



Global Muslim Brotherhood  
Research Center

# The Muslim Brotherhood in Ireland

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# SYNOPSIS

Despite a relatively small Muslim population, Ireland has become an important center for the Global Muslim Brotherhood in Europe. Two organizations, the Islamic Cultural Centre of Ireland (ICCI), funded by a foundation controlled by the ruling family of Dubai, and the Muslim Association of Ireland (MAI) have strong ties to each other and to the Federation of Islamic Organizations of Europe (FIOE), essentially the Muslim Brotherhood of Europe. The ICCI and its leaders have a history of support for fundamentalism, religious intolerance, and terrorism while the MAI has a history of Palestinian and anti-Israeli activism. Despite this record, the Irish Muslim Brotherhood enjoys good relations with the Irish government.

## BACKGROUND

Previous reports have detailed the structure of the Global Muslim Brotherhood in Belgium and the Netherlands.<sup>1 2</sup> The presence of the global Brotherhood is in those countries not surprising given the relatively large number of Muslims residing there. More surprising is the importance of Ireland to the global Muslim Brotherhood, especially considering the meager Irish Muslim population estimated at only 0.76 percent (32,539).<sup>3</sup> This population has been described as diverse with no particular ethnicity dominating. Compared with the Muslim populations of France and Germany, however, the majority of Irish Muslims are said to come from at least upper middle class backgrounds and have had a relatively high level of education. Typical professions include doctors, engineers, and businessmen, profiles consistent with those who historically support the Muslim Brotherhood.

The Muslim presence in Ireland began in the early 1950's and was largely comprised of students from South Africa followed by Muslim students from India, Malaysia and the Gulf states, many coming to study medicine at the Royal College of Surgeons in Dublin.<sup>4 5</sup> As their numbers increased, Irish Muslims began to form organizations beginning in January 1959 with the creation of the Dublin Islamic

Society. In subsequent years and with the financial assistance of Islamic countries, a new mosque on Dublin's Harrington Street mosque was opened in 1976 and a new building was purchased in 1985 at 163 South Circular Rd.<sup>6</sup> Participating in the Dublin Islamic Society since at least 1983 was Yaya Muhammad Al-Hussein, a Sudanese immigrant who became the leader of the Society whose name was changed in 1990 to the Islamic Foundation of Ireland (I.F.I).<sup>2 7</sup>

By the 1990's, Ireland was in the midst of an economic boom that was attracting Muslim migrants with professional qualifications and Arab investment in Irish beef production and horse breeding was taking place as well. One source reports that as a result, "the need emerged for an Islamic Centre that could cope with the growing Muslim population satisfying their needs in terms of education, socialization, integration and recreation."<sup>8</sup> In 1992, funds were obtained from the ruling family of Dubai and a major new Islamic complex was completed and inaugurated in 1996 known as the Islamic Cultural Centre of Ireland (ICCI), discussed later in this report as a major center of the global Muslim Brotherhood.

The largest proportion of Irish Muslims today are Sunni Arabs residing in Dublin where they are largely represented by the IFI and ICCI.<sup>9</sup> Other Islamic organizations have also been created that, together with the ICCI, comprise the global Muslim Brotherhood in Ireland. Unlike most other European countries, the Irish government appears to have developed a close relationship with these Brotherhood organizations. For example, in September 2007 Minister of State for Integration Conor Lenihan spoke at a Ramadan ceremony at the ICCI mosque where his remarks were described as follows:

“ Noting that Muslims were among the oldest of our newer immigrant groups, in that members of the community had been here for “20/30” years, he said such longevity had allowed for the development of “a very special relationship” between them and Irish society but also, through them, between Ireland and the wider and very diverse Muslim world.

1 The term “global Muslim Brotherhood” is used to denote the worldwide network of individuals and organizations that developed as Muslim Brotherhood members dispersed to other countries while fleeing the periodic crackdowns on the organization in Egypt

2 One source in Ireland claimed that Mr. Hussein had a background in the Muslim Brotherhood but this could not be confirmed.

Many of the Irish Muslim Brotherhood leaders described below were in the audience.

## ISLAMIC CULTURAL CENTRE OF IRELAND

### FOUNDING

In 1992, Sheikh Hamdan Ben Rashid Al-Maktoum, Deputy Governor of Dubai and Minister of Finance & Industry in the United Arab Emirates, agreed to fund new facilities for the Dublin Muslim community.<sup>10 11 12</sup> A 4-acre site in Clonskeagh, South Dublin, was purchased with a £5 million donation from the Maktoum family and included a training-center, which in 1993 became the location of the Muslim National School.<sup>3</sup> Later on, Sheikh Hamdan agreed to sponsor the construction of a Mosque and Islamic Centre on the same site. Work started on the new Mosque and Centre in 1994 and was completed in 1996. The Irish President, Mary Robinson, opened the new mosque and cultural center in Dublin on 14 November 1996.

An Irish Islamic website describes a controversy which arose over the control of ICCI that began seven months after completion of the project:

“ *The new premises of the Mosque and Islamic Centre was given to the Islamic Foundation of Ireland (which supervised its construction) and lease was signed for thirty five years giving the Islamic Foundation the right to run it. So, in effect the Islamic Foundation ran both Mosques in Dublin, the old Mosque and New Mosque. However, after the passage of seven months the Islamic Foundation of Ireland was asked to abandon its right in the lease of the property and reassign it to the newly formed Al-Maktoum Foundation (formed in 1997.) This move caused division and unnecessary trouble in the community. Although the reassignment of the lease to the Al-Maktoum Foundation has not been done as yet, the headquarters of the Islamic Foundation returned to the old Mosque in Dublin. The Islamic Cultural Centre is now run by the Al-Maktoum Foundation (all of its Directors are from the United Arab Emirates.) This is done*

3 Irish media reported that the funds were came from the Maktoum's personal funds and the three Maktoum brothers already had property interests in Ireland, horse breeding facilities in particular.. See “Islam goes Southside” The Irish Times May 11, 1996, CITY EDITION.

