airstrikes in Gaza Destroy 2 University Buildings," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, December 29, 2008.

<http://www.chronicle.com/article/Israeli-Airstrikes-in-Gaza/42164>

196. "School linked to Hamas gets U.S. cash," *The Washington Times*, March 4, 2007. <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2007/mar/4/20070304-114147-5932r/>

197. Hany El-Banna, "لقاء الراديو لإذاعة صوت الأقصى مع د. هاني البنا عن العمل الإغاثي في فلسطين وتجربة الإغاثة الإسلامية," YouTube, November 15, 2016. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=88RLL_qZiuM

198. Emanuel Schaeublin, "Gaza Zakat Organizations (1973-2011) in the Local Context," The Center on Conflict Development and Peacebuilding, The Graduate Institute, Geneva, 2012. http://graduateinstitute.ch/files/live/sites/iheid/files/sites/ccdp/shared/Docs/Publications/WP9_Gaza%20Zakat%20Organizations_EN_%2020Feb2012.pdf

199. "Hamas-linked charity, Interpal, enjoys mainstream support," Stand for Peace, December 16, 2014.

<http://standforpeace.org.uk/hamas-linked-charity-interpal-enjoys-mainstream-support/>

200. Government Exhibit, Infocom Search 86, U.S. v. HLF, et al., Investigative Project on Terrorism, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/3685.pdf

201. "Gaza Zakat Distributes Aid from Turkish ship Aqua Stella," *The Gaza Post*, August 7, 2017. <https://thegazapost.com/29006/الداعية-د.حازم-السراج-توزع-مساعداً.html>

202. Gaza Police, in cooperation with the Gaza Zakat Committee, Pay Financial Contributions to Inmates," *Al Aqsa Voice*, August 14, 2011.

<http://www.alaqsavoice.ps/news/details/82067>

203. Muhammad Shareef, Facebook Post, April 15, 2012.

<https://www.facebook.com/mohammedshareef/photos/a.172799926138675.45041.119328938152441/280228288729171/?type=1&theater>

204. Hazem Al Sirraj, Facebook Post, November 17, 2017. https://www.facebook.com/-337617983058810/الداعية-د.حازم-السراج/?ref=br_rs

205. Interview with Hazem Al-Sirraj, *Al Resalah*, January 7, 2013. <http://alresalah.ps/ar/post/66121/الداعية-د.السراج-من-الطب-الى-الدعوة>

"Sheikh Yassin," *Felesteen*, March 22, 2017. <http://felesteen.ps/article/alshykh-alyasyn-qib-ats-llwtn-wahtdn-aljmy>

206. "Journey of Death from Gaza," *Quds Net News Agency*, July 9, 2014. <http://qudsnet.com/news/View/287235>

207. "Legislative Delegation visits the sick and injured," Palestine Information Center, October 15, 2007. <https://www.palinfo.com/news/2007/10/15/وفد-من-التشريعي-يزور-المرضى-وقد-من-المصابين-وعائلات-قادة-بارزين-بغزة>

"Hamas leadership Organizes Social Visits in Western Gaza," *Seraj Media*, May 10, 2016. <http://seraj.ps/index.php?act=post&id=85203>

208. "Hamas organizes first educational camp in Jabalia," *Ma'an News Agency*, October 9, 2010. <http://www.maannews.net/Content.aspx?id=322383>

209. Islamic Relief UK: Islamic Zakat Society, Facebook Post, September 3, 2016. <https://www.facebook.com/zakat.so/posts/643048122539094>

Islamic Relief Canada: Islamic Zakat Society, Facebook Post, March 1, 2018. <https://www.facebook.com/zakat.so/posts/934103220100248>

210. "From the Heart," Partnership Magazine, Islamic Relief USA, 2014. Page 31. https://issuu.com/islamicreliefusa/docs/partnership_2014_preview



IZS official Magdi Thuraia and Islamic Relief Palestine official Muneeb Abu Ghazaleh (center) sign an agreement to implement a project funded by Islamic Relief Canada.

which in turn funds IZS.²¹¹ Islamic Relief Worldwide, which is itself funded by all Islamic Relief branches, is currently working to raise \$420,000 for IZS through a United Nations appeal scheme. Documents submitted by IRW for its appeal explicitly state IZS is Islamic Relief Palestine's "local partner."²¹²

Islamic Relief also has a close relationship with the Gaza-based Al-Falah Benevolent Society. In February 2015, Islamic Relief UK, using Swedish monies, funded a project run by Al-Falah to provide aid to "displaced families."²¹³ Al-Falah is described by the Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Centre as one of " Hamas's charitable societies."²¹⁴ It is run by Ramadan Tamboura, whom the newspaper *Ha'aretz* describes as a

"well-known Hamas figure."²¹⁵ In addition, one of Al-Falah's directors, Jamal Hamdi Al-Haddad, manages a Hamas-run Hebrew-language education program, titled "Know Your Enemy."²¹⁶

In previous years, Islamic Relief has sponsored the Palestine Festival for Children and Education,²¹⁷ an annual event in Gaza notorious for its depictions of violence against Jews and support for terrorism.²¹⁸ The most recent festival, in 2016, was funded by Interpal, a British charity that the U.S. government has designated a "Specially Designated Global Terrorist."²¹⁹ Islamic Relief and Interpal have worked together on occasion.²²⁰ Both charities were originally listed as members of the Union of Good, a charitable fundraising umbrella established by Hamas to raise money for terrorist activities. Islamic Relief denies involvement with the coalition and has since claimed that its logo was "used on a Union of Good website, without our involvement or consent, to try to establish the initiative's credibility."²²¹

Today, IR-USA funds projects in Gaza managed by the Unlimited Friends Association for Social Development (UFA), a local charity that works closely with senior Hamas officials. In March 2015, UFA hosted a public meeting with Mohamed Abu-Shkian, a senior Hamas official and the mayor of Nuseirat, at which they discussed "joint cooperation to implement projects that serve the various categories of the Palestinian community."²²² Abu-Shkian, whom Hamas media have nicknamed "Mohammed the Conqueror," is a vocal supporter of the "mujahedeen" against Israel,²²³ frequently speaks at the graduation ceremonies of Hamas terror training programs²²⁴ and addresses crowds at ceremonies commemorating Hamas terrorists.²²⁵

Today, IR-USA funds projects in Gaza managed by the Unlimited Friends Association for Social Development (UFA), a local charity that works closely with senior Hamas officials.

211. Islamic Relief Palestine: Islamic Zakat Society, Facebook Post, May 31, 2017. <https://www.facebook.com/zakat.so/posts/794071130770125>

212. "occupied Palestinian territory 2018 (part of 2018-2020 HRP)," OPT-18/S-NF/116312, Islamic Relief Worldwide. http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/CAPPProjectSheet_633_116312_2018511.pdf

213. "Funded by Islamic Relief UK and implemented by Al-Falah and Islamic Relief Palestine - Emergency aid to displaced families in the Gaza Strip," Al-Falah Benevolent Society, February 16, 2015. <http://alfalahpal.com/2015/02/التمويل-من-الإغاثة-الإسلامية-مكتوب-2015-02/>

214. "Society and politics in the Gaza Strip" Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center. November 4, 2008. http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/data/pdf/PDF_o8_265_2.pdf

215. Mark MacKinnon, "The married widows of Gaza," *The Globe and Mail*, September 19, 2006. Last updated March 17, 2009. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/the-married-widows-of-gaza/article968976/>; Avi Issacharoff, "Hamas may not be moderate, but it's cracking down on extremism," *Ha'aretz*, December 3, 2009. <http://www.haaretz.com/hamas-may-not-be-moderate-but-it-s-cracking-down-on-extremism-1.2836>

216. Judi Rudoren, "Hamas-Run Schools Set Out to Teach 'the Language of the Enemy,'" *The International New York Times*. May 22, 2012.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/23/world/middleeast/hamas-run-schools-in-gaza-set-out-to-teach-hebrew.html>

217. Mohammed Zaanoun, "Palestine Festival for Children and Education," Flickr. April 7, 2013. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/39836351@N06/sets/72157633189556455>

218. Jake Wallis Simmonds, "EXCLUSIVE: Sickening footage of Palestinian children pretending to stab Jews exposes 'festival of hate' funded by Jeremy Corbyn's pet charity as Labour anti-Semitism row deepens," *The Daily Mail*. April 28, 2016. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3561337/As-Labour-anti-Semitism-row-deepens-revealed-Jeremy-Corbyn-s-pet-charity-funded-Palestinian-festival-hate-children-dressed-terrorists-acted-murdering-Jews.html>

219. "U.S. Designates Five Charities Funding Hamas and Six Senior Hamas Leaders as Terrorist Entities," U.S. Department of the Treasury, August 22, 2003.

