

Islamist Antisemitism in the United States

Yehudit Barsky and Ehud Rosen | April 3, 2023

Yehudit Barsky, a Research Fellow at the Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy, and Ehud Rosen, a team member of the INSS's project on Contemporary Antisemitism in the United States, analyze the involvement of Islamist antisemitism in the US. They emphasize the "rebranding" and mainstreaming of Islamist groups by utilizing the wide interest in human and minority rights in the US, taking advantage of growing societal divisions and the advance of "intersectionality" and the ongoing activity of far-left activist groups together with Islamists, also known as the "red-green alliance". The "red-green alliance" serves as a unifying axis of anti-Israel mobilization and operates on the basis of shared agendas of anti-globalization, anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism.

While the US has focused its discourse in recent years on the rise of right-wing extremism, discussion of Islamist extremism has been relegated to elements of the far-right, mainly by those who frame it in the context of so-called "anti-sharia" activism. This framing, in addition to increased discourse on minority rights, has effectively stifled the possibility of having any proper discussion of the issue in relation to antisemitism. The unprecedented 75% surge in antisemitic incidents throughout the US in the weeks during and following the 2021 Gaza conflict (Matza, 2021) confirms the need for such a discussion.

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Over the past few years, the role of both political Islam and Islamist groups and their ideologies in preventing or promoting radicalization has been at the core of European discourse. In the US, however, this has not been the case. This difference, in part, can be attributed to a successful “rebranding” of Islamist groups in the US, which were previously perceived as connected to extremist entities. Additionally, over the past decade, American Islamist groups, such as those affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, have developed “red-green” alliances with American progressives and left-wing movements to recast themselves as advocates of human and minority rights organizations or as advocates of reform. While our focus is on Islamists in the US – who frequently purport to be the ‘voice’ of the Muslim community -- it should be noted that Islamists do not represent the majority of American Muslims. A 2011 Gallup poll demonstrated that when shown a list of national Muslim American organizations, 55% of male and 42% of female Muslim American respondents stated that “no national Muslim American organization represents a large percentage of the community” (Gallup, 2011). A 2017 Pew study revealed that the majority of American Muslims do not attend mosque weekly, and, in contradistinction to the ideology of Islamists, 64% believe that there is more than one way to interpret Islam, and 52% believe that traditional understandings of Islam must be reinterpreted (Sciupac, 2017). To date, there have been no mainstream surveys specifically measuring antisemitic attitudes of Muslim Americans toward Jews.

A recent study based on two questions put to 5000 Muslim American respondents from the Democracy Fund + UCLA Nationscape survey of US voters found that “Muslim Americans display higher levels of antisemitism than non-Muslims, but many Muslims harbor little or no negativity toward Jews” (Cohen, 2022).

Islamists’ Antisemitic Ideology

The expression of antisemitic ideology by Islamist movements is primarily based on their leaders’ extremist interpretations of Islamic sources. Their reading of the Quran, the hadith, and the commentaries portray the Arabian Jews of Muhammad’s era as a stubborn and perverse people. Because Jews rejected Muhammad’s message, the Islamist movements’ reading of these sources depict Jews as rebels against divine commands who reject and try to kill God’s prophets (Lewis, 1986; Maududi, n.d.-b). Islamist ideologues also rely on medieval Islamic theologians, such as Ibn Hazm and al-Maqdisi, who depict

Jews as falsifying and corrupting the text of the Torah, thus delegitimizing Judaism as a religion (Ibn Hazm, 1960; Adang, 1999). Additionally, themes of Western antisemitism, such as conspiracy theories regarding Jews taking over the wider Middle East (Maududi, n.d.-a, n.d.-b) and the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion,” have been widely incorporated into Islamist sources, most notably the Covenant of Hamas, the Palestinian counterpart of the Muslim Brotherhood (Hamas, 1988).

Modern works written by Muslim Brotherhood ideologues such as Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb and Abul A’la Maududi, Hamas leaders, and others demonize Jews via their own radical interpretations of Islamic texts. The founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hassan al-Banna, called upon his followers to “obliterate” Israel, declaring that it will continue to exist until Muslims destroy it themselves (Hamas, 1988). Translating his words into actions, al-Banna and his movement carried out violent attacks on local Egyptian Jews (Stillman, 2005) and also sent volunteers to fight Israel in the 1948 war (Ikhwanweb, 2008).

Jews are depicted as being inherently immoral and deviant (Muhammad, 2010) and are accused of corrupting the text of the Torah (Qutb, 1979). The founder of the Jama’at-e-Islami, Abul A’la Maududi, asserts that the gathering of Jews in Israel is a portent of the end of days when Jews will follow a Satanic messiah and all Jews will be annihilated (Maududi, n.d.-b). Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Sayyid Qutb cast Jews as the “worst enemies” of Muslims, defining Jews as polytheists [*mushrikin*], or idolaters. He further charged Jews with corruption for having established Israel and promised his followers that they would witness the Jews being subjected to the “worst of torments” as punishment (Qutb, 1993). Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmad Yassin asserted that the final punishment of Jews will come at the hands of the Muslims (Bartal, 2016). The late global ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, asserted that Hitler’s genocide of the Jews was “divine punishment.” He declared, “Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the [Jews] people who would punish them for their corruption. The last punishment was carried out by Hitler.” Qaradawi anticipated a future punishment in which Jews will be punished at the hands of Muslim believers (Middle East Media Research Institute, 2009) and praised Palestinian suicide bombings targeting Jews in Israel as the “greatest form of martyrdom” (al-Qaradawi, 2002).

Violent Islamist Attacks in the US

The American Jewish community's longstanding concern over antisemitism reflects the persistence of anti-Jewish animus in the US. According to the FBI official hate crimes statistics, Jews were consistently the most targeted religious group in the US from 1995 through 2021 (US Department of Justice - Federal Bureau of Investigation, (2022; FBI, 2021; FBI, 2019). According to the FBI, there were 817 antisemitic hate crimes that occurred throughout the US in 2021, a 20 percent surge compared to 683 such incidents in 2020 (US Department of Justice - Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2022). Moreover, the ADL, the American Jewish community's organization responsible for monitoring antisemitism, reported 3,697 incidents of assault, harassment and vandalism that targeted Jews throughout the country in 2022. ADL described the 2022 figures as a 36% increase over 2,717 incidents in 2021 and the level of incidents as the "highest number on record" since it began monitoring antisemitic incidents in 1979 (Anti-Defamation League, 2023). In New York, the largest community of American Jews, the New York Police Department reported that there were 45 antisemitic hate crimes for November 2022, representing 60 percent of all hate crimes in the city, again demonstrating that Jews are the most targeted religious group. It reflected a 125% increase of antisemitic hate crimes from the same period in 2021, which averaged to one attack every 16 hours (Tress, 2022c).

From the 1980s until the 9/11 attacks, prominent leaders of Islamist and jihadist movements regularly visited the US seeking recruits, funding, and supporters among American Muslims (Wright, 2002; Williams & McCormick, 2012). Due to the shared element of antisemitic ideologies of these movements, radicalized adherents of al-Qaeda, the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS), Hamas, operatives of Hezbollah and Iran's al-Quds Force, and other violent jihadists have continuously targeted Jews. From the late 1980s through the present, followers of these organizations have targeted synagogues, Jewish communal institutions, Jewish leaders, and Israeli targets. The majority of incidents were bombing or shooting attacks that were foiled (Barsky, 2016).

Violent adherents of these movements remain an ongoing security challenge. In 2017 a Hezbollah covert operative was arrested in New York and later convicted of surveilling Israeli targets (US Department of Justice [USDOJ]–US Attorney's Office, Southern District of New York, 2019). Two Iranian agents were arrested following their surveillance activities of a campus Hillel house and a Chabad synagogue in 2018 (US v. Ghorbani, 2018). A radicalized follower of ISIS was arrested in 2018 for plotting a mass shooting attack against an Ohio synagogue (USDOJ, Office of Public Affairs, 2018). In 2019, four violent

followers of al-Qaeda, Hamas, and ISIS were arrested for plotting four separate terror attacks, including plans to bomb and shoot at two synagogues, bomb an area targeting Jews, and to shoot at Jewish and pro-Israel demonstrators (Ross, 2019; Sharpe, 2019; US Department of Justice, Office of Public Affairs, 2019a, 2019b).

In January 2022 a terrorist incident at Congregation Beth Israel in Colleyville, Texas was carried out by Malik Faisal Akram, a British Islamist who became radicalized via the Tablighi Jamaat movement (North, 2022; SADF, 2020). During a Sabbath morning service, Akram took the rabbi and three congregants as hostages at gunpoint and demanded that the imprisoned al-Qaeda operative Aafia Siddiqui, who was convicted of attempting to murder US servicemen, be freed (Hamilton, 2022; Goldman, 2010; Walsh, 2011). Siddiqui infamously made virulently antisemitic statements at her trial, blamed Israel for her guilty verdict (Goldman, 2010), and wrote to then President Obama accusing Jews of being “cruel, ungrateful, and backstabbing,” which, she asserted, was the reason why “‘holocausts’ [sic] keep happening to them repeatedly” (Shahid, 2022).

In early November 2022 the FBI issued a regionwide security alert to synagogues throughout the state of New Jersey (Dienst, 2022). A week later Omar Alkattoul, a young radicalized Muslim who reportedly described himself as a supporter of al-Qaeda and ISIS, was arrested for transmitting a threat using the internet (US Department of Justice US Attorney’s Office District of New Jersey, 2022). Alkattoul wrote a manifesto titled “When Swords Collide,” which contained threats to attack a synagogue and Jewish people. He sent the manifesto to another individual describing it as “in the context of an attack on Jews” and further distributed it to five other individuals all via the internet. Alkattoul attempts to legitimize his motives in a section of the manifesto titled, “Why hatred towards Jews is a good thing even if they’re not Zionists” and asserts, “So the motive of this attack is hatred towards Jews and their heinous acts” (US Department of Justice US Attorney’s Office District of New Jersey, 2022) (US v. Alkattoul, 2022).

To understand the larger picture, however, it is necessary to gain a deeper insight into US-based political Islamist elements, which play a growing role in both internal and external discourses regarding antisemitism and identity politics.

The ‘Mainstreaming’ of Political Islamist Groups in the US

In the 1960s, following a wave of immigration from Middle Eastern and South Asian countries to the US, adherents of the Muslim Brotherhood and the Indian subcontinental Jama'at-e Islami (Merley, 2009) established the first Islamist organizations in the US that promoted ideological antisemitism (Merley, 2009). In 1962, "the Ikhwan," (members of the Muslim Brotherhood) formed the Muslim Students Association (MSA) (US v. HLF et al., 2008a), which later established the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) in 1981 (Islamicity, 2015; InFocus, 2008).

In 1983 MSA opened a \$21 million headquarters complex outside of Indianapolis, Indiana. Funds were raised from the emir of Qatar, the late Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi (see below), and a prominent European Muslim Brotherhood figure, Yusuf Nada (Mintz and Farah, 2004). The complex serves as ISNA headquarters today (Merley, 2007).

In parallel to ISNA, adherents of the Jama'at-e Islami founded the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) in 1968 (Uddin, 1999). The founder of the Jama'at-e Islami, Abul A'la al-Maududi, participated in the ICNA's first public event in 1974 at Columbia University (Message International, 2016). ICNA is considered a branch of the larger Jama'at-e Islami movement in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and the UK (Nasr, 1994). It still distributes the antisemitic writings of its founder Abul A'la Maududi (Maududi, n.d.-a, 2018, 2021) and the writings of the vehemently antisemitic ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood, Yusuf al-Qaradawi (Middle East Media Research Institute [MEMRI], 2009, 2019a; ICNA Sisters, 2020).

Just as Middle Eastern and South Asian Islamist political movements and their Western adherents have historically employed the narrative of being advocates of reform and democracy to appeal to both the sensibilities of their followers and to Westerners, Islamist groups in the US have acted similarly and engaged in persistent and continuing efforts over the last three decades to obfuscate the activities of the radicalized Islamists among them. They have campaigned to support radicalized Islamists convicted of supporting terrorist organizations, falsely depicting them as civil rights or human rights activists. One such individual is Sami Al-Arian. Al-Arian, a founder of ISNA (IslamOnline, 2002), was prosecuted for his involvement in Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), a terrorist organization responsible for acts of violence targeting Israeli Jews including horrific suicide bombings, shootings, stabbings and vehicle rammings. Al-Arian was indicted along with 7 others (US v. Sami Amin Al-Arian et al., 2003) including PIJ's international leadership abroad, with creating a "US-based Palestinian Islamic Jihad cell" (USDOJ, 2003a) and engaging in a

“racketeering enterprise from 1984 until the present that supported numerous violent terrorist activities associated with the Palestinian Islamic Jihad” (USDOJ, 2003b). Ultimately Al-Arian pleaded guilty in 2006, admitting to lying about his fundraising for PIJ (Silvestrini, 2006) and violating US law by “mak[ing] or receiv[ing] contributions of funds, goods or services to or for the benefit of Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a Specially Designated Terrorist” (US v. Sami al-Arian, 2006a; USDOJ, 2006). At his sentencing, the judge denounced Al-Arian for lying about his activities stating, “The evidence is clear that you were a leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad” (US v. Sami Al-Arian, 2006b). Al-Arian received a 57-month prison sentence with 3 years of supervised release, was stripped of his US citizenship (USDOJ, 2006b) and deported to Turkey in 2015 (Gerstein, 2015).

Despite Al-Arian’s admitted provision of support for PIJ, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), founded in 1994 (CAIR, 2022a), incongruously praised Al-Arian as a “humanitarian” and “former US political prisoner” (CAIR-FL, 2020b). In 2014 CAIR presented its “Promoting Justice” award to Al-Arian and his family (CAIR-California, 2014). Following his deportation to Turkey (Tampa Bay Times, 2015) Al-Arian was appointed as the director of the Center for Islam and Global Affairs at the Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University, a post he still holds today. He maintains his longstanding relationship with CAIR, which produced a video lauding him as a “community activist and humanitarian” (CAIR-FL, 2020b).

Similarly, CAIR continues to defend the American-based Holy Land Foundation and five of its leaders who were convicted of providing material support to the Hamas terrorist organization at the end of 2008 (USDOJ, 2009). A CAIR video focusing on the now imprisoned Holy Land Foundation leaders referred to them as “political prisoners” and as a “group of wrongfully convicted humanitarians” who were the victims of “one of the biggest cases of U.S. political persecution of the century” (CAIR-FL, 2020a). CAIR has similarly defended Aafia Siddiqui and has campaigned for her release, characterizing her as a “Muslim woman fighting to empower her community” (CAIR-FL, 2020a). More recently, CAIR and the MSA have come to the defense of Sheikh Salman al-Odah, an antisemitic Salafi Saudi cleric (TRTWorld, 2019). Al-Odah has promoted the pernicious antisemitic blood libel asserting that Jews consume human blood for ritual purposes (MEMRI, 2012).

As part of their continued effort to rebrand themselves, many of the groups affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood claim that their Islamist ties belonged to the past or even have gone so far as to claim they never existed in the first place. Activists and clerics from the younger generation are often presented as

no longer being connected to Islamist Middle Eastern or Indian subcontinental ideologies or networks. While ISNA asserts on its website that it “is not now nor has it ever been subject to the control of any other domestic or international organizations including the Muslim Brotherhood” (ISNA, 2020a), it nevertheless demonstrates continuity with its founding organizational leadership. Recently ISNA praised its current interfaith leader, Saffet Abid Catovic, as possessing a “rich MSA/ISNA inheritance” (Bin Abdullah, 2022). Catovic, who was involved in the aforementioned MSA and today serves as an MSA advisor on campus (Islamic Horizons, 2022), was also a founder of another ISNA affiliate, the Muslim Youth of North America (MYNA). He characterized his involvement with ISNA as being multigenerational, describing his parents as being “involved with ISNA ever since its inception as MSA” (Islamic Horizons, 2022). However, Catovic previously served as the New Jersey spokesman for Benevolence International Foundation (BIF) (De Visé, 2001), which was designated in 2002 by the US Treasury Department and United Nations Security Council as an international financier of terrorism for Usama bin Ladin and al-Qaeda (US Department of Treasury, 2002; US Department of Treasury Office of Foreign Assets Control, 2022; United Nations Security Council, 2002).

ISNA also continues to praise and legitimize Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist figures and their writings. For example, following the death of Yusuf al-Qaradawi, the vociferously antisemitic Muslim Brotherhood ideologue, ISNA praised him as “one of the 20th century’s most influential Islamic scholars — some say the Renewer of Islam” (Islamic Horizons, 2022a). Additionally, it issued a September 2022 Facebook post mourning al-Qaradawi’s loss and lauding him as a “great scholar.” In the Facebook post, ISNA proudly published a photograph of al-Qaradawi participating in its 1979 convention, demonstrating its longstanding relationship with him. Furthermore, the Facebook post included a photograph of the English cover page of one of al-Qaradawi’s most popular books among his Western followers (ISNA, 2022). Among the translators of the English version of Al-Qaradawi’s book were Mohammed Moinuddin Siddiqui, the recipient of ISNA’s 2002 Community Service Recognition Award (ISNA, 2022b) and the late Kemal al-Helbawy (ISNA, 2022), a longtime prominent Muslim Brotherhood leader in the UK and former spokesman for the organization in the West (Egypt Today, 2018). Also listed on the cover page is former ISNA president Ahmad Zaki Hammad (ISNA, 2022b) who reviewed the translation (ISNA, 2022). ISNA published and continues to distribute al-Qaradawi’s works (al-Qaradawi, 1994, 1999) as well as those of other Muslim Brotherhood ideologues such as Sayyid Qutb via American Trust

Publications (Qutb, n.d.; Qutb, n.d.-a), the publishing arm of its subsidiary organization, the North American Islamic Trust (Datanyze, 2022; North American Islamic Trust, 2022; 2022a).

In a statement echoing that of ISNA, the US Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO) extolled al-Qaradawi as “inarguably one of the most influential Islamic scholars (some say the Renewer (Al-Mujaddid) of Islam) of the last century” (USCMO, 2022). CAIR national executive director Nihad Awad lauded him as “the most influential contemporary Muslim scholar” (Awad, 2022). ICNA also mourned Al-Qaradawi’s death, characterizing it as a “great loss” and “particularly to Islamic Movement [sic]” (ICNA Sisters, 2022).

ISNA reacted likewise to the death in early 2022 of Muhammad Yusuf Islahi, the late leader of Jama’at-e Islami Hind (JI’s Indian branch). ISNA’s former president Muzammil Siddiqui (Islamicity, 2022) praised Islahi in ISNA’s *Islamic Horizons* magazine as a “respected scholar and spiritual mentor,” and as the “spiritual patron and counsellor” (Siddiqui, 2022) of a proselytization program run by ICNA. Islahi is reported to have promoted the noxious antisemitic conspiracy theory that the 9/11 attacks are a conspiracy to defame Muslims while he asserted that Jews were responsible for it. (Ahmad, 2004) For its part, ICNA lauded Islahi as “a man of wisdom” and “an integral part of ICNA’s National Conventions” (ICNA Sisters 2021a).

ISNA’s praise has also extended to jihadist leaders. On the first day of its 2021 convention, ISNA issued a statement incongruously lauding the late Kashmiri jihadist separatist leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani (Sikand, 2010) as a “visionary” and “peaceful advocate” (ISNA, 2021b) and more recently in its magazine as a “symbol of humanity and champion of human rights worldwide” (Fai, 2022). The ICNA and the USCMO likewise issued statements respectively praising him for his “vision, faith, courage and consistency,” “steadfast guidance,” (ICNA Sisters, 2021; ICNA, 2021), and “brilliant political leadership” (USCMO, 2021b). Geelani, leader of Jama’at-e Islami of Jammu and Kashmir and later of Tehreek e-Hurriyat, praised the antisemitic leader of al-Qaeda, Usama bin Ladin (Lewis, 1998) as a “martyr,” organized funeral prayers in absentia for him (News Hour India, 2011), and called upon Muslim clerics worldwide to perform funeral prayers for him (Hindustan Times, 2011).

ISNA continues to invite extremist speakers to its conventions, including Imam Siraj Wahhaj, leader of the Muslim Alliance of North America (MANA)(see below) who previously served as an executive council member and a former vice-president of ISNA (Wahhaj, 2020; ISNA, 2021a)(ISNA, 2022a). Wahhaj was

the main speaker at a fundraiser for Aafia Siddiqui (Aafia, 2016). Additionally, at his mosque, Wahhaj provided a platform for the late antisemitic “blind sheikh” Omar Abdel-Rahman, the jihadist cleric and spiritual leader of al-Qaeda, and later testified as a character witness on his behalf (US v. Rahman, 1995; Barrett, 2007). Convicted for his involvement in a plot to bomb five New York City landmarks (Fried, 1996), Abdel-Rahman issued a directive from jail to his followers calling for Jews worldwide to be “pushed into their graves” (CNN, 2000).