<https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js672.aspx>

220. Islamic Human Rights Commission, "Interpal Seminar: Humanitarian Values, Accountability and Transparency: the Palestinian Case," Islamic Human Rights Commission. May 11, 2007. <http://www.ihr.org.uk/events/5546-In>

221. Tayeb Abdoun, "Islamic Relief: A humanitarian organization dedicated to saving lives," *The Washington Times*, January 28, 2016.

<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/jan/28/tayeb-abdoun-islamic-relief-humanitarian-organizat/?page%3Dall>

222. Unlimited Friends Association for Social Development's Facebook page, March 25, 2015. Screenshots with author.

223. Maan News Agency, "Municipality workers honor Nuseirat refugees," *Maan News Agency*, December 15, 2012. <http://maannews.net/Content.aspx?id=548051>

224. "Graduation Ceremony for Police Officers" Ministry of the Interior of the Palestinian National Authority News. May 4, 2013. <http://www.moi.gov.ps/news/38513/>

225. Nuseirat Refugees Now's Facebook page, Photo, Uploaded April 3, 2015.

https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?id=637542276282334&story_fbid=818444164858810

226. Felesteen Newspaper, January 3, 2015, Page 7. <http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/07.pdf>



UFA, a charity in Gaza tied to Hamas and funded by Islamic Relief, hands out money to the children of "martyrs"

UFA openly advertises projects funded by U.S. charities in prominent Hamas literature.²²⁶ And the UFA website boasts a certificate of support from Ummah University, an institution in Gaza directly controlled by Hamas's interior ministry.²²⁷

UFA officials boast that they give out cash to the "families of martyrs of the Palestinian people" and have published photos of UFA officials distributing checks to wives and children.²²⁸ These cash hand-outs are part of an "Orphan Sponsorship Program." In videos published by the UFA, the charity defines orphans as those who have lost their father (not their mother), some of whom, the charity claims, were killed resisting "the ongoing slaughter against the Palestinian people."²²⁹ It would appear that the beneficiaries of UFA money are the children of Hamas terrorists.

UFA is not shy about its hatred of Jews. In a post published on one of

the charity's social media pages, UFA officials wrote, "We ask God to drive away the anguish of the heroic prisoners in the Nazi Zionist jails and to free Al-Aqsa Al-Sharif (the Noble Al-Aqsa) from the filth of the most dirty Jews."²³⁰

Islamic Relief does not publicize its partnerships with these Hamas-linked charities, which are only detailed on the Gazan charities' Arabic websites.²³¹ Where Islamic Relief does acknowledge its partners, the facts are not much better. IRW accounts revealed donations of tens of thousands of pounds from the Charitable Society for Social Welfare, a charity founded by the Al-Qaeda terrorist and Bin Laden loyalist Abdul Majeed Al-Zindani, in 2004, 2007 and 2009.²³² According to the *Washington Post*, "U.S. and U.N. authorities accuse Zindani of recruiting for al-Qaeda camps and raising money for weapons for terrorist groups."²³³ The *Washington Post* further reports that the late Al-Qaeda leader Anwar Al-Awlaki "served as vice president of the now-defunct Charitable Society for Social Welfare Inc., the U.S. branch of a Yemeni charity founded by Zindani. Three years ago, federal prosecutors in a New York terrorism-financing case described the charity as 'a front organization' that was 'used to support al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden.'"²³⁴

IRW's accounts also reveal transfers of funds in 2008, 2009 and 2010 from the Yemeni Al-Eslah organization — a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood also linked to the designated "Global Terrorist" al-Zindani.²³⁵

IRW accounts reveal donations of tens of thousands of pounds from the Charitable Society for Social Welfare, a charity founded by the Al-Qaeda terrorist and Bin Laden loyalist Abdul Majeed Al-Zindani.

227. Certificate of Support from Ummah University for UFA. [http://web.archive.org/web/20140313233812/http://ufa2003.org/en/files/general/\(1\).jpg](http://web.archive.org/web/20140313233812/http://ufa2003.org/en/files/general/(1).jpg); For more information about Ummah university, see: "Operation Cast Lead — Update No. 3," Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, December 30, 2008. http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/data/pdf/PDF_o8_333_2.pdf

228. Unlimited Friends Association for Social Development's Facebook page, March 25, 2015. Facebook post since edited. Screenshots with author. <https://www.facebook.com/ufo2003.org/timeline/story?ut=43&wstart=1420099200&wend=1451635199&hash=-1096139513708024478&pagefilter=3>

229. "Funding for Orphans provided by Baitulmaal, and Implemented by the Unlimited Friends Association," YouTube, December 25, 2013. (Video since removed) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_mgOlxd6mVo

230. Unlimited Friends Association for Social Development's Facebook page, Screenshot, January 4, 2015.

<http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/UFA2-anti-semitism.png>

231. "Funded by Islamic Relief — Britain and the implementation of the Palestine Office in cooperation with the Office of the Al-Falah Charitable Society continues to provide emergency aid to displaced families in the Gaza Strip," Al-Falah, February 16, 2015. <http://alfalahpal.com/2015/02/التمويل-من-الإغاثة-الإسلامية-مكتب-بر/>

232. Annual Report 2009, Islamic Relief, <http://www.islamic-relief.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/2009-Annual-Report.pdf>

233. Susan Schmidt, "Imam From Va. Mosque Now Thought to Have Aided Al-Qaeda," *Washington Post*, February 27, 2008.

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/02/26/AR2008022603267_pf.html

234. Ibid.

235. "Yemeni Muslim Brotherhood Leader Claims Patent for AIDS Cure," Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch, September 27, 2012.

<http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2012/09/27/yemeni-muslim-brotherhood-leader-claims-he-invented-aids-cure/>

Other publicly listed financial partners of Islamic Relief Worldwide include:²³⁶

International Islamic Charitable Organization Kuwait – a charity closely involved with the global Muslim Brotherhood²³⁷ and which is listed, in seized documents seen by the counter-terrorism writer Matthew Levitt, as a Hamas financier.²³⁸

Qatar Charity – the largest charitable organization in Qatar. In 1993, Osama bin Laden named the charity as one of several groups used to fund Al-Qaeda's overseas operations.²³⁹ The Qatar Charity is also accused of funding Chechen Islamists and the Bangladeshi jihadist organization Jamatul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB).²⁴⁰

Al Eslah Society (a.k.a. Human Welfare Committee Bahrain) – Asharq Al-Awsat reports that the Al-Eslah Society was founded in May 1941, "becoming the first organization to represent the Muslim Brotherhood ideology in the Gulf." Today, it remains one of Bahrain's leading Islamist organizations.²⁴¹

Islamic Development Bank (IDB) – from 2008 to 2014, Islamic Relief received millions of pounds from this Saudi-based bank. In 2001, the IDB transferred \$538 million, raised through Saudi telethons, to support the Palestinian "resistance" and the families of suicide bombers.²⁴²

Human Appeal International – In 1996, a CIA report claimed Human Appeal International was one of a number of Islamic charities used as conduits for funds to terrorist organizations and tied it to the Saudi-based Muwafaq, an Al-Qaeda front group.²⁴³ In 2003, the FBI claimed there was a "close relationship between Human Appeal International and Hamas."²⁴⁴

Arab Medical Union – The Canada Revenue Agency, a governmental body, has revealed that the Arab Medical Union is a prominent supporter of Hamas, noting that its website "contains video of Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, thanking that organization for its assistance."²⁴⁵ The President of the Arab Medical Union, Abdel Moneim Abouel Fotouh, was described on the Muslim Brotherhood's own website in 2007 as a "high-ranking member of the infamous Muslim Brotherhood."²⁴⁶ He was reportedly forced out in 2011. In August 2016, Egypt's State Security Agency began an investigation into reports that Fotouh was working with Hezbollah and the Iranian Revolutionary Guards.²⁴⁷

Human Concern International – In 1995, Osama bin Laden told an Egyptian interviewer that Human Concern was funding an Al-Qaeda charitable front called Blessed Relief.²⁴⁸ In 1997, the Canadian government cut funding for Human Concern, citing the group's "terrorist connections."²⁴⁹

World Association of Muslim Youth (WAMY) – a Saudi youth organization founded by a former Muslim Brotherhood leader, Kemal Helbawi, who was once an outspoken supporter of Bin Laden.²⁵⁰ WAMY's office in Washington, D.C., in fact, was previously headed by Osama Bin Laden's nephew, Abdullah Bin Laden.²⁵¹ In 2003, Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin thanked WAMY for its continued financial support.²⁵²

236. "Annual Reports," Islamic Relief Worldwide. <http://www.islamic-relief.org/annual-reports/>

237. "Kuwaiti Charity Tied to Global Muslim Brotherhood to Coordinate Kuwait's Aid to Syrian Refugees," Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch, January 8, 2014. <http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2014/01/08/kuwaiti-charity-tied-global-muslim-brotherhood-coordinate-kuwait-aid-syrian-refugees/>

238. Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007. Page 145.