Other similar speakers regularly invited to ISNA include the self-styled Americanized Salafi preachers Yasir al-Qadhi (MEMRI, 2019b; Yale Alumni Magazine, 2011; ISNA, 2020, 2021a) and Omar Suleiman (Kampeas, 2019; Meleagrou-Hitchens, 2018; ISNA, 2020; ISNA, 2021a). In September 2021, Omar Suleiman was a main speaker at a demonstration demanding the release of Aafia Siddiqui outside of the Texas prison where she is incarcerated (Omar Suleiman – Official, 2021). Al-Qadhi has defended the antisemitic eschatological hadith referring to the Muslim theological Day of Judgement, known as “The Prophecy of the Rock and the Tree” (Sunnah, n.d.), which is also quoted in the Hamas Charter. He has also reiterated an antisemitic canard claiming that “we Muslims cannot be anti-Semites because our Prophet was a Semite and Abraham was a Semite” (MEMRI, 2019b). Another regularly featured speaker at ISNA is Imam Zaid Shakir (ISNA, 2021a) (ISNA, 2022a) who, in a discussion in 2021 of al-Qaeda’s 9/11 attacks against the US, repeated the malicious antisemitic conspiracy theory asserting that the Mossad was responsible for the attacks (Muslim Alliance in North America, 2021).

Some of these founding groups have offshoots as well, particularly those affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim American Society (MAS) was formed in 1993 (MAS, 2022) to promote deeper integration between the Muslim Brotherhood and Jama’at-e Islami (Merley, 2009) and jointly hold conventions of the MAS and ICNA (MASCon, 2021). MAS continues to host extremist speakers, such as former Malaysian president Mahathir bin Mohamad (Bin Mohamad, 2020), who has denied the Holocaust and unabashedly declared Jews to be “hook-nosed” (Bachner, 2018). It has also hosted the Kuwaiti Muslim Brotherhood leader Tareq al-Suwaidan (MAS, 2020; JTA, 2014). Al-Suwaidan has authored an extensive antisemitic encyclopedia, which promotes the conspiracy theory of global control by secretive Jewish elites (Suwaidan, 2009) and has called upon Muslim mothers to teach their children to hate Jews (MEMRI, 2014). Speakers at the 2022 mid-year ICNA-MAS conference included the aforementioned Siraj Wahhaj, Yasir Qadhi, Omar Suleiman as well as Zahra Billoo of CAIR and Hatem Bazian of American

Muslims for Palestine (see below) (ICNA Convention, 2022). The most recent MAS-ICNA 2022 convention also featured Siraj Wahhaj, Omar Suleiman, and Zaid Shakir, and included a session promoting Yusuf al-Qaradawi titled, “Qaradawi’s Legacy for Living Islam in Modernity” (MASCon, 2022).

Additionally, the US-based Muslim Brotherhood affiliates established several organizations to support Hamas, including the now defunct Holy Land Foundation convicted of fundraising for Hamas (FBI, 2009) (USDOJ, 2009), and the Islamic Association for Palestine, also now obsolete (USDOJ, 2010). The Islamic Association for Palestine, which reportedly received \$490,000 in funding from senior Hamas leader Musa Abu Marzook (Dickey, 2002), translated and disseminated the antisemitic Hamas Charter (Journal of Palestine Studies, 1993) and distributed its own antisemitic pamphlet titled, “America’s Greatest Enemy: The Jew! And An Unholy Alliance!” (Islamic Association for Palestine, n.d.). The aforementioned CAIR worked together with these groups as “a participant in a network of U.S.-based organizations affiliated with the designated foreign terrorist organization, Hamas” (US v. HLF, 2007). In 2013 CAIR admitted to receiving Qatari funding (CAIR, 2013).

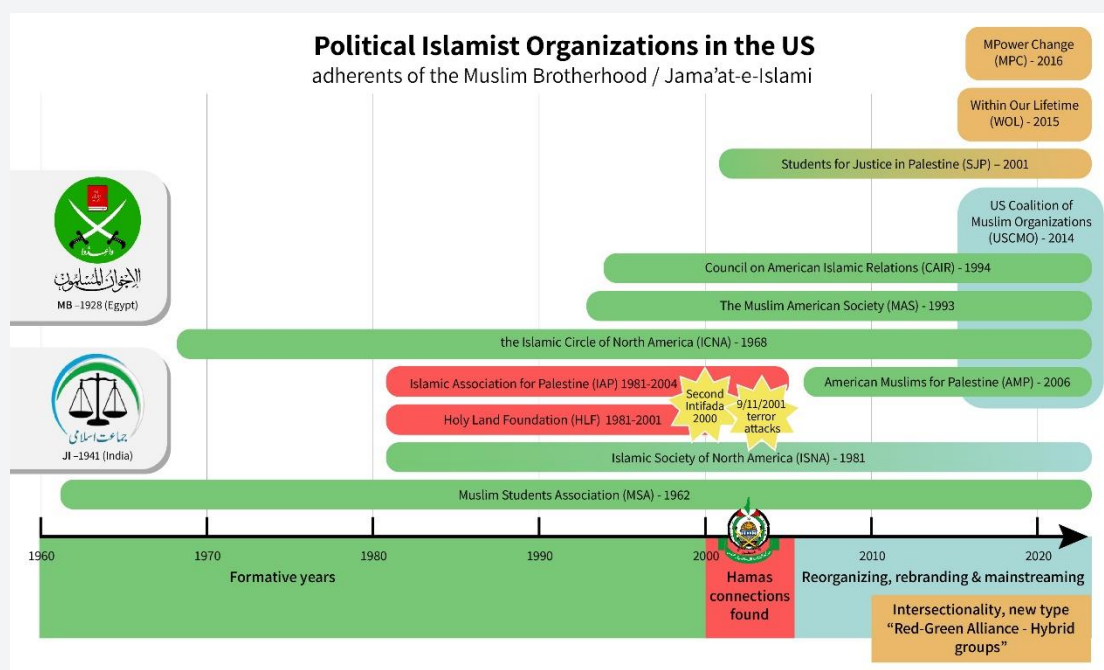
Following the closure of the Islamic Association for Palestine and Holy Land Foundation, some former officials of their respective leadership reorganized in 2005 as American Muslims for Palestine (American Muslims for Palestine [AMP], 2011; Following the Money, 2016). The AMP has called on its followers to honor an unrepentant Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine terrorist (Lubet, 2022) who was convicted of a bombing that murdered two Israeli university students (Sugarman, 2017) and injured 20 others (Mickolus, 1980). It declared, “If more people were like her, we would live in a more just world” (Burns, 2019; AMP, 2017). AMP founder and leader Hatem Bazian has promoted antisemitic canards, including retweeting malicious antisemitic memes portraying Jews as stealing human organs and referring to Jews as “Ashke-Nazis.” He was later forced to apologize (Haaretz, 2017). Furthermore, Bazian has declared that “The ‘Jewish nation’ is the central myth of Zionism. It needs to be dismantled” (Bazian, 2018a). Similarly, AMP executive director Osama Abu Irshaid utilized antisemitic tropes accusing American supporters of Israel of “double loyalty” and being “Israel firsters” (MASICNA Convention, 2017). AMP also supports the destruction of Israel and the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement (AMP, 2019a; AMP, 2020a).

In 2014 the USCMO was formed as an umbrella organization. Its constituents include AMP, CAIR, MAS, and ICNA together with the Ministry of Imam W. Deen Mohammed (known as “The Mosque Cares” [TMC]), Muslim Legal Fund of

America, Muslim Ummah of North America, the Muslim Alliance in North America, the Mosque Foundation, and American Muslim Alliance (USCMO, 2014a). Today, the shared agenda of many of these groups are advanced through the USCMO.

The USCMO’s vision is that “America’s Muslims will be socially successful in direct proportion to how well we do three things: Streamline ‘all-way’ communication between and among our local and national organizations; Build a laser-focused, consensus-based national vision; Cooperate in mobilizing the Muslim populations of our local communities and that of our fellow Americans for the good of all” (USCMO, 2020c).

In 2016 and 2020 the USCMO brought together Islamist groups from the US, UK, Canada, Europe, South America, Australia, and the Caribbean to organize the first and second “International Conference of Muslim Councils in the West” (USCMO, 2016, 2020b). Following the first conference, the USCMO announced the formation of the “Coordinating Body of Muslim Councils in the West” (CAIRtv, 2016).



American Islamists’ Growing Ties with Turkey

For many years, Sunni political Islamism has been the glue that held together the “Turkish–Qatari axis” (Erdemir & Koduvayur, 2019), enabling its global network to serve as an arm for the soft power of both countries. In the past few years, however, other Gulf countries and Egypt have heavily pressured Qatar to portray itself in different light, by showing less visible support of

activist-Islamist bodies. Instead, Qatar hired American public relations companies to correct what it viewed as an “aggressive” and “vicious” disinformation campaign against the country’s reputation (Global Influence Operations Report, 2021). In April 2021, Qatar’s ambassador to the US maintained that “now what we are doing is proactively engaging Congress, think tanks, and the media on what Qatar is doing in partnership with United States” (Banares, Foxman, & Wadhams, 2021). Qatar has also been donating large sums to US universities, and some believe this is intended to “exert influence” across the American higher education system (Al-Arabiya, 2020). Many have also questioned Qatari-owned and operated media outlets, their goals, and the level of free speech that they allow.

Islamist groups in the Middle East work closely with the ruling Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his Islamist party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi [AKP]). Dovetailing with historical ties to the Muslim Brotherhood, Turkey has played an increasing role as a regional hub and safe haven for the Muslim Brotherhood and its Palestinian counterpart, Hamas (Moore, 2016). Reflecting this burgeoning relationship, Yusuf al-Qaradawi expressed public gratitude to Turkey in a 2016 speech in Istanbul where he lauded Erdoğan as a “sultan” and noted approvingly that “the Turks defend Islam” (al-Qaradawi, 2016).

Correspondingly, Islamist groups in the US have cultivated strong ties with Erdoğan, who has expressed antisemitism toward Jews and Israel. During the 2021 Gaza War, Erdoğan claimed that “a Jewish prime minister” told him that it was his “greatest pleasure” to kill Palestinians. Erdoğan further commented, “This is part of their nature” and “they are only satisfied by sucking blood” (Cupola, 2021). Erdoğan has not apologized for these statements.

ISNA has had longstanding ties to Turkish Islamists via its former board member Yusuf Ziya Kavakçı (ISNA, 2012) a Turkish-American Islamist cleric who continues to speak at its conventions (ISNA, 2020). Kavakçı is an outspoken defender of Yusuf al-Qaradawi and has derided the designation of Hamas as a terrorist organization (Anadolu Agency, 2017). ISNA leaders have met with Erdoğan (ISNA, 2013; Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016), while ISNA, USCMO, and MAS-ICNA have hosted Turkish officials (Anadolu Agency, 2016; ICNA, 2016; MAS-ICNA Convention, 2016). According to Turkish media, CAIR also has developed a longtime relationship with Turkey through Kavakçı and his daughter Merve, a former parliament member from Erdoğan’s AK party (Yurt Gazetesi, 2015). CAIR has become an energetic supporter of Erdoğan’s regime, praising it as a “ray of hope to Muslims worldwide” (TurkPress, 2015).

The USCMO and its affiliated organizations have also developed robust ties to Turkey, and a delegation comprising the Mosque Foundation, AMP, and ICNA participated in a convention by Erdoğan's AK party (USCMO, 2014b). Over the past years, the USCMO has broadened its relationship with Turkey. A large delegation of the USCMO, its organizational affiliates, and ISNA met with Erdoğan at the UN General Assembly in New York (Haberler, 2016), and a USCMO delegation met with Erdoğan again in New York in 2019 (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, Directorate of Communications, 2019). In 2017, Erdoğan addressed the MAS-ICNA conference via video and the USCMO in 2020 (Turkish American National Steering Committee, 2017; USCMO, 2020a). In 2020, despite the COVID-19 pandemic, a USCMO delegation flew to Istanbul to meet Erdoğan (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2020). Erdoğan sent a video greeting to the 2021 annual MAS-ICNA conference held in Chicago (TRTWorld, 2021) and Ibrahim Kalin, Erdoğan's spokesperson and chief advisor, addressed the event's gala dinner in person (Anadolu Agency, 2021). Most recently the USCMO awarded Turkey's first lady, Emine Erdoğan, with its National Muslim Woman Achievements Award in New York (Erdoğan, 2022).

The Mainstreaming of Islamist Groups Through Intersectionality

In recent years US Islamist groups and leaders have increasingly sought common cause with progressive left-wing groups that promote minority rights and intersectionality among racial, ethnic, and religious minorities in their efforts to build coalitions around common interests. In doing so, the Islamist groups and the progressive left-wing organizations have formed a red-green alliance, a coalition that crosses ideological lines between the far left (red) and the Islamists (green). Such coalitions are built both by forming a narrative of victimhood of U.S. Muslims, and by utilizing the Palestinian / Israeli conflict, portraying it as an anti-colonial struggle. This has already brought about the formation of a new type of hybrid group which brings together under one roof activists of various fringe backgrounds.

One example is the New York for Palestine Coalition (NY4Palestine). This coalition has brought together Islamist-oriented groups, such as AMP, with far-left Palestinian organizations that have longstanding international networks, such as Samidoun Palestinian Prisoners' Network. Samidoun, which Israel has designated a terrorist organization that is part of the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation for Palestine (PFLP) (National Bureau for Counter Terror Financing of Israel, 2021), promotes a yearly program to memorialize Ghassan

Kanafani, a leader of the PFLP terrorist organization (Samidoun, 2021). Samidoun also declared its solidarity with “Arab and international political prisoners, and, in particular, political prisoners in the United States, Canada and Europe targeted for their work with liberation struggles and freedom movements,” including “Native and Indigenous liberation and sovereignty struggles, Puerto Rican independentistas [sic], Black liberation organizers, Latino and Chicano activists” and others (Samidoun, n.d.).

The New York for Palestine Coalition also includes New York City’s chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP). SJP was cofounded in California in the 1990s by then graduate students Hatem Bazian (Bazian, 2018b), who is now the leader of AMP, together with Snehal Shingavi (Against Canary Mission, 2022). Shingavi had a longtime involvement with the Trotskyist International Socialist Organization (ISO)(now dissolved) (Socialist Worker, 2022) and was a leader of the group at the University of California Berkeley (International Socialist Organization, 2001). He has spoken at ISO conferences (Socialist Worker, 2016b), joined in their calls to boycott Israel (Socialist Worker, 2014; Socialist Worker, 2016a), organized a demonstration as their representative (May, 2007) and has regularly written for the now defunct Marxist publication the *International Socialist Review* (International Socialist Review, n.d.). According to Bazian, the purpose of establishing SJP was to broaden its appeal as an organization to encompass a wider alliance beyond Palestinian students on campus. SJP, Bazian explains, attracts Palestinian and Arab students as well as students from other backgrounds, particularly those who “support liberation and anti-racism struggles in South Africa, Central America, and in the United States” in addition to anti-Zionist Jewish students (Bazian, 2020).

Another example of the “red-green alliance” is a more recently formed organization called Within Our Lifetime—United for Palestine, which seeks to appeal to “youth, students, workers and community members” (Within Our Lifetime – United For Palestine [WOL], 2019). WOL has four “points of unity.” These include: (1) supporting the Palestinian right of return “to their homeland in all of historic Palestine from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea,” (2) anti-Zionism and anti-normalization with Israel, about which WOL elaborates that “the liberation of Palestine requires the abolition of Zionism,” (3) the right to resist to carry out the “liberation of Palestine” and lastly, (4) Internationalism, defined as “resisting the violence of the US empire.” The last two points aim to bring together the Palestinian struggle with others of “oppressed nationality,” supporting “all forms of Palestinian resistance,” “the right of all oppressed nationality people in the United States and around the world to engage in all forms of struggle in pursuit of freedom,” and standing in solidarity with all

national liberation struggles across the globe to resisting the “violence” of US imperialism (WOL, n.d.).

WOL, which is led by by Nerdeen Kiswani (also known as Nerdeen Mohsen Kiswani) (City University of New York [CUNY], 2022), was originally formed as the New York City chapter of SJP, also known as NYC SJP (Within Our Lifetime – United For Palestine, 2019a). Kiswani previously served as the chair of NYC SJP (Students for Justice in Palestine at Brown University, 2016), and more recently as the president of the SJP at the CUNY School of Law (Haymarket Books, 2021). She also helped to establish other SJP chapters (Ricciardi, 2016; Left Voice, 2017).

In 2018, Kiswani broke away from the national SJP organization and renamed the NYC SJP as Within Our Lifetime – United for Palestine (Within Our Lifetime – United For Palestine [WOL], 2019b; Jamal, 2022). Since its establishment, WOL has commemorated al-Quds (Jerusalem) Day (Samidoun, 2018; International Action Center, 2021; Samidoun, 2022a), the Islamist political observance which was designated by Iran’s late Ayatollah Khomeini. Under her leadership, the New York chapter of the SJP regularly partnered with and held events together with far-left organizations such as the Revolutionary Student Coordinating Committee (Revolutionary Student Coordinating Committee - New York City [RSCC-NYC], 2015). WOL has also partnered with Democratic Socialists of America (WOL, 2019), the Marxist-Leninist Workers World Party (Samidoun, 2022b), and far-left groups such as Existence is Resistance, Samidoun, and Decolonize This Place (Merino, 2022; WOL, 2022b; Bishara, 2021).

In 2020 Kiswani posted an Instagram video of herself threatening to burn an Israel Defense Forces sweatshirt while a person was wearing it. Displaying the flame of a lit cigarette lighter within inches of the IDF logo, Kiswani says, “I hate your shirt. I’m gonna set it on fire. Seriously.” Along with the video, she posted, “I almost set this guys [sic] shirt on fire. #F--- Israel. #Free Palestine” (StopAntisemitism, 2020).

In a 2021 interview, Kiswani called for the destruction of Israel, asserting that it does not have the right to exist: “We have to defeat this illegitimate Zionist settler state that has no right to exist.” She further asserted that “abolishing Israel is the key to peace” (Haymarket Books, 2021).

At its rallies WOL prominently displays banners declaring “Resistance Until Return” and “We will free Palestine within our lifetime” (DataInput, 2022a). Kiswani regularly leads participants in chants of a slogan embraced by Hamas that calls for the ethnic cleansing and replacement of Israel (DataInput, 2022a)

and the declaration of “There is only one solution—Intifada Revolution! From New York to Gaza—long live the Intifada!” (DataInput, 2022b). In April 2022 WOL held an “emergency rally” titled “Support Palestinian Resistance and Liberation by Any Means Necessary” together with Samidoun, the Palestinian Youth Movement, Existence is Resistance, and Decolonize This Place (Samidoun, 2022b). Kiswani called for “mobiliz[ing] everyone else to free every inch of Palestine from the river to the sea by any means necessary” (New York Street, 2022).

In addition to these activities, WOL has also targeted American Jewish non-profit organizations that support Israel by carrying out demonstrations in front of their buildings (Tress, 2022a). It also distributed maps with lists of these organizations, including their addresses, with a call to “globalize the Intifada” (WOL, 2021). One of WOL’s flyers declares that “each of the locations on this map reflects the location of an office of an enemy of both the Palestinian people and colonized people all over the world” (WOL, 2021).

The “red-green alliance” has further mainstreamed Islamist groups and provided them with a platform to attempt to delegitimize the mainstream Jewish community. In this regard, the US Islamist groups have portrayed Jews and Jewish supporters of Israel as part of the “white” American power structure who, therefore, should be excluded and boycotted from progressive coalitions. Within these coalitions, US Islamists have sought to boycott and delegitimize progressive Zionists and supporters of Israel deeming them as oppressors and illegitimate participants. By linking to far-left Jewish groups, the Islamist groups have furthered the legitimization of their discourse which redefines antisemitism as excluding any negative expressions directed at Israel or at Jews as a people.

During the 2020 US elections a new coalition emerged, which brought such groups as the Movement for Black Lives, a coalition that includes Black Lives Matter (M4BL, 2020) together with far-left Jewish groups and Islamist political groups such as MPower Change (MPC)(United Against Hate, 2020; Mathias, 2020). The common narrative of this coalition asserted that the fight against antisemitism was “claimed and owned” by the American right-wing and mainstream Jewish organizations, and the coalition accused them of utilizing antisemitism together with racism and other forms of hate to fuel societal divisions that served then U.S. President Donald Trump (Mathias, 2020).