239. In 1995, after a failed attempt by Al-Qaeda operatives to assassinate Egypt's President Mubarak, Bin Laden complained that because funds from Qatar Charity (then operating under the name Qatar Charitable Society) had been used in that operation, he was concerned that Al-Qaeda's abilities to use charities to fund future operations might be compromised. See: United States of America v. Enaam M. Arnaout, No. 02 Cr 892, United States District Court Northern District Of Illinois Eastern Division.

240. "Jihad chief discloses Islamic charity donors," MoneyJihad Blog, January 19, 2012

241. "The Brotherhood in Bahrain," *Asharq Al-Awsat*, June 22, 2013. <https://eng-archive.aawsat.com/theaawsat/features/the-brotherhood-in-bahrain>

242. "Terror Bank Gets Observer Status at U.N.," *The Hill*, April 4, 2007. <http://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/politics/28643-terror-bank-gets-observer-status-at-un>

243. Nick McKenzie, "Claim money from Aust sent to organisations linked to terrorism," *The 7.30 Report*, June 24, 2003. <http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2003/s887343.htm>

244. Lateline, "Concern charity channelling funds to Hamas," *Australian Broadcasting Corporation*. September 22, 2003. <http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/content/2003/s951368.htm>

245. "Appendix G: International Relief Fund for the Afflicted and Needy (Canada)," Canada Revenue Agency,

<https://www.scribd.com/document/221397643/IRFAN-Canada-links-to-Hamas>

246. Richard Saccone, "Nurturing MB in Egypt has benefits for U.S.," *IkhwanWeb*, August 24, 2007. <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=13856>

247. "Egypt to investigate spying charges against Abdel Moneim Abouel Fotouh and Hamdeen Sabbahi," *Mada Masr*, August 16, 2016.

<https://www.madamasr.com/en/2016/08/16/news/u/egypt-to-investigate-spying-charges-against-abdel-moneim-abouel-fotouh-and-hamdeen-sabbahi/>

248. Michael Petrou, "Canada gives \$2 million to group collecting for the charitable alma mater of Omar Khadr's dad," *Maclean's*, August 12, 2012.

<http://www.macleans.ca/authors/michael-petrou/canada-gives-2-million-to-the-charitable-alma-mater-of-omar-khadrs-dad/>

249. Judith Miller, "Some Charities Suspected of Terrorist Role," *New York Times*. February 19, 2000.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2000/02/19/world/some-charities-suspected-of-terrorist-role.html?pagewanted=all>

250. "Senior British Islamist Praises Osama Bin Laden," *Quilliam Foundation*, May 4, 2011.

<http://www.quilliamfoundation.org/press/senior-british-islamist-praises-osama-bin-laden/>

251. "Testimony of Matthew Epstein with Evan Kehlmann Before the House Committee on Financial Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations: 'Progress Since 9/11: The Effectiveness of U.S. Anti-Terrorist Financing Efforts' (Arabian Gulf Financial Sponsorship of Al-Qaida via U.S.-Based Banks, Corporations and Charities)," The United States House Committee on Financial Services, March 11, 2003. <http://financialservices.house.gov/media/pdf/031103me.pdf>

252. Van Natta, Jr. and O'Brien, "Flow of Saudis' Cash to Hamas is Scrutinized," *The New York Times*, September 17, 2003.

Hate Speech

In April 2017, *The Times* reported that Britain's Charity Commission – the government's regulator of non-profits – had opened an investigation into Islamic Relief's decision to organize a tour with Yasir Qadhi, an extremist preacher who had previously told audiences that killing homosexuals was part of his religion.²⁵³

Inviting a hate preacher such as Qadhi was not an oversight of the part of Islamic Relief. Over the past decade, Islamic Relief has organized hundreds of events with some of the most extreme Islamist preachers across the globe, known for violently homophobic, misogynistic and anti-Jewish rhetoric. Here is just a small selection of examples.

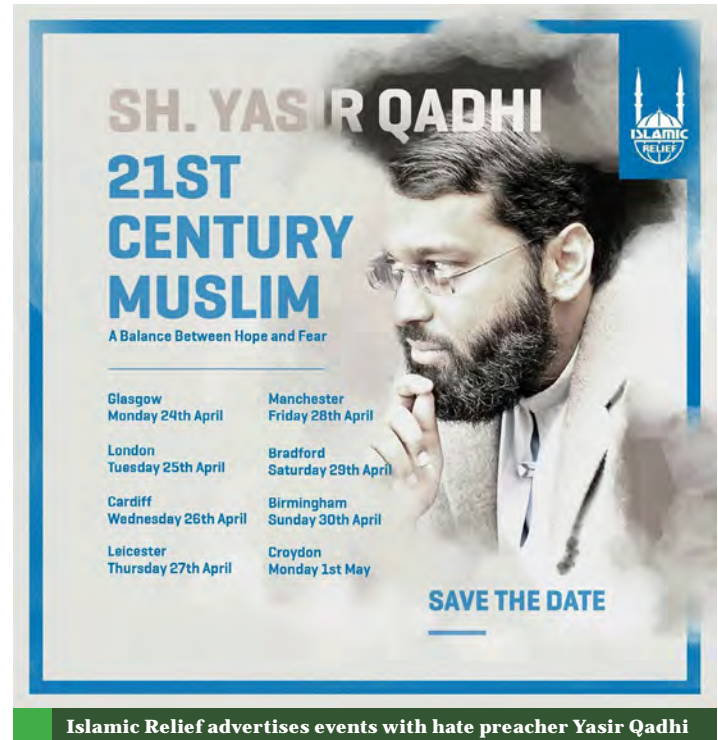
In 2009, IR-USA ran an event with Abdullah Hakim Quick,²⁵⁴ an extremist preacher who has claimed that AIDS is caused by the “filthy practices” of homosexuals and that the Islamic position on homosexuality is “death.”²⁵⁵ Quick has also spoken of the “filth of the Yahud [Jews].”²⁵⁶

IR-USA also regularly runs events with Osama Abu-Irshaid,²⁵⁷ who served as the editor of *Al-Zaytounah*, the official newspaper of the Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP), which the U.S. government states is part of “Hamas’ propaganda apparatus.”²⁵⁸ Irshaid has written that the terrorist group Hamas is “an army for liberation” whose fighters “rise up for the blood of martyrs.”²⁵⁹

In 2012, IR-USA hosted a “fundraising dinner for Palestine” with Sheikh Kifah Mustapha,²⁶⁰ who has been named by federal prosecutors as among the “individuals/entities who are and/or were members of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood’s Palestine Committee and/or its organizations.”²⁶¹ According to the Investigative Project on Terrorism, Mustapha can be heard praising Hamas terrorism in a video introduced as evidence during the Holy Land Foundation terror financing trial in 2008, chanting: “O mother, Hamas for Jihad. Over mosques’ loudspeakers, with freedom. Every day it resists with stones and the dagger. Tomorrow, with God’s help, it will be with a machine gun and a rifle.”²⁶²

Mustapha is a regular speaker at Islamic Relief events,²⁶³ where he has shared a stage with the prominent Muslim Brotherhood cleric Jamal Badawi,²⁶⁴ who describes suicide bombers and Hamas terrorists as freedom fighters and “martyrs” who ought to be compared to those who fought the Nazis.²⁶⁵ Badawi also supports the right of men to beat their wives.²⁶⁶

In 2016, Islamic Relief hosted a fundraising dinner in Texas with Abdul Nasir Jangda, the “founder and director of the Qalam Institute.”²⁶⁷ According to detailed notes published by one of Jangda’s students during his lectures, Jangda defended the use of female sex slaves within Islam and concluded that, “Slavery in Islam ... is vastly different and superior morally and spiritually to the atrocious, obscene,



253. Dominic Kennedy, “Hardline cleric is invited to UK by Islamic charity for fundraising tour,” *The Times*. April 11, 2017.