This coalition further claimed that an overwhelming majority of antisemitic attacks were conducted by white supremacists, and not by left-wing groups

(Emgage, 2020). Therefore, as one of the groups in the coalition claimed, progressives from all backgrounds should join hands in “defeating the far-right” to keep all communities safe (If Not Now, 2020). The coalition likewise works to enlist the progressive community in order to marginalize liberal American pro-Israel Jewish organizations by excluding and boycotting them due to their support of Israel.

Re-defining and Denying Antisemitism and its Equation with Islamophobia

Over the past few years, groups such as the aforementioned AMP and CAIR embarked on forming coalitions of like-minded groups to target and deny the US Jewish community’s right to define antisemitism (AMP, 2019a; CAIR, 2019b), offering an alternative narrative which on the one hand allows them to get closer to fringe Jewish groups (many of which are anti-Zionist), and, on the other, continue to promote the Islamist victimhood narrative. They contend that the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism (IHRA, 2016), adopted by both the US Jewish community and the American government (Nahmias, 2021; US Department of State, 2021), incorrectly “conflates” antisemitism with legitimate criticism of Israel (MEE Staff, 2019).

AMP and CAIR are leading a delegitimization and boycott campaign targeting prominent US Jewish pro-Israel advocacy organizations while simultaneously attacking their right to define and confront antisemitism on behalf of the Jewish community. Other organizations supporting the campaign include ICNA, MAS, and MPower Change (DropTheADL, 2020). They accuse the Jewish organizations of “faith-washing” (AMP, 2016b) and using “illegitimate interfaith cooperation” (AMP 2016a). For example, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) -- the mainstream Jewish community’s antisemitism monitoring organization -- has been castigated as a “silencer of free speech” (AMP, 2014), and AMP and CAIR both demand that US civil rights organizations boycott it for “abus[ing] the label of antisemitism while masquerading as a civil rights organization” (AMP, 2020b), and also engaging in “anti-justice practices,” and in promoting Islamophobia (CAIR, 2020). The AMP further claims that the ADL “smears Palestinian rights advocates as antisemitic” and created a website dedicated to convincing like-minded organizations to join their boycott (AMP, 2020b). In its 2021 “Report on Working with Zionist Organizations,” the AMP calls for the boycott of groups comprising the “American Jewish establishment” (AMP, 2021c).

At the AMP's 2021 conference, Zahra Billoo of the San Francisco Bay Area chapter of CAIR went even further, asserting that Zionist organizations are responsible for Islamophobia and enumerated particular "polite Zionists" as the enemies of her cause, specifically the ADL, Jewish Federations, "Zionist synagogues," and campus Hillel chapters (AMP, 2021b). CAIR stood behind Billoo, claimed she was misquoted and reiterated:

[W]e must also firmly stand up against the Islamophobic, anti-Palestinian groups that use false allegations of anti-Semitism in a cynical attempt to silence American Muslims who speak up for Palestinian human rights . . . During a speech delivered at a conference in Chicago last month, Zahra spoke of the clear connections between Islamophobic hate groups and anti-Palestinian activism ... She also encouraged American Muslims to avoid collaborating with any organizations that support the political ideology that the Israeli apartheid government uses to justify dispossessing, occupying, and killing Palestinians" (CAIR National, 2021).

An outspoken proponent of boycotting US Jewish pro-Israel organizations is Linda Sarsour, the director of MPower Change, which describes itself as the "first Muslim online organizing platform" in the US (MPower Change, 2020a). Sarsour, a former leader of the Women's March who was forced to step down for promoting antisemitism (Shook, 2018; Lang, 2019), has unabashedly promoted and legitimized Louis Farrakhan, the antisemitic leader of the Nation of Islam (CBS, 2018; Associated Press, 2019b; Farrakhan, 2020). Embracing Farrakhan and willfully ignoring his persistent vicious manifestations of antisemitism, Sarsour insists on depicting Farrakhan and his followers as normative parts of the Muslim community (Sarsour, 2012). Sarsour expressed pride at having spoken at the Nation of Islam's 2017 rally, marking the twentieth anniversary of its "Million Man March," and sent her blessing to Farrakhan (Sarsour, 2017; Perez, 2017). Sarsour has also expressed admiration for the Muslim Brotherhood. Following the 2011 Egyptian Revolution in which that organization emerged as a significant player (Laub, 2019), Sarsour declared, "Yo [sic] the Muslim Brotherhood knows how to parrrrtaaay!" [sic] and further praised it as "da coolest!" [sic] (Sarsour, 2011).

On numerous occasions, Sarsour has employed antisemitic tropes accusing Jewish progressives and American politicians of dual loyalty (Sarsour, 2018; Sarsour, 2014). She has described Israel as "built on the idea that Jews are supreme to everybody else" (Foldi, 2019) and flatly asserted that Zionists

cannot be feminists (Meyerson, 2017). Despite her antisemitic pronouncements, Sarsour was appointed as a surrogate representative for then presidential candidate Bernie Sanders during the 2020 election campaign (Oster, 2019).

Sarsour is a regular and high-profile speaker at the conferences of the AMP and ISNA conferences (AMP, 2019b; ISNA, 2020; AMP, 2021a)(AMP, 2022). In her efforts to delegitimize the Jewish community's definition of antisemitism, Sarsour has gone so far as to incongruously represent herself as an authority on antisemitism. In 2017 she appeared on a panel organized by like-minded far-left organizations as an expert on antisemitism (Jacobin, 2017). In November 2021 Sarsour's organization MPower Change and CAIR cosponsored an event as part of their ongoing campaign to demand the release of Aafia Siddiqui, with Sarsour being a featured speaker (CAIR-Texas, 2021).

While the FBI hate crimes statistics showed that the number of anti-Islamic incidents in 2020 and 2021 were among the lowest in a decade (110 and 152 incidents, respectively) (FBI, 2020; US Department of Justice - Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2022), US Islamists have been labelling any criticism of Islam and Muslims as well as of themselves and their ideologies as "Islamophobia" (Vidino, 2022). For example, the USCMO has attempted to utilize public discourse at a time when antisemitic attacks on American Jews have been at their highest in four decades (Crime and Justice News, 2020) to suggest that antisemitism is minimal in comparison to Islamophobia (Farooq, 2021) and demand that Islamophobia receive equitable treatment. The USCMO and its affiliated organizations sent a letter to President Biden (Associated Press of Pakistan, 2021) asserting that Islamophobia should be considered a global threat on an equal level to antisemitism (Farooq, 2021). Even though the US State Department Office of Religious Freedom already monitors abuses against Muslims globally (Faheid, 2021), the USCMO demanded the appointment of an envoy to monitor and combat Islamophobia. After the USCMO made the letter public (Farooq, 2021), Pakistan's then Prime Minister Imran Khan called for Western nations to criminalize blasphemy against Islam by equating it to the Holocaust (Dawn, 2021).

In October 2021, US Congress member Ilhan Omar (see below) introduced the "Combating International Islamophobia Act" (House Resolution 5665, 2021). The bill seeks to establish within the Department of State a special envoy to "monitor and combat acts of Islamophobia and Islamophobic incitement in foreign countries." The bill was amended in December 2021 to include the

prohibition that “No funds made available pursuant to this Act or an amendment made by this Act may be used to promote or endorse a Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement ideology” (House of Representatives, 117-125, 2021). The bill passed in the House but expired in the Senate on January 3, 2023, the last day of the 117th Congress (House Resolution 5665, 2021).

Mainstreaming the Islamist Political Agenda in the U.S.

In recent years two members of Congress have brought the Islamist political agenda and antisemitism to national attention. Shortly after being elected in 2019, Rashida Tlaib, the first Palestinian-American congresswoman, declared her support for the Palestinian “right of return,” the BDS movement, and a one-state solution (Panne, 2018). Within days of being sworn in, Tlaib charged those opposed to the BDS movement with the antisemitic trope of having dual loyalty, accusing them of having “forgot[ten] what country they represent” (Tlaib, 2019; Richardson, 2019). Later she made Holocaust revisionist comments (Watkins & Kelly, 2019), retweeted a Hamas slogan calling for the destruction of Israel (Tlaib, 2020; Bandler, 2020), and declared Israel a “racist state” (Democracy Now, 2021). Tlaib has not apologized.

In a move similar to Linda Sarsour, Tlaib has disingenuously represented herself as a supposed expert on antisemitism. In 2020 she was promoted as an authority on antisemitism on a panel discussing the issue organized by far-left, Arab American, and anti-Zionist groups (Jewish Voice for Peace, 2020). Tlaib is a highly promoted speaker who regularly appears at CAIR, ISNA, and AMP events (CAIR, 2019a; ISNA, 2020; AMP, 2019b). Tlaib has also received support for her re-election campaign from CAIR-CA PAC (Federal Election Commission, 2021). During the May 2021 Gaza conflict, she spoke at a demonstration hosted by AMP and CAIR (CAIR, 2021a) outside of the offices of the US State Department (Slisco, 2021).

Following her election in November 2018, Ilhan Omar, the first Somali American congresswoman, openly declared her support for the boycott of Israel (MuslimGirl, 2018). In July 2019, the US House passed House Resolution 246 opposing the BDS movement (House Resolution 246, 2019); Omar and Tlaib voted against it, and Omar introduced a pro-BDS resolution that subsequently failed (House Resolution 496, 2019).

Weeks after taking office, Omar issued an antisemitic tweet claiming members of Congress support Israel for money, resulting in condemnation by her party's leadership and a demand for an apology (DeBonis, 2019; Murphy, 2019). Following her apology, Louis Farrakhan praised Omar and admonished her that she had no need to apologize (YahooNews, 2019). In March 2019, Omar posted another antisemitic tweet invoking the trope of dual loyalty by comparing support for Israel as an "allegiance/pledge support to a foreign country" (Omar, 2019a). Her remarks were immediately condemned by two senior Jewish congressional leaders of her party, who demanded that she apologize. The leader of her party in Congress rationalized Omar's remarks, stating she did not understand the "weight of her words" (Associated Press, 2019a).

In response senior Jewish members of Congress from her party in consultation with party leadership introduced a resolution condemning antisemitism. It was rejected by party progressives (Stolberg, 2019). Ultimately, a resolution was passed that broadly condemned hatred against "African-Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, Asian-Americans and Pacific Islanders and other people of color, Jews, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, the LGBTQ community, immigrants, and others" (Associated Press, 2019a).

More recently, Omar's 2020 re-election campaign distributed mail flyers attacking her primary opponent's donors as being "in the pocket of Wall Street." They specifically identified only Jewish donors by name, asking "Can we trust Antone Melton-Meaux's money?" (Joseph, 2020). Omar has not apologized for these statements.