<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/hardline-cleric-is-invited-to-uk-by-islamic-charity-for-fundraising-tour-g638jlcqf>

254. “Feed the Needy Fundraiser,” Islamic Relief Worldwide, Poster. http://seekershub.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2009/09/sg_ir_fundraiser_flier-1.jpg

255. “Decision No: 2004-001 – In the Matter of the Broadcasting Act 1989 and in the Matter of a Complaint by Doug Clayton of Auckland,” Broadcasting Standards Authority. February 26, 2004. <http://web.archive.org/web/20100223165323/http://www.bsa.govt.nz/decisions/2004/2004-001.htm>

256. Lecture by Abdullah Hakim Quick. “6/6 The History of the Crusades by Sheikh Abdul Hakim Quick.” YouTube video, 4:24. Uploaded May 17, 2012. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hlOrJu9Oqyo>

257. Islamic Relief USA’s Facebook page. Photo. Uploaded August 21, 2014.

<https://www.facebook.com/IslamicReliefUSA/photos/gm.1511710895712265/10152411311730208/?type=3&theater>

258. “Profile: American Muslims for Palestine,” Anti-Defamation League, 2013.

<http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/israel-international/american-muslims-for-palestine-2013-03-29-v3.pdf>

259. Osama Abu-Irshaid, Facebook post. Posted December 14, 2014. <https://archive.is/C8HK2>

260. Islamic Relief USA’s Facebook page. “Urbana, IL: Syrian Humanitarian Relief Fundraising Dinner.” April 7, 2013. <https://www.facebook.com/events/156102781219269/>

261. List of Unindicted Co-conspirators,” The Investigative Project on Terrorism. http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/423.pdf

262. “The Mosque Foundation’s Troubling Record,” Investigative Project on Terrorism. <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/632.pdf>

263. Islamic Relief USA’s Facebook page. “Islamic Relief USA Annual Denver Banquet.” April 26, 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/events/633022660101165/>

264. “1992 Directory.” Government Exhibit 003-0079, 003-0034, 3:04-CR-240-G. “U.S. v. HLF, et al.” The Investigative Project on Terrorism.

http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1083.pdf

265. “Jamal Badawi: Enduring Link to ISNA’s Radical Past,” IPT News. May 8, 2012.

<http://www.investigativeproject.org/3569/jamal-badawi-enduring-link-to-isna-radical-past>

266. Jamal Badawi and Dr. Muzammil Siddiqi, “Wife Beating in Islamic Perspective,” IslamOnline.net, April 21, 2004. http://web.archive.org/web/20060323035225/http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?pagename=IslamOnline-English-Ask_Scholar/FatwaE/FatwaE&cid=1119503544256

267. “Austin, TX: Fundraising Dinner for IRUSA,” Islamic Relief USA, October 8, 2016. <http://irusa.org/events/austin-tx-fundraising-dinner-for-irusa/>

Jangda reportedly expressed support for the killing of apostates and adulterers, suggested that a wife cannot refuse her husband sex, and called for people who drink alcohol to be beaten.

and vile Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.”²⁶⁸ Jangda reportedly also expressed support for the killing of apostates and adulterers, suggested that a wife cannot refuse her husband sex (“The thing to understand is that the husband has his set of divinely given rights one of which is the right to have his physical desires satisfied”), and called for people who drink alcohol to be beaten (“One of the largest causes of death in the United States is drunk driving. Such policies would help curb them immensely and avoid harm to the people at large”).²⁶⁹

A slideshow authored and published by Jangda’s Qalam Institute and hosted on its website, titled “The Prophetic Code,” tells Muslims “do not resemble the Jews” and advises parents to “beat” their children “if they do not [pray].”²⁷⁰

Other IR-USA speakers have included Zaid Shakir,²⁷¹ who has claimed the Muslim world needs a new caliphate to wage jihad and “use...weaponry against the enemies of Islam;”²⁷² Suhaib Webb, who has claimed that animosity toward Jews is understandable²⁷³ and suggested that homosexuals are cursed;²⁷⁴ and Hatem Bazian, who has called for an “intifada in this country that changes fundamentally the political dynamics,” similar to the “uprising in Iraq” and the “intifada in Palestine.”²⁷⁵

IR-USA appears to be particularly fond of anti-gay preachers. Along with its regular hosting of Hakim Quick, who advocates the killing of homosexuals,²⁷⁶ IR-USA also gives platforms to preachers such as Abdallah Adhami, who claims that homosexuality is a result of “violent emotional or sexual abuse” and that homosexuals “pollute” others,²⁷⁷ and Mustafa Umar,²⁷⁸ who describes homosexuality as “immoral” and “sinful.”²⁷⁹

The British branches of Islamic Relief are perhaps even worse. In 2010, an Islamic Relief fundraising event included Yasir Qadhi and Haitham Al-Haddad.²⁸⁰ Haddad, who is considered one of the most extreme Islamic preachers in the West,²⁸¹ describes Jews as “pigs and apes” and as “one of the armies of the devil.”²⁸² Haddad also advocates for a man’s right to beat his wife:

In 2010, an Islamic Relief fundraising event included Haitham Al-Haddad, who describes Jews as “pigs and apes.”

A man should not be questioned why he hit his wife because this is something between them. Leave them alone. They can sort out their matters among themselves. Even the father of the daughter who is married to the man, he should not ask his daughter why you have been beaten or hit by your husband.²⁸³

As for Yasir Qadhi, he is another hate preacher who has denounced Shia Islam as “the most lying sect of Islam” and that “the Shias are allowed to lie and it is their religion to lie.”²⁸⁴ In 2001, Qadhi claimed:

All of these Polish Jews which Hitler was supposedly trying to exterminate, that’s another point, by the way, Hitler never intended to mass-destroy the Jews. There are a number of books out on this written by Christians, you should read them. The Hoax of the Holocaust, I advise you to read this book and write this down, the Hoax of the Holocaust, a very good book. All of this is false propaganda and I know it sounds so far-fetched, but read it. The evidences [sic] are very strong.²⁸⁵

268. Saad Jamil, “Firm Ground: Foundations for Clarifying Textual Misinterpretation - Taught by Sh. Abdul Nasir Jangda,” AlMaghrib Institute.

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/oB89y9kKMY4MxNnVnVG56aURGmM/view>

269. Ibid.

270. Hussain Kamani, “The Prophetic Code,” Qalam Institute, <http://www.qalaminstitute.org/propheticcode.pdf>

271. Islamic Relief USA, “First Annual CHANGE THE WORLD Banquet in Anaheim, CA.” Facebook Post, December 1, 2012.

<https://www.facebook.com/events/424330367630960/>

272. Ryan Mauro, “Prominent U.S. Imam: New Caliphate Should Wage Jihad,” Clarion Project, December 25, 2012.

<https://clarionproject.org/top-american-imam-called-resurrected-caliphate-wage-jihad/>

273. “Boston Imam Webb spouts off about Jews,” YouTube video, October 31, 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yvk9YFvV6wM>

274. “Boston Muslim cleric’s anti-gay sermons,” YouTube video, April 25, 2012. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QaoKv1zRkJA>

275. Islamic Relief USA, “Palestine Benefit Dinner in Stockton, CA,” Facebook page, March 18, 2012. <https://www.facebook.com/events/841924295886777/>; “Movies of the April 10, 2004 Rally in San Francisco,” Zombietime. http://zombietime.com/sf_rally_april_10_2004/movies/

276. “Decision No: 2004-001 – In the Matter of the Broadcasting Act 1989 and in the Matter of a Complaint by Doug Clayton of Auckland,” Broadcasting Standards Authority. <https://bsa.govt.nz/decisions/3235-clayton-and-triangle-television-ltd-2004-001>

277. “Ground Zero mosque imam Abdallah Adhami says homosexuality the result of ‘violent emotional abuse,’” *The Telegraph*, January 31, 2011. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/8292283/Ground-Zero-mosque-imam-Abdallah-Adhami-says-homosexuality-the-result-of-violent-emotional-abuse.html>

278. Islamic Relief USA’s Facebook page, “Fundraising Iftar for Syria,” July 14, 2013. <https://www.facebook.com/events/668074436542616/>

279. Umar also claims that children who sleep in the same beds are more likely to become homosexual and encourages parents to “teach your males to be masculine. ... teach [the girls] to be feminine ... make them fall into their own gender.” See: Lecture by Mustafah Umar at the Islamic Institute of Orange County Masjid Omar Al-Farouk, Anaheim, California. “Islam and Homosexuality: Drawing the Lines – Mustafa Umar.” September 6, 2013. YouTube video, 31:52. September 29, 2013.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qOcJFbNKlks>

280. Islamic Relief UK, “Fundraising Dinner for Pakistan,” Facebook post, September 24, 2010. <http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/haddad-islamic-relief.jpg>

281. Kashmiri Gander, “Thousands sign petition to stop anti-gay scholar Haitham Al-Haddad from speaking day before National Student Pride festival,” *The Independent*, February 25, 2015. <http://www.independent.co.uk/student/news/thousands-sign-petition-to-stop-anti-gay-scholar-haitham-al-haddad-from-speaking-day-before-national-10066017.html>

282. “Haitham Al-Haddad,” *The Islamic Far-Right in Britain*, <https://tifrib.com/haitham-al-haddad/>

283. Ibid.

284. “QUILLIAM ALERT: Islam Channel and Promoting of Extremism,” Quilliam Foundation, April 30, 2009.

<https://www.quilliaminternational.com/quilliam-alert-islam-channel-and-the-promotion-of-extremism/>

285. Sermon by Yasir Qadhi. Audio. http://www.hurryupharry.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/11/abu_ammam_yasir_qadhi_-_tafsir_of_surah.mp3

Qadhi also justifies the murder of homosexuals:

[T]his is a part of our religion to stone the adulterer and to chop the head off of the sorcerer and so many other things, and to kill, by the way, the homosexual – this is also our religion. ... This is all a part of our religion. This doesn't mean we go and do this in America but I'm saying if we had an Islamic state we would do this.²⁸⁶

On September 12, 2009, Islamic Relief UK ran a fundraising event with Yusuf Estes.²⁸⁷ In an article on his own website, Estes writes: "Scholars of Islam have already made it clear what the position is on those who engage in homosexual activities." Estes links to a fatwa ruling, which proclaimed:

In order to maintain the purity of the Muslim society, most Muslim scholars have ruled that the punishment for this act should be the same as for zina (i.e. one hundred whiplashes for the man who has never married, and death by stoning for the married man). Some have even ruled that it should be death for both partners, because the Prophet, sallallahu alayhe wa sallam, said: 'Kill the doer and the one to whom it was done.'²⁸⁸

Estes further reprints and endorses an email on his website referring to gay people as "deviants" and "devils."²⁸⁹ And while giving a talk about homosexuality and Islam, Estes stated that homosexuality is "known to be from the Devil."²⁹⁰

In 2012, Islamic Relief UK held a fundraising event with Abdur-Raheem Green,²⁹¹ an extremist preacher from the Islamic Education and Research Academy, a prominent Salafi group based in London.²⁹² Green has openly displayed his hatred for Jews, in one video exhorting, "Why don't you take the Yahudi [Jew] over there, far away, so his stench doesn't disturb us, okay?"²⁹³ Green also claims that Turkish leader Kemal Ataturk was "an extremely, thoroughly unpleasant, nasty kafir [non-Muslim]. He was a Jew, he was a Jew. And not only was he a Jew, he belonged to a sect of the Jews that even the Jews think are far astray."²⁹⁴ In addition, Green regards the death penalty as a "suitable and effective" punishment for homosexuality and adultery and has ruled that wife-beating "is allowed."²⁹⁵

Islamic Relief Canada is no better. In 2010, IR-Canada sponsored an event with Zakir Naik, an Indian televangelist who endorses the death penalty for apostasy and homosexuality.²⁹⁶ Naik believes that the Jews "control America" and are the "strongest in enmity to Muslims." Furthermore, Naik has expressed praise for Osama Bin Laden.²⁹⁷ The event did not go ahead, after Toronto's moderate Muslim community successfully persuaded the government to ban Naik from entering Canada.²⁹⁸

In May 2017, IR-Canada organized a fundraising event with Nouman Ali Khan, a Salafi cleric who has also spoken at IR-USA events. Khan preaches that prostitutes and pornographic actors are "filth" and that "you have to punish them ... They're not killed; they're whipped. And they're whipped a hundred times." Khan also has declared that God gives men "license" to beat unfaithful wives and that Muslim women are committing a "crime" if they object to the religious text that he says permits this abuse.²⁹⁹

In both the UK and the United States, Islamic Relief has maintained a close relationship with the AlMaghrib Institute,³⁰⁰ a Salafi organization based in Texas with a branch in the UK. In 2008, "underwear bomber" Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab attended AlMaghrib seminars in both London and Houston.³⁰¹ Islamic Relief has organized fundraisers with AlMaghrib, and IRW founder Hany El-Banna has run joint events with AlMaghrib's clerics, including the Holocaust denier Yasir Qadhi, as well as AlMaghrib founder Muhammad Alshareef,³⁰² who warns that the "Jews were cursed" and that Muslims must not "imitate them" or "take them as allies."³⁰³

In June 2013, Islamic Relief UK hosted the homophobic preacher Omar Suleiman,³⁰⁴ who has been denounced in the media and by moderate Muslim groups for his description of homosexuality as a "disease" and a "repugnant shameless sin." He refers to the Islamic death penalty for the "people that practiced sodomy."³⁰⁵ In a talk titled "Fighting Zina," Suleiman prescribes strict rules for women, preaching that women must not uncover themselves in front of their cousins, that women being too close to their brothers may

286. Yasir Qadhi, The Islamic Far-Right in Britain. <https://tifrib.com/yasir-qadhi/>

287. JustGiving, "Water for Life," JustGiving. <https://web.archive.org/web/20090905073700/http://www.justgiving.com/mandera/>

288. "Yusuf Estes," The Islamic Far-Right in Britain. <https://tifrib.com/yusuf-estes/>

289. "Islamic Ruling Concerning Homosexuality," Al-Jumu'ah Magazine, December 1995. <http://www.islamtomorrow.com/gays/fatwa.htm>

290. "Mail Box By Yusuf Estes – What does Islam tell us about homosexual?" YouTube video, 3:15. June 12, 2009. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9m7hvkIaZXQ>

291. "Islamic Relief Worldwide," Stand for Peace. July 4, 2013. <http://standforpeace.org.uk/islamic-relief-worldwide-terror-connections-and-promotion-of-hate-preachers/>

292. "Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA)," Stand for Peace. February 18, 2014. <http://standforpeace.org.uk/islamic-education-and-research-academy-iera/>

293. Speech by Abdur-Raheem Green, 2:25. https://videos.files.wordpress.com/gCaFZAwwJ/abdurraheem-green-jewish-man-in-crowd_dvd.mp4

294. "Abdurraheem Green," The Islamic Far-Right in Britain. <https://tifrib.com/abdurraheem-green/>

295. Ibid.

296. Sadanand Dhume, "The Trouble with Dr. Zakir Naik," *Wall Street Journal*, June 20, 2010.

<http://www.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052748704365204575317833268479268>

297. Q&A Session with Dr. Zakir Naik, "Zakir Naik – Specious explanation about bin Laden and Taleban," YouTube video, 7:31. December 26, 2008.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BVtADPzyWTA>

298. Kathryn Blaze Carlson, "Controversial Muslim televangelist Zakir Naik banned from Toronto conference," *The National Post*, June 22, 2010.

<http://nationalpost.com/news/canada/controversial-muslim-televangelist-zakir-naik-banned-from-toronto-conference>

299. "Nouman Ali Khan" Playlist, YouTube, April 24, 2017. goo.gl/ECLkdZ

300. "Join Sh Omar Suleiman in London this week," AlMaghrib Institute, June 12, 2013. <http://archive.is/IewQP>

301. "Terror suspect attended 2008 Islamic 'knowledge fest' in Houston," CNN, December 31, 2009. <http://edition.cnn.com/2009/US/12/30/terror.suspect.seminar/index.html>

302. Mujahideen Ryder, "Al-Maghrib's and Islamic Relief's Online Fundraiser for Gaza – Hikmah," Mujahideen Ryder (blog), January 10, 2009. <https://archive.is/AZIWS>

303. Sermon by Muhammad Alshareef, "Why the Jews Were Cursed," Sunnah Online, February 17, 2001. <http://sunnahonline.com/ilm/jihaad/0006.htm>

304. "The Legacy of Uthman: An evening with Shaykh Omar Suleiman," Event Poster, Islamic Relief, June 14, 2013.