Omar has had a long relationship with CAIR, where she previously served as a Minnesota advisory board member (Ilhan for Congress, 2018), received financial support for her re-election from CAIR-CA PAC (Federal Election Commission, 2018), and was honored by CAIR National as "American Muslim Public Servant of 2021" (CAIR, 2021b). Similarly, during her first congressional term, Omar forged a relationship with Islamist Turkish president Erdoğan and met with him at the UN in 2017 to "strengthen ties between US Somalis and Turkey" (Mukhtar, 2017). AMP has regularly promoted Tlaib and Omar, who were featured speakers at the organization's 2020 conference (AMP, 2020c).

Impact of the May 2021 Operation Guardian of the Walls in the U.S.

During Operation Guardian of the Walls in Gaza, AMP, along with other organizations, cohosted a series of anti-Israel demonstrations throughout the US (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism, 2021). The largest protest was

organized by both AMP and USCMO, with CAIR, MAS, ICNA, and the Muslim Ummah of North America listed as their partners (USCMO, 2021a). At many of the protests, demonstrators chanted antisemitic chants such as “Hitler was right” (ADL, 2021a) and a slogan embraced by Hamas that calls for the ethnic cleansing and replacement of Israel (ADL, 2021a; News2Share, 2021; FNTV – Freedom News TV, 2021; Demonstration_live, 2021). Speaking at a rally cohosted by AMP (Al-Awda, 2021), WOL’s Nerdeen Kiswani made clear that the slogan referred to “every part of Palestine,” including Haifa, Jaffa, and Tel Aviv (Soriano, 2021). At one of the protests, the flag of the Hezbollah terrorist organization was displayed (FNTV – Freedom News TV, 2021). These statements, chants, and flags were not condemned by any of the organizations. At the largest protest, an unidentified organizer warned participants not to “react to any instigation by the Zionists,” asserting that “there is an agenda to send our young people to jail” (MAS, 2021).

US government officials and the Jewish community documented escalating antisemitic attacks on American Jews related to the conflict in Gaza (Harris, 2021; ADL, 2021b), many of which involved protestors carrying Palestinian flags. Among the most notable attacks was the violent assault and beating of a Jewish man wearing a yarmulke in New York City’s Times Square by five pro-Palestinian protestors (Algemeiner, 2021a). One of the reported perpetrators screamed profanities, calling the victim a “dirty Jew” and declaring “f--- Israel, Hamas is going to kill all of you” (Algemeiner, 2021b). Another incident involved a caravan of protestors in cars flying Palestinian flags who shouted antisemitic profanities as they drove through New York’s Diamond District, an area known for its concentration of Jewish-owned businesses. Two fireworks were hurled at people on the sidewalk from one of the vehicles, injuring a woman pedestrian (Efune, 2021; Davenport, 2021). In Los Angeles, a group of men waving Palestinian flags exited their cars and violently assaulted Jewish diners at a restaurant located in a Jewish area, identifying their targets by asking “Who’s Jewish?” and screaming “dirty Jew,” “f--- the Jews,” and “death to Israel” (Moon & Chan, 2021). In another incident that also occurred in Los Angeles, two speeding cars displaying Palestinian flags attempted to chase down and run over an Orthodox Jewish man on his way to synagogue as they screamed, “Allahhu akbar!” (Rand, 2021). In Florida, a Jewish man was walking with his wife and teenaged daughter when they were accosted by a group of men in a car who screamed at them, “Free Palestine, die Jew, f--- you Jew, I’m gonna rape your wife.” The men also threw garbage at the man and his family (Nahl, 2021).

Most recently, Saadah Masoud, a Palestinian American who is a founding member of WOL (Nakamura, 2022), pleaded guilty in New York to three

antisemitic hate crimes assaults (USDOJ-SDNY, 2022). According to court documents, Masoud together with several others planned to disrupt a May 2021 pro-Israel demonstration in Manhattan by bringing weapons along with them, including firebombs. On a social media group chat Masoud told the others to cover their faces to avoid being arrested and instigated them, urging “VIOLENT!! ONLY VIOLENCE ...” [sic]. Another participant in the group chat advised that they attempt to conceal their vociferous antisemitism urging, “Remember, don’t chant out Jews, it’s the Zionists.” Masoud admitted to assaulting a man wearing a Star of David necklace at the demonstration by punching him in the face and shouting, “Are you a f—king Jew?” (US v. Masoud, 2023a)

Several weeks later Masoud and an accomplice assaulted a Jewish man in Brooklyn who was wearing a yarmulke and other traditional Jewish clothing as he was sitting outside of his own home. In April 2022 Masoud participated in a WOL demonstration in Manhattan and violently assaulted Matt Greenman, who was wearing an Israeli flag as he counter-protested (Tress, 2022b)(New York Streets, 2022)(Bravo, 2022). On the following day Masoud sent a direct message to a Jewish Instagram account declaring, “I’m going to keep violating you dirty zionist [sic]. I feel bad for you zionist [sic] people when judgment day comes and we slaughter all of them like sheep” (Jewish Lives Matter, 2022). Masoud was sentenced to 18 months in prison (US v. Masoud, 2023b).

While CAIR condemned antisemitism in general following the 2021 Los Angeles restaurant attack (Bandler, 2021), days later a CAIR official again attempted to delegitimize the ADL—the organization that monitors antisemitism and is part of the mainstream Jewish community—claiming it has been “falsely characterizing legitimate criticism of Israel as antisemitism.” CAIR went so far as to deny that any surge of antisemitic attacks had taken place (Shahbaz, 2021).

Following the arrests of some pro-Palestinian protestors for carrying out acts of violence in New York in 2021, the NY4Palestine Coalition established the Palestine Freedom Fund “for bail/legal support funds for Palestinian youth arrested at New York City demonstrations for Palestine.” The organizations managing the fund consist of WOL, Samidoun, and Al-Awda Palestinian Right to Return Coalition (Palestine Freedom Fund, 2021)

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

Antisemitic attacks against the American Jewish community over the past several years have been a continuing and escalating threat. While there is a

persistent threat of violent jihadists targeting the community's physical security, the mainstreaming of Islamist-oriented groups, political figures, and like-minded extremists who promote antisemitism poses an emerging political and societal challenge. These Islamist-oriented groups have energized the use of blatant antisemitism directed at American Jews among their political allies. They have increasingly sought to delegitimize, boycott, and ultimately reject the participation of mainstream American Jewish organizations in the public discourse. Moreover, the partnering of these Islamist-oriented groups with anti-Israel progressive Jewish groups, especially of the younger generation, poses an increasing internal challenge to the mainstream Jewish community.

The use of antisemitism to undermine one's political and societal standing is often not considered a calculated threat. Viewed over time, however, it can be understood as part of a larger process of societal erosion in which extremist and antisemitic beliefs previously thought to exist on the fringes of society become legitimized as part of the mainstream and normative public discourse. As these beliefs normalize over time, they may lead to more extreme forms of antisemitism, including violence. These developments should not be ignored and require heightened situational awareness of the damaging effects of mainstreamed antisemitism. To this end, the process of choosing allies from the Muslim community should be made much more carefully, and proper due diligence is required. These developments call for increased vigilance and a robust response by the American Jewish community and its allies.

Glossary of organizations

AKP (*Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi*): Formed in 2001, the Justice and Development Party of Turkey is also known as the AKP or AK Party (Daily Sabah, 2020). It is the Islamist political party of Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan which has close ties to the Muslim Brotherhood (Beck, 2019). Erdoğan has engaged in soft power outreach to Turkish and Muslim communities worldwide promoting AKP's Islamist ideology as part of his foreign policy (Beck, 2019) (Cornell, 2017).

Al-Qaeda: The global jihadist antisemitic terrorist organization founded by Usama bin Ladin (1957-2011) in 1988 (FBI, n.d.-1). Known internally among its followers as al-Qaeda ("The Base"), it officially issued its "Declaration of the World Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and Crusaders" during the same year (Lewis, 1998). Al-Qaeda is most well known for its four coordinated terrorist attacks against the US on September 11, 2001, for which bin Ladin and al-Qaeda took responsibility (CNN, 2002; Al-Jazeera, 2006). One of al-Qaeda's

most prominent early ideological leaders was the antisemitic jihadist Sheikh Umar Abd al-Rahman (1938-2017) (CNN, 2000), known as the “blind sheikh,” who came to the US in 1990. He was convicted and imprisoned for participating in a terrorist plot to bomb five New York City landmarks in 1995 (Fried, 1996) (Dwyer, 2017). From prison, Abd al-Rahman sanctioned al-Qaeda terrorist attacks against the US and Jews worldwide (Bergen, 2017; CNN, 2000).

Al-Quds Force – Also known as Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps - al-Quds Force (IRGC-QF) – Iran’s IRGC-QF is a branch of Iran’s Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (*Sepah-e Pasdaran-e Enqelab-e Islami*). The IRGC was established in 1979 by the late leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902-1989), for the purpose of preserving the Islamist nature of the regime (BBC, 2009). The IRGC al-Quds Force serves as “Iran’s primary mechanism for cultivating and supporting terrorist groups abroad” and is used by Iran to “implement its foreign policy goals, provide cover for intelligence operations, and create instability in the Middle East” (US Department of State, n.d.).

The IRGC and its branches, including the al-Quds Force (US Department of State Office of the Spokesperson, 2019), were designated in 2019 as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) by the US State Department (US Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, 2019). In recent years the IRGC-QF has targeted American Jews and Israelis on US soil (Barsky, 2016; US v. Ghorbani, 2018), former US officials (US Department of Justice Office of Public Affairs, 2022; Lee, 2022), and an Iranian dissident in the US (CBSNews New York, 2022).

American Muslims for Palestine (AMP): Established in 2005 (American Muslims for Palestine, 2011), AMP was founded and is led by Hatem Bazian. AMP was formed by some former officials of two now defunct Hamas oriented organizations: the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) and the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) (Following the Money, 2016). It is the most prominent US organization that engages in anti-Zionist and anti-Israel training directed to Muslim American and student groups. AMP’s leaders have promoted antisemitic tropes (Haaretz, 2017; Bazian, 2018a; MASICNAConvention, 2017) and it supports the destruction of Israel and the BDS movement (AMP, 2019a; AMP, 2020a).

Benevolence International Foundation (BIF): Benevolence International Foundation, now defunct, was a US nonprofit organization that was determined to be a front organization for al-Qaeda (US Department of Treasury, 2002). Established in 1992 in Chicago, Illinois as a nonprofit

organization, its declared purpose was to provide humanitarian relief worldwide. BIF's operations were focused on Bosnia, Chechnya, Pakistan, China, Ingushetia, and Russia.