<http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Islamic-Relief-Omar-Suleiman.jpg>

305. Omar Suleiman, Facebook Post. April 4, 2013. Americans for Peace and Tolerance. <http://www.peaceandtolerance.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2016/05/os2.jpg>

In 2014, Islamic Relief Spain organized a fundraising event with Rateb El-Nabulsi, who has written that “the wicked Jews are a collection of defects and imperfections, and a hotbed of vices and evils. They are the worst enemies of God. ... God has made it a duty to fight them and wage Jihad against them so that the word of God will be supreme.”

lead to incest, and that a woman should never be alone with a man outside of her family. He warns, without condemnation, that women who commit adultery risk being killed by a family member.³⁰⁶ In another talk on the question of slavery in Islam, Suleiman defends sex slavery, or concubines, on the grounds that captured women would otherwise escape and become prostitutes – and that “society’s welfare” is more important than the “individual’s welfare.”³⁰⁷

Islamic Relief USA frequently runs events with other AlMaghrib officials,³⁰⁸ including anti-gay or anti-Semitic preachers such as Hakim Quick and Yasir Qadhi (profiled above), as well as Abu Eesa Niamatullah, an AlMaghrib “instructor” who has said of Jews (whom he refers to as the “children of Israel”): “They find it so easy and natural to do what they do....Look at them today, look at the way they massacre. They blow up babies like as if it’s a computer game. They have no humanity, no morality, no ethics.”³⁰⁹

Smaller Islamic Relief branches are just as problematic. In 2014, Islamic Relief Spain organized a fundraising event with Rateb El-Nabulsi,³¹⁰ a Syrian cleric who has written that “the wicked Jews are a collection of defects and imperfections, and a hotbed of vices and evils. They are the worst enemies of God. ... God has made it a duty to fight them and wage Jihad against them so that the word of God will be supreme.”³¹¹

In 2015, Islamic Relief Italy was widely criticized in the Italian media for organizing an event featuring Omar Abdelkafi,³¹² a cleric who has described the murders of Charlie Hebdo journalists in Paris as “the sequel to the comedy film of 9/11.”³¹³ Other Islamic Relief Italy speakers have included Tariq Suwaidan and Aidh Al-Qarni, two prominent supporters of Hamas. Suwaidan has stated: “Every mother of the Ummah – and not solely the Palestinian mothers – should nurture their children with hate for the sons of Zion. We need to instill this hatred in the hearts of our sons until a new generation will erase them (the sons of Zion) from Earth. (...) Each and every one of us should leave this room thinking about a plan to annihilate Israel.”³¹⁴

306. Omar Suleiman, “Fighting Zina – Imam Omar Suleiman,” YouTube video, 50:36. June 30, 2012. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XfUZknCITnc>

307. Omar Suleiman, “Slavery & Rape in Islamic Law Q&A with Omar Suleiman,” Bayyinah Institute, YouTube video, 26:23. November 23, 2015.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4sVo_-j2THE

308. Islamic Relief USA, “Opening Our Hearts for Syrian Refugees’ Webinar,” Facebook page. April 1, 2012. <https://www.facebook.com/events/879211022117165/>

309. Abu Eesa Niamatullah, “The Decree Upon Israel – For Killing #FREEPALESTINE,” YouTube video, 8:20. July 22, 2014.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qQ-z8GTszgo>

310. “From Spain with love: 100,000 Euros for Syria,” Islamic Relief Worldwide, June 11, 2014. <http://www.islamic-relief.org/from-spain-with-love-100000-euros-for-syria/>

311. Ratebl El-Nabulsi, “Ruling on Martyrdom Operations in Palestine, Translated by Investigative Project on Terrorism. <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/777.pdf>

312. Andrea Morigi, “Omar Abdelkafi, il seminatore d’odio in tour per l’Italia,” *Libero*, November 21, 2015.

<http://www.liberoquotidiano.it/news/italia/11851357/Omar-Abdelkafi--il-seminatore-d.html>

313. “Egyptian Cleric Omar Abdelkafi: The Paris Attacks are the Sequel to the Comedy Film of 9/11,” Clip 4782, Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), January 18, 2015.

<http://www.memri.org/tv/egyptian-cleric-omar-abdelkafi-paris-attacks-are-sequel-comedy-film-911>

314. Valentina Colombo, “Islam in Italia: comandano i Fratelli musulmani,” March 31, 2016. <http://www.informazionecorretta.com/main.php?mediaId=115&sez=120&id=61912>

Charity, Extremism & Terror

Non-violent Islamists have learned to exploit the West. They use liberal and democratic rhetoric in their pursuit of fundamentally illiberal and anti-democratic ideals. It is not uncommon to find Islamist organizations – with long histories of peddling hate against Jews, women and homosexuals – simultaneously involved with charitable activity. Muslim anti-Islamist activists claim that Islamists take part in these activities to sanitize their reputations and legitimize their claims to be genuine representatives of Western Muslims. In fact, as a recent Swedish government report into the Muslim Brotherhood recently concluded, charities such as Islamic Relief serve to provide “credibility” to Islamist movements.³¹⁵

Behind closed doors, non-violent extremists support the same ideals as violent extremists; they just disagree over methods. Many Islamist movements active in the West may not directly advocate violence in America and Europe, but its clerics and activists offer a worldview in which violence against non-Muslims is ultimately justified. Lawful Islamists play a key role in the topical problem of radicalization. As former British Prime Minister David Cameron noted in 2011: “As evidence emerges about the backgrounds of those convicted of terrorist offences, it is clear that many of them were initially influenced by what some have called ‘non-violent extremists’, and they then took those radical beliefs to the next level by embracing violence.”³¹⁶

Nevertheless, governments around the world continue to partner with non-violent Islamists, treating them as representatives of the Muslim community or allies in the fight against violent Islamism. In 2015, a British government inquiry conceded that, “[Muslim Brotherhood] engagement with Government has at times been facilitated by what appeared to be a common agenda against Al-Qaida and militant Salafism. But this engagement did not take account of Muslim Brotherhood support for a proscribed terrorist group and its views about terrorism which, in reality, were quite different from our own.”³¹⁷

Muslim voices have warned against treating lawful Islamists as reputable movements. According to Sheikh Hamza Yusuf, founder of Zaytuna College in California, groups such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS emerged from the Muslim Brotherhood’s extremist ideology.³¹⁸ Dr. Zuhdi Jasser, president of the American Islamic Forum for Democracy, has told the House Committee on Homeland Security: “It is time to stop engaging Muslim Brotherhood legacy groups in government and media and recognize their misogynist, anti-Semitic, homophobic, and anti-American ideological underpinnings. We must recognize that they are not the only voice for American Muslims.”³¹⁹

Islamist groups such as Islamic Relief serve to convince politicians, journalists and Western societies that the opposite is true. Whether in London, New York or the Gaza Strip, Islamic Relief works to legitimize Islamism as the voice of Islam, to the detriment of moderate Muslims everywhere. But given the clear evidence of extremism across the Islamic Relief franchise, how is it that this charity is held in such high esteem?

Charitable Legitimacy

The key to Islamic Relief’s success is the simple fact that it is a charitable organization, notwithstanding some of its expenditures appearing to end up in the hands of terror-linked organizations. And as a charity, it benefits from the instinctive public trust of charities and support for charitable efforts offered unquestioningly by politicians, journalists, faith groups and other nonprofits. This support serves to offer Islamic Relief even greater legitimacy.

The use of charity as a means to advance an Islamist cause is not a new idea. In the Gaza Strip, for example, Hamas terror operatives are involved with the school boards, the hospitals, the mosques, the community centers, the universities and almost all civic institutions. A great deal of aid money sent to Gaza eventually flows through accounts under Hamas control. Some critics might argue that it doesn’t matter if it is difficult for aid organizations to avoid Hamas; it only matters that the hungry are fed, the sick are healed and the homeless find shelter. But counter-terrorism analysts have come to realize that money donated to even the most benevolent of charitable activities can serve to benefit the extremists in charge.

Islamic Relief-funded groups in Gaza, such as the Gaza Zakat Committee or the Unlimited Friends Association (profiled above) function as Hamas *da’wah* organizations. Da’wah, in this context, is a form of social outreach employed by Islamist terrorist organizations as a means of reinforcing their rule. By providing such social services, including humanitarian aid in many cases, terrorist organizations gain political and moral legitimacy among the people under their control, as well as their supporters abroad.

315. Dr. Magnus Norell, “Muslimska Brödraskapet i Sverige,” Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, December 2016. Page 11.

https://www.msb.se/Upload/Kunskapsbank/Studier/Muslimska_Brodraskapet_i_Sverige_DNR_2107-1287.pdf

316. “PM’s speech at Munich Security Conference,” Prime Minister’s Office, 10 Downing Street, February 5, 2011.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference>

317. “Muslim Brotherhood Review: Main Findings,” House of Commons, December 17, 2015.

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/486932/Muslim_Brotherhood_Review_Main_Findings.pdf

318. Oren Litwin, “Sheikh Hamza Yusuf Condemns Islamism and Anti-Semitism,” Islamist Watch, January 9, 2017.

<http://www.islamist-watch.org/blog/2017/01/sheikh-hamza-yusuf-condemns-islamism-and-anti>

319. Dr. M. Zuhdi Jasser, “Identifying the Enemy: Radical Islamist Terror,” Testimony for Hearing before the House Committee on Homeland Security’s Subcommittee on Oversight and Management Efficiency, September 22, 2016. <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/HM/HMO9/20160922/105384/HHRG-114-HMO9-Wstate-JasserM-20160922.pdf>

“Hezbollah builds bombs. Hezbollah also builds homes. What Congress decided was when you help Hezbollah build homes, you are also helping Hezbollah build bombs.”

decided was when you help Hezbollah build homes, you are also helping Hezbollah build bombs.”³²² Other terrorist groups have learned from the Hamas and Hezbollah da’wah model. In 2012, *The Times* reported that Al-Qaeda terrorists in Mali “have subsidised state utilities, capped food prices and made welfare payments to the needy.”³²³

But the da’wah system is complicated. And that complication discourages media from scrutinizing Islamic charities too closely. Politicians, meanwhile, are unwilling to be seen opposing charitable endeavor. Furthermore, the da’wah model provides charities such as Islamic Relief with a useful excuse when, on a rare occasion, its Gaza aid programs are inspected. If Hamas controls everything in Gaza, then what option do charities have? As the Iranian-backed³²⁴ British activist and politician George Galloway has said, after handing over cash to Hamas officials: “I gave money to the Ministry of Health. The Ministry of Health happens to be governed by Hamas.”³²⁵

In truth, however, there are charities operating in the Gaza Strip that do manage to avoid funding Hamas front organizations. And as shown above, the links between the Islamic Relief franchise and the Muslim Brotherhood (and its Hamas affiliate) are simply too numerous to be ignored. A fundamental shift in understanding is required. If the West is to inhibit the growth of Islamist extremism, then policymakers must understand that extremism can be both violent and non-violent,

and that Islamist charitable organizations are not innately good simply because they are charitable. Governments must immediately end the donation of millions of taxpayers’ money to Islamic Relief and other charities financially linked with terrorists abroad and extremists at home. Politicians must avoid treating Islamist charities as representatives of ordinary Muslims, and the media should be far more willing to challenge the benevolent reputation that charities intrinsically enjoy.

“Because it’s Muslim, Islamic Relief enjoys greater access to funding. It’s included everywhere, people listen, they have access to the government. In these times, people want to be seen to be involving Islam.”

While Western governments are gradually waking up to the threat of global Islamism, charities such as Islamic Relief have continued to operate with impunity, perhaps also because of the vast amounts of public funds tied into their operations, or fears among politicians that voicing suspicion of an organization that claims to help feed the hungry and house the homeless would lead to accusations of anti-Muslim policies. Marie Juul Petersen, an academic at the University of Copenhagen, writes that Islamic Relief has always found it easy to obtain Western government funding, quoting a staff member of Islamic Relief saying “with some amusement” that, “Because it’s Muslim, Islamic Relief enjoys greater access to funding. It’s included everywhere, people listen, they have access to the government. In these times, people want to be seen to be involving Islam.”³²⁶

In 2015, the British government published a summary of its inquiry into the activities of the Muslim Brotherhood. The report’s author, Sir John Jenkins, concluded that “aspects of Muslim Brotherhood ideology and tactics, in this country and overseas, are contrary to our values and have been contrary to our national interests and our national security.”³²⁷ The full report was not published, and even the summary was only released after a year’s delay. While awaiting the report, Islamist operatives and supporters argued the inquiry was only commissioned by the prime minister to satisfy the demands of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, which have both outlawed the Muslim Brotherhood. The *Financial Times* added that the delay was due to arguments between ministers and public officials over the report’s findings and its likely effect on British allies in the Middle East.³²⁸

320. Azzam Tamimi, *Hamas: A History from Within*, Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2007, Page 38.

321. Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007. Page 23--24

322. Robert Barnes, “Supreme Court weighs free speech against aid to terrorists,” *The Washington Post*, February 24, 2010.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/02/23/AR2010022304877.html>

323. Jerome Starkey, “Al-Qaeda superstar wins friends in Mali with cheap food and charm,” *The Times*, November 29, 2012.

<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/al-qaeda-superstar-wins-friends-in-mali-with-cheap-food-and-charm-ljxd6gkx5j7>

324. Peter Tatchell, “Galloway’s Iranian propaganda?” *The Guardian*, March 26, 2008. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/mar/26/gallowaysiranianpropaganda>

325. Interview with George Galloway by George Stroumboulopoulos. “Controversial politician George Galloway reflects on the situation in Gaza,” YouTube video, 1:43. November 17, 2010. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iI8x_EZB1xg&feature=relmfu

326. Marie Juul Petersen, “For humanity or for the umma? Ideologies of aid in four transnational Muslim NGOs,” University of Copenhagen, 2011. Page 172.

327. “Muslim Brotherhood Review: Main Findings,” House of Commons, December 17, 2015.

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/486932/Muslim_Brotherhood_Review_Main_Findings.pdf

In the U.S., the Middle East Forum has identified almost 900 grants to Islamic Relief from 2000 to 2016 by over 50 corporate foundations, as well as a number of community and independent foundations. These grants total over \$4.3 million.

Two advisors closely involved with the Muslim Brotherhood review, however, have told the Middle East Forum that part of the reason for both the government's delay and its failure to publish the full report was because Islamist organizations in receipt of public funds were specifically named as Muslim Brotherhood organizations. One of these organizations, the two sources revealed, was Islamic Relief.

Islamic Relief also benefits from the credibility of its non-governmental partnerships. Journalists and politicians are far more likely to embrace Islamic Relief unquestioningly if it has secured the backing of other aid charities and faith groups. In the U.S., the Middle East Forum has identified almost 900 grants to Islamic Relief from 2000 to 2016 by over 50 corporate foundations, as well as a number of community and independent foundations. These grants total over \$4.3 million.³²⁹ The largest single donation was provided by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, which handed Islamic Relief almost \$1.4 million.³³⁰

In America and Britain, Islamic Relief has consistently sought the support of charities from different faith groups – particularly the Jewish community. What better way for Islamic Relief to distract from the anti-Semitism of its own officials than by pointing to its partnerships with mainstream Jewish organizations? In September 2014, for instance, Islamic Relief organized an event with the British charity World Jewish Relief, to “show solidarity with the people of Iraq.” Rabbi Laura Janner-Klausner, who heads the British Jewish community's Reform Judaism sect, spoke alongside Ibrahim Mogra, the assistant general secretary of the Muslim

Council of Britain, an organization managed by activists from the Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami. Five years earlier, in 2009, the British government severed relations with the Muslim Council of Britain after the British media revealed that some of its officials and affiliates were signatories to the Istanbul Declaration, a document that advocated attacks on British soldiers and Jewish communities.³³¹ Mogra has previously refused to share a platform with Ahmaddiyah Muslims, a moderate sect of Islam that Islamist movements regard as heretical.³³² Elsewhere, Mogra has been happy, however, to speak alongside Azzam Tamimi, an Islamist writer described as Hamas's “special envoy.”³³³