BIF's assets were frozen by the US in November 2001 following the 9/11 attacks (US Department of Treasury Office of Foreign Assets Control, 2001). Following an investigation which found that BIF operated as a front for Usama bin Ladin and al-Qaeda, the organization was designated by the US Treasury and United Nations Security Council as an international financier of terrorism (US Department of Treasury, 2002; United Nations Security Council, 2002).

Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR): Established in 1994 (CAIR, 1994), CAIR describes itself as the "largest Muslim civil liberties organization" in the US (CAIR, 2023). The organization claims 26 chapters throughout the country and is headquartered in Washington DC (CAIR, 2022b).

CAIR originated as part of an effort by the global Muslim Brotherhood to support its Palestinian counterpart, the Hamas terrorist organization. In order to achieve that goal, US supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood established a Palestine Committee that was headed by senior Hamas leader Musa Abu Marzook (US v. Holy Land Foundation, 2008d).

The Palestine Committee was comprised initially of 3 organizations including the Occupied Land Fund (later known as Holy Land Foundation - see below), United Association for Studies and Research, and Islamic Association for Palestine (see below). CAIR became the fourth organization that comprised the Palestine Committee (US v. Holy Land Foundation, 2008d).

CAIR's three founding members were Islamic Association for Palestine officials consisting of Nihad Awad, its executive director (Awad, 2000), Omar Ahmad and Rafeeq Jaber (Curtiss, 2000; Curtiss, 1999; CAIR, 1994).

Following the trial and conviction of five Holy Land Foundation leaders for providing \$12.4 million to Hamas (FBI, 2008) the FBI enacted a policy that suspended "all formal contacts" with CAIR in 2009. It cited evidence introduced during the HLF trial which "demonstrated a relationship among CAIR, individual CAIR founders (including its current President Emeritus and its Executive Director) and the Palestine Committee." The FBI further invoked evidence that "demonstrated a relationship between the Palestine Committee and Hamas, which was designated as a terrorist organization in 1995" (US Department of Justice – Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2009). A 2013 report by the US Department of Justice Inspector General again cited evidence from

the HLF trial which “link[ed] two known national CAIR leaders to Hamas, a specially designated terrorist organization” (US Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General, 2013).

In 2014 the UAE designated CAIR as a terrorist organization along with Muslim Brotherhood organizations and jihadist organizations such as al-Qaeda, ISIS and Hezbollah (The National Staff, 2014)

More recently, CAIR assisted in the defense of an unrepentant convicted PFLP terrorist who targeted Israeli Jews by bombing a Jerusalem supermarket (Justice4Rasmea, n.d.; Lubet, 2022). Two Israeli students were murdered in the blast which injured 20 others (Sugarman, 2017; Mickolus, 1980). CAIR also established a legal and advocacy fund (CAIR-Texas, 2022) to campaign for the release of a convicted al-Qaeda operative who has made vociferous antisemitic pronouncements against Jews (Goldman, 2010; Shahid, 2022).

As part of an ongoing effort to delegitimize mainstream American Jewish organizations CAIR together with AMP has been targeting them in a boycott campaign (DropTheADL, 2020; CAIR, 2020; AMP, 2021b).

Hamas (*Harakat al-muqawama al-islamiya*): The Islamic Resistance Movement in Palestine known by its acronym Hamas, is the Palestinian counterpart of the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood movement. The organization was created in 1987 in Gaza by Hamas founder and ideologue Sheikh Ahmad Yassin (1937-2004) who was then a Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood preacher (Associated Press, 2004).

Hamas has been a longtime recipient of financial support from Iran and reportedly received \$70 million from that country in 2018 (Levy, 2018). Due to the worsening economic crisis in Iran, funding to Hamas was reportedly suspended recently (Abu Toameh, 2022).

Hamas was designated as a terrorist entity via a US presidential executive order in 1995 (Federal Register, 1995) and by the US State Department as a Foreign Terrorist Organization in 1997 (US Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, n.d.).

Since 2001 it has been listed as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist entity by the US Treasury (US Department of the Treasury, 2001). These measures resulted in US financial sanctions against Hamas and its leaders which remain in place today (US Treasury Office of Foreign Assets Control, 2023a).

Hamas promotes antisemitism via the ideology of its covenant (Hamas, 1988) and has targeted Israeli Jews in suicide bombings, shootings, vehicle rammings and stabbing attacks. Its followers have also targeted US and Canadian Jews and Israeli officials in the US (Barsky, 2016).

More recently, during the 2022 Jewish high holiday season, Hamas offered a bounty of \$200 to incentivize shooting attacks targeting Israeli Jews. In order to promote further attacks, Hamas required that a posting including video of the shooting be uploaded to social media (Times of Israel Staff, 2022).

Hezbollah: Founded in 1982, Hezbollah (“The Party of God”) is the Lebanese Shi’i terrorist organization established with Iranian regime support. It was formed as a strategic offensive to aggressively export the Ayatollah Khomeini’s “Islamic Revolution” worldwide.

Until 2017 Hezbollah was reportedly receiving \$1 billion in funding from Iran (Levy, 2018). In 2018 a US Treasury official described Iranian financing of Hezbollah as amounting to “upwards of \$700 million a year” (US Department of Treasury, 2018). The US designated Hezbollah as a Foreign Terrorist Organization in 1997 (US Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, 2019) and it has been sanctioned as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist entity by the US Treasury since 2001 (US Department of the Treasury, 2001). These measures resulted in US financial sanctions against Hezbollah and its leaders, which remain in place today. (US Department of Treasury Office of Foreign Assets Control, 2023c).

Hezbollah espouses the antisemitic ideology of Khomeini and Iran’s Islamist regime (Shahvar, 2009). Its leader, Hassan Nasrallah, has called for the ethnic cleansing and destruction of Israel (Jerusalem Post, 2020). It has targeted Israelis in the US, Latin America and Europe (US Department of Justice Office of Public Affairs, 2019; US Department of Justice Office of Public Affairs, 2017) and Jews in Latin America (Price, 2022).

Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF): HLF was originally formed in 1988 as the nonprofit Occupied Land Fund and renamed as the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development in 1991 (US v. El-Mezain et al., 2011). US supporters of the Ikhwan, the Muslim Brotherhood, established HLF as a fundraising arm of their Palestine Committee (US v. HLF, 2008b) and it was also an affiliated organization of the Islamic Association for Palestine (US v. HLF, 2008c).

After the 9/11 terrorist attacks against the US, the US Treasury sanctioned HLF as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist entity (SDGT) and froze its assets (US Department of the Treasury Office of Foreign Assets Control, 2001). Following an investigation, HLF was determined to have “operated as the chief fundraising arm of Hamas in the United States” (Taxay, 2014). Five members of the HLF leadership were prosecuted and convicted of “funneling more than \$12 million to the Palestinian terrorist group Hamas” in 2008 (FBI, 2008).

Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP): Now defunct, the Islamic Association for Palestine (also known as the Islamic Association for Palestine in North America) was established in 1981 (US v. HLF, 2008c) by US supporters of the Ikhwan, the Muslim Brotherhood, as part of their Palestine Committee (US v. HLF, 2008b). Among them was senior Hamas leader Musa Abu Marzook, who provided \$490,000 in funding to IAP (Dickey, 2002).

IAP promoted Hamas in the US by translating and distributing the antisemitic Hamas covenant, publishing two pro-Hamas newspapers and distributing Hamas recruitment videos (Maqdsi, 1990; Dickey, 2002). It also produced its own antisemitic literature (Islamic Association for Palestine, n.d.). In 2004 IAP was shut down after it was found legally liable for the murder of David Boim, an American Jewish teenager who was killed in 1996 by a Hamas terrorist (Weiss, 2021).

Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA): The Islamic Circle of North America was established in 1968 by US followers of the Islamist Jama’at-e Islami movement which was founded and led by the late Abu A’la al-Maududi (1903-1979) (Uddin, 1999). It is considered to be a branch of the wider Jama’at-e Islami movement among South Asians in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and the UK (Nasr, 1994). Al-Maududi himself participated in ICNA’s first public event in 1974, and ICNA continues to distribute al-Maududi’s antisemitic writings (Maududi, n.d.-a, 2018, 2021).

Islamic Society of North America (ISNA): The Islamic Society of North America was founded in 1981 (Islamicity, 2015; InFocus, 2008) as a restructuring of the Muslim Students Association, the first organization established by American followers of the Muslim Brotherhood in the US (El-Horr and Saeed, 2008) (US v. HLF, 2008a). ISNA was formed as an umbrella organization that incorporated off campus organizations established by the MSA. These included North American Islamic Trust, American Trust Publications, Islamic Book Service, American Muslim Scientists and Engineers, American Muslim Social Scientists

and the Islamic American Medical Association (Ibn-Stanford, 1997). ISNA published and continues to distribute the works of the late antisemitic Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi (al-Qaradawi, 1994, 1999).

Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS): ISIS, known as *al-Dawla Islamiya fi al-Iraq wa al-Sham* and its Arabic acronym Da'esh, emerged as a reorganization of remnants of al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). AQI was led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi (1966-2006) who was later expelled from al-Qaeda over doctrinal differences. In 2013 it changed its name to Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham (Syria).

ISIS promotes antisemitic ideology and incitement (Bartal, 2017; Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, 2015). Its followers in the US have targeted American Jews (USDOJ Office of Public Affairs, 2018; US Department of Justice Office of Public Affairs, 2019a).

Jama'at-e Islami (JI): Jama'at-e Islami or "Islamic Society" was founded in 1941 by the Islamist ideologue Abul A'la al-Maududi (1903-1979) in Lahore, India. Al-Maududi's declared goal was to purify Islamic society of foreign influences, overthrow governments that he considered to be "un-Islam" [sic] and "reestablish" an Islamic system of government based on his interpretation of the Caliphate (Haqqani, 2006). Al-Maududi also expressed antisemitic views in his writings (Maududi, n.d.-a, 2018, 2021).

JI spread to neighboring countries with its branch movements today including Jama'at-e Islami in Pakistan, Jama'at-e Islami Hind in India, Jama'at-e Islami in Bangladesh, and Jama'at-e Islami Kashmir in Jammu and Kashmir. It also has followers in the UK, and the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) is considered its branch in the US (Nasr, 1994).