Media Legitimacy

Along with Islamic Relief's partners and financial supporters, many in the media are also to blame for the growth of Islamic Relief and other Islamist movements that have learned to exploit the opportunities of the non-profit world. Prominent journalists continue to claim that criticism of Islamist charities such as Islamic Relief is actually part of a “war” against Islamic charities. In making this exact argument, British journalists Alex Delmar-Morgan and Peter Osborne actually allude to Islamic Relief's Muslim Brotherhood links:

“On November 15 the United Arab Emirates (UAE) designated Islamic Relief a terror group along with over 80 other organisations, such as Isil, and Al-Qaeda. This charge against Islamic Relief is completely ludicrous and defamatory. UAE has been running a vicious campaign against the Muslim Brotherhood and the designation against Islamic Relief is a by-product of this.”³³⁴

In 2016, *Al-Jazeera* reported that HSBC had closed down Islamic Relief's bank accounts, and suggested it was due to “religious motives.”³³⁵ *Al-Jazeera* subsequently published another article arguing that the closure showed that Islamic Relief was being “victimised for political reasons” and the charity was now paying the “Islamic penalty.”³³⁶ The author was Muhammad Abdul Bari, the former secretary-general of the Muslim Council of Britain, which, a British government inquiry recently concluded, was established by the Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami, a South Asian Islamist movement.³³⁷

Mainstream media puffery also bolsters Islamic Relief's claim to possess a moderate agenda. Major newspapers all across the world regularly publish Islamic Relief press releases without pause for thought. In 2016, *CNN* listed IR-USA as a reputable charity as part of its “Impact Your World” campaign – adverts for which have been regularly broadcast on the worldwide *CNN* channel. *CNN*'s website actively encourages readers to donate.³³⁸

328. Kiran Stacey, “Whitehall report into Muslim Brotherhood delayed by wrangling,” *Financial Times*, August 17, 2014.

<https://www.ft.com/content/afd290a6-23c9-11e4-be13-00144feabdco>

329. Study of Form 990s from over 70 prominent corporate, community and independent foundations. Data held by the Middle East Forum.

330. Form 990-PF, Return of a Private Foundation, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, 2014.

http://990s.foundationcenter.org/990pf_pdf_archive/562/562618866/562618866_201412_990PF.pdf#page=92

331. Hazel Blears, “Our shunning of the MCB is not grandstanding,” *The Guardian*, March 25, 2009. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/mar/25/islam-terrorism>

332. David T, “Boycotting Moderates,” Harry's Place (blog), June 13, 2006. <http://hurryupharry.org/2006/06/13/boycotting-moderates/>

333. “Harakah Has Tarnished Malaysia's Reputation, Says Shabery,” *Bernama*, June 27, 2006.

http://web.archive.org/web/20090124110634/http://www.bernama.com/bernama/v3/news_lite.php?id=205496

334. Alex Delmar-Morgan and Peter Osborne, “The continuing war against Islamic charities,” *The Daily Telegraph*, December 2, 2014.

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/11267466/The-continuing-war-against-Islamic-charities.html>

335. Shafik Mandhai, “HSBC bank cuts off services to Muslim charity,” *Al-Jazeera*, January 4, 2016.

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/01/hsbc-bank-cuts-services-islamic-relief-charity-160104152429151.html>

336. Muhammad Abdul Bari, “British Muslim charities are paying ‘Islamic penalty,’” *Al-Jazeera*, January 10, 2016.

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/01/menace-haunting-muslim-charities-160107110210362.html>

337. “Muslim Brotherhood Review: Main Findings,” House of Commons, December 17, 2015.

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/486932/Muslim_Brotherhood_Review_Main_Findings.pdf

338. “Help Syrians survive the conflict,” *CNN*, August 31, 2016. <http://www.cnn.com/2015/01/06/world/iyw-syria-resource-list/index.html>

What Now?

Ultimately, Islamist extremism will triumph if the West, first, remains unable to accept that Islamists exploit liberal and democratic ideas, processes and institutions to further their agenda; and second, fails to distinguish between legitimate criticism of fundamentalist ideology and genuine anti-Muslim bigotry – the conflation of the two is dangerous casuistry, which groups such as Islamic Relief all too often exploit.

Islamic Relief is an Islamist institution. It was established by the Muslim Brotherhood and today continues to be run by key Brotherhood officials. It has funding arrangements with extremist and terrorist institutions, employs and appoints staff and trustees who express hatred for Jews and the West and provides platforms on a monthly basis to extremist preachers who spew anti-Semitic, homophobic and misogynistic rhetoric.

Journalists should be more willing to challenge Islamic Relief and question the ultimate destination of the millions of dollars it spends in the Middle East. Corporate foundations and other charities should no longer partner with Islamist organizations merely because they hold charitable status and do not appear on designated terrorist lists. And religious organizations looking for interfaith partners should not presume Islamic Relief is a representative body of Western Muslims simply because of its wealth and influence.

The most important responsibility, however, lies with the politicians. For decades, Western governments have bestowed funds and legitimacy on Islamic Relief. This patronage has ensured that a small group of Islamist students and activists from a city in England would come to manage a global franchise that has the ear of Princes and Presidents, while serving as the vanguard for Islamism in the West and a fig-leaf for the extremism that grips Muslim communities.

In the U.S., there are a number of urgent and necessary steps that politicians must take. Legislation prohibiting public grants to any Islamic Relief branch must be enacted. Charitable umbrella bodies and interfaith coalitions should also be prevented from receiving taxpayers' funds for as long as Islamic Relief is one of their member-bodies.

Government departments must also institute policies barring collaboration with Islamic Relief. Such interdictions have existed before. After the 2008 terrorism financing trial of an Islamist charity named the Holy Land Foundation, the Department of Justice cut ties with the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), an unindicted coconspirator and a current partner of Islamic Relief.³³⁹ In addition, Islamic Relief officials should be removed as advisers to government departments. USAID, FEMA and state governments must stop working with Islamic Relief on disaster assistance. And programs such as AmeriCorps must exclude Islamic Relief from its list of partners.

Further, legislators must encourage law enforcement agencies and the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to look into Islamic Relief's activities in the Gaza Strip and examine allegations made by Egyptian prosecutors that Islamic Relief branches were funding the Muslim Brotherhood government.

The IRS must also investigate the possibility of removing Islamic Relief's tax-exempt status, which amounts to a public subsidy of Islamic Relief's work. There are indeed grounds for stripping tax-exempt status: in 1983, the Supreme Court ruled that non-profit institutions could lose tax-exempt status if their behavior conflicted with the public interest. In that particular case, *Bob Jones University v. United States*, the court concluded that the university's racist policies violated a "fundamental public policy."³⁴⁰ Islamic Relief officials openly incite hatred against Jews, and Islamic Relief branches fund extremists tied to the designated terrorist group, Hamas. Its behavior clearly conflicts with the public interest.

In Europe, legislators must also cut ties with Islamic Relief. In concert with the American government, lawmakers must appeal to international bodies to exclude Islamic Relief and halt all funding. European countries have more vigorous means to censure or shut down charities that use their charitable status to advance extremist agenda. In Britain, for example, the Charity Commission should thoroughly investigate the ample evidence that Islamic Relief is promoting and funding extremism.

Lawmakers should also demand that charitable umbrella organizations such as the Disasters Emergency Committee strip Islamic Relief of membership. In Germany, auditors should continue to investigate Islamic Relief's reported financial irregularities and halt all further distribution of public grants to Islamic Relief branches. In Sweden, the government should investigate Islamic Relief's activity in the Gaza Strip and Syria. Members of the European Parliament, meanwhile, must demand an end to all European Union and member-countries' partnerships with Islamic Relief pending a thorough investigation that considers evidence provided by Egypt, Israel and the United Arab Emirates.

Ultimately, if Western governments are serious about fighting the intolerant, divisive and violent effects of global Islamism, then Islamic Relief must be shut down. It is the flagship institution of non-violent Islamism. There are certainly Muslim charities that do not promote extremism and subsidize terrorism. Why should taxpayers all over the world fund a charity that does?

339. "Review of FBI Interactions with the Council on American-Islamic Relations," Department of Justice, September 2013. <https://oig.justice.gov/reports/2013/eo7071-summary.pdf>

340. "*Bob Jones University v. United States* (No. 81-3)," Decided: May 24, 1983, Cornell Law School. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/461/574>

Islamic Relief

Charity/Extremism/Terror



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