MPower Change (MPC): Established in 2015 (Medium, 2015) MPC describes itself as "the largest Muslim digital advocacy organization in the US," and claims a membership of "over a quarter million" (MPower Change, n.d.). It was founded by Linda Sarsour, then director of the Arab American Association of New York (Arab American News, 2015).

Its other founders include its creative director Mustafa Dustin Craun (MPower Change, 2021), who later became executive director of CAIR San Diego (CAIR California, 2019), and Mark Crain, then a mobile innovation director at MoveOn (Crain, 2015; MPower Change, 2016). MoveOn is a progressive advocacy organization (MoveOn.org, n.d.) which has a political action committee that

fundraises for political candidates including Ilhan Omar and Rashida Tlaib (OpenSecrets, 2022a).

Sarsour has expressed antisemitism (Sarsour, 2018; Sarsour, 2014) and unabashedly supported the virulently antisemitic leader of the Nation of Islam, Louis Farrakhan (Associated Press, 2019b; Farrakhan, 2020; Sarsour, 2017). In 2017 she became a co-chair of the Women's March which later removed her from its board over her support for Farrakhan (Lang, 2019; Silva, 2019). MPC leads a BDS campaign called "No Tech for Apartheid" that targets Google and Amazon for doing business with Israeli tech companies. (No Tech for Apartheid, 2023).

Muslim American Society (MAS): The Muslim American Society was founded in 1993 in Illinois by US Muslim Brotherhood leader Ahmed Elkadi together with then prominent Egyptian Brotherhood leader Mohammed Mahdi Akef. Akef later became international leader of the organization (Ahmed-Ullah, N., Roe, S. & Cohen, L., 2004). In 2022 MAS held a special memorial event lauding the late antisemitic Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi (Muslim American Society, 2022a). It also issued a notice calling on its followers to pray for him (Muslim American Society, 2022b).

Muslim Brotherhood (*Jami'yat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin*): Founded in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna, the Muslim Brotherhood, also known as the Ikhwan, was the first militant Islamist movement created in the 20th century.

Under al-Banna's leadership it began an antisemitic campaign in the mid-1930s of targeting Egyptian Jews, accusing them of being a fifth column for Zionism. In May 1936 it called for boycotts of Jews and Jewish owned businesses. Its tracts combined antisemitic tropes demonizing Jews as enemies of the prophet Muhammad together with European antisemitic stereotypes (Stillman, 2005). Antisemitic agitation and violent student demonstrations organized by the Ikhwan took place in Cairo, Alexandria, and Tanta. Its newspaper published a regular column called "The Menace of the Jews of Egypt," which listed names and addresses of Jewish proprietors in Egypt and throughout the world (Küntzel, 2005).

Subsequent ideological leaders such as Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) who authored an antisemitic tract titled "Our Struggle with the Jews" continued to demonize Jews as idolaters and the "worst enemies" of Muslims (Qutb, 1993). Similarly, its most recent ideologue, the late Yusuf al-Qaradawi (1926-2022) preached that Jews "deserve Allah's wrath" and were "cursed" and "turned into pigs and monkeys" (Middle East Media Research Institute, 2019a).

Muslim Students Association (MSA): Founded in 1962 at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, the Muslim Students Association was the first organization established by American followers of the Muslim Brotherhood in the US (El-Horr and Saeed, 2008; US v. HLF, 2008a). In 1981 MSA created the Islamic Society of North America as an umbrella organization to cater to a broader off campus population of its followers in the US. (Ibn-Stanford, 1997).

Nation of Islam (NOI): Founded in Detroit in 1930, NOI is the largest organization of non-orthodox Black Muslims in the US (Gavins, 2016). It promotes Black nationalism and separatism (Gavins, 2016; Tareen, 2018). Since 1978 it has been led by the virulently antisemitic Louis Farrakhan (CBS, 2018; Associated Press, 2019b; Farrakhan, 2020).

New York for Palestine Coalition (NY4Palestine): NY4Palestine is a New York based red-green alliance. It is comprised of far-left Palestinian organizations oriented towards the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) terrorist organization, such as Samidoun Palestinian Prisoners' Network (National Bureau for Counter Terror Financing of Israel, 2021), and Al-Awda Palestinian Right to Return Coalition. Al-Awda has promoted convicted terrorists from PFLP, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and Hamas (Harkov, 2019).

Additionally, the coalition includes pro-Palestinian Islamist oriented groups, including American Muslims for Palestine (AMP). It also consists of hybrid organizations such as Within Our Lifetime and several local chapters of Students for Justice in Palestine. (New York for Palestine Coalition n.d.-a). NY4Palestine has adopted a Hamas slogan that calls for the ethnic cleansing of Israel and supports the BDS movement. (New York for Palestine Coalition, n.d.-b)

Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ): Also known as Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine (*Harakat al-jihad al-islami fi filistin*), PIJ was founded in 1981 (Marlowe, 1995) by Abd al-Aziz al-Awda (also known as Abd al-Aziz Odeh) (1950-), its ideologue, and Fathi al-Shiqaqi (1951-1995), its secretary general.

A Sunni Islamist terrorist organization established by Muslim Brotherhood adherents, its founders took inspiration from and crossed ideological lines to adopt the antisemitic Shi'i Islamist ideology of the Islamic Republic of Iran's late Ayatollah Khomeini (Hatina, 2001; Shahvar, 2009). Al-Shiqaqi openly admitted that PIJ received financial support from Iran since 1987 (Sachs, 1993). In 2018 PIJ reportedly received \$30 million from Iran for its terrorist activities (Levy,

2018) while more recently, due to Iran's worsening economic situation, its financial support was suspended (Abu Toameh, 2022).

Al-Shiqaqi called for the ethnic cleansing of Jews from Israel, declaring that "true peace means Israel does not exist" (Gellman, 1995). PIJ has targeted Israeli Jews in devastating suicide bombings, vehicle ramming attacks, shootings, and stabbings. During the 2022 Jewish high holiday season, PIJ offered a \$200 bounty to incentivize its followers to commit shooting attacks targeting Israeli Jews. As part of a drive to increase attacks, PIJ required that video of the shootings be posted on social media (Times of Israel Staff, 2022).

PIJ was designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization in 1995 by then President Clinton (Federal Register, 1995) and by the US State Department in 1997 (US Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, n.d.). PIJ has been listed as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist entity since 2001 (US Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, 2001). These measures led to financial sanctions against the organization and its leaders, and the US continues to block assets of PIJ and its leaders (US Treasury Office of Foreign Assets Control, 2023b).

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (*Al-Jabha al-sha'abiya litahrir filistin*)(PFLP): Founded in 1967 by the late George Habash (1926-2008), PFLP is a Marxist and Palestinian nationalist terrorist organization that seeks the ethnic cleansing and destruction of Israel (BBC, 2014; Encyclopedia.com, 2018). The PFLP has received financial support for its terrorist activities from the Islamic Republic of Iran which was recently suspended due to the economic crisis in that country (BBC Monitoring, 2022).

PFLP was designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by then US president Clinton in 1995 (Federal Register, 1995).

The US State Department designated the PFLP a Foreign Terrorist Organization in 1997 (US Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, n.d.) and the US Treasury sanctioned it as a Specially Designated Terrorist entity in November 2001 (US Department of Treasury, 2001). These measures imposed financial sanctions against PFLP's leaders and assets, which are still in effect today (US Department of Treasury Office of Foreign Assets Control, 2023a). Samidoun, which operates in Europe and North America, was designated as a terrorist organization affiliated with the PFLP by the Israeli government in 2021 (National Bureau for Counter Terror Financing of Israel, 2021).

Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP): Students for Justice in Palestine was founded in 1994 by Hatem Bazian and Snehal Shingavi at the University of California Berkeley (Bazian, 2018b). SJP was established for the purpose of attracting a broader audience of students to create an expanded alliance beyond Palestinian students on campus, particularly those who “support liberation and anti-racism struggles in South Africa, Central America, and in the United States” as well as anti-Zionist Jewish students (Bazian, 2020). Bazian has promoted antisemitic canards (Haaretz, 2017).

The organization is reported to have over 200 chapters at universities throughout North America (Small, Patterson & Feder, 2019).

SJP chapters have promoted antisemitic tropes. One of its chapters posted an image of a Nazi era propaganda poster on social media depicting Jewish control over the US (Borschel-Dan, 2014). Another posted a meme exhorting its followers to “start shaming Zionists” by verbally harassing them to “go back to Brooklyn” (Students for Justice in Palestine University of Illinois Chicago, 2020).

Jewish students have been targeted with acts of “antisemitic vandalism, verbal attacks, and outright violence at the hands of SJP” (Diker & Berk, 2018). In 2022 a student participating in an SJP protest march at the University of Illinois admitted that he threw a rock targeting Jewish students outside of the Hillel building on campus (Schenk, 2022).

SJP has extolled two unrepentant Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine terrorists who targeted Israeli Jews. (National Students for Justice in Palestine, 2020). One is an airplane hijacker (Schmitt, 2014) who attempted to detonate two grenades to kill passengers and crew aboard an El Al aircraft (Pine, 2020). The second terrorist was convicted of a Jerusalem supermarket bombing (Lubet, 2022) which resulted in the murder of two Israeli students and the injury of 20 others (Sugarman, 2017; Mickolus, 1980).

SJP has adopted a Hamas slogan which calls for the ethnic cleansing of Israel (National Students for Justice in Palestine, 2023a) and supports the BDS movement (National Students for Justice in Palestine, 2023b).

US Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO): Founded in 2014, USCMO is an umbrella organization that serves as a coalition for Islamist oriented groups. The USCMO consists of American Muslims for Palestine, Council on American Islamic Relations, Muslim American Society, Islamic Circle of North America, Muslim Ummah of North America, the Mosque Cares (Ministry of W.D.

Mohammed), Muslim Legal Fund of America, Muslim Ummah of North America, Muslim Alliance in North America, Mosque Foundation, and American Muslim Alliance.

Within Our Lifetime (WOL): Originally established as the New York City chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine (NYC SJP), WOL was founded in 2018 by Nerdeen Kiswani (Within Our Lifetime – United for Palestine, 2019b; Jamal, 2022). Kiswani has called for the destruction of Israel (Haymarket Books, 2021) and she has led the group in chanting a Hamas slogan calling for the ethnic cleansing and replacement of Israel (DataInput, 2022a). WOL has targeted pro-Israel Jewish organizations by distributing their addresses (WOL, 2021) and demonstrating outside their buildings (Tress, 2022a). In 2023 a founding member of WOL was sentenced to prison for carrying out three antisemitic assaults (Nakamura, 2022; US v. Masoud, 2023b).

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