*through a local committee, which is chosen by the Al-Maktoum Foundation.*<sup>13</sup>

Local sources confirm the controversy saying that a representative of the Maktoum family felt that the Yaya Hussein of the IFI was not a “trained cleric” and preferred to bring in somebody who he felt was more qualified.<sup>4 14</sup> These sources also state that the Maktoums purchased the ICCI lease for a large amount of money.<sup>5</sup>

### ICCI TODAY

The ICCI is located in Clonskeagh, a southern suburb of Dublin and primarily a residential area with a population consisting in large part of Muslim immigrants mainly from the Persian



Gulf countries. The ICCI facility consists of a multi-building complex adjacent to a large wooded/open area and contains a mosque, sometimes referred to as the Clonskeagh mosque, placed in the center of the complex. A newspaper article from March reported over 1000 worshippers at the mosque for Friday prayers.<sup>15</sup> The ICCI facility also houses a seminar room, library, mortuary, self-service restaurant, fitness centre, bookshop, and matrimonial facility. Another section is dedicated for accommodation consisting of 10 apartments of different sizes.

The ICCI also houses the Muslim National School, a state-funded primary school which was established by the Islamic Foundation of Ireland and following the national curriculum. The school is said to have an “Islamic ethos” with the pupils being taught the Qur’an, Arabic and Religious Studies and a local newspaper reported that 200 of the 275 students do not speak English as a first language.<sup>16 17</sup> The same article refers to unidentified problems with the school management board in 2005. The Nur Al-Huda Qur’anic School is also affiliated with the ICCI and ICCI leaders are involved with an inter-faith school known as the Intercultural Interdenominational Primary School (IIPS).<sup>18 19</sup>

4 The new ICCI imam, Hussein Halawa, will be discussed later in this report.

5 Ownership of the ICCI land could not be determined but it should be noted that Yaya Hussein still resides on the property which may indicate that the IFI still controls the ICCI lease.

Activities at ICCI have included numerous conferences and events including interfaith events.<sup>20</sup> The ICCI operates several Dawa (preaching/conversion) programs including Arabic lessons, translation of the Koran into Gaelic, and simultaneous translation of brief sermons and preaching during Ramadan prayers.<sup>21 22 23</sup> A 2001 ICCI publication indicates that various dignitaries had been received at the facility including the Ambassadors of Palestine and Egypt as well as George Galloway, the far-left British MP noted for his anti-Israeli positions.<sup>24</sup>

From its inception, the ICCI has enjoyed good relations with the Irish government and as discussed above, its opening was attended by the Irish President. More recently, the ICCI was known to have been visited by the Irish President in 2006 and by a former President in 2007.<sup>25 26</sup> The Irish Taoiseach has also recently included the ICCI in interfaith discussions.<sup>6</sup> <sup>27</sup> In addition, the ICCI has been consulted by various Irish governmental commissions including those on health and discrimination.<sup>7 28 29</sup>

## FUNDING

As already discussed, the ICCI is operated by the Al Maktoum Foundation whose website says was founded in 1997 at the ICCI before moving its headquarters to Dubai two years later.<sup>30</sup> The Al Maktoum Foundation has operations in more than sixty countries and in November 2003, Islamic centers in Rotterdam, Scotland, South India, Georgetown and Pennsylvania, and mosques in Sweden, Boston and Frankfurt were among the new projects being undertaken by the Foundation.<sup>31</sup> The Al Maktoum Foundation is also known to have provided funding for the Europe Trust, the endowment/funding arm of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE), representing the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe.<sup>32</sup> The Al Maktoum Foundation is registered in Rotterdam where it is related to the controversial Essalam Mosque and where, as discussed later, ICCI Executive Director Nooh Al-Kaddo is a Trustee.<sup>33 34</sup> The Al Maktoum Foundation is also registered in Scotland where it supports the Al-Maktoum Institute for Arabic and Islamic Studies.<sup>35 36</sup>

The Al Maktoum Foundation is currently also registered in Ireland as a Limited company with an address at the ICCI.<sup>37</sup> As of September 2006, The Foundation was also registered as an Irish charity with Irish tax authorities.<sup>38</sup> As of October 2007 Foundation directors included Dr. Al-Kaddo, Mirza Al Sayegh as the Representative of Sheikh Hamdan bin Rashid Al Maktoum as well as other individuals with UAE addresses.<sup>39</sup>

As of December 2007, the Al Maktoum Foundation reported a turnover of 2,361,000 British pounds, presumably representing the budget of the ICCI, and net assets of 69,000 British pounds.<sup>40</sup> A local media report indicates that the ICCI was involved with funding at least one other Irish Islamic center identified as the Cavan Islamic Society.<sup>41</sup>

## IRISH COUNCIL OF IMAMS

In September 2006, local media announced the formation of the Irish Council of Imams (ICI), headed by ICCI Imam Hussein Halawa:<sup>8</sup>

“ *A Muslim representative body unique in Europe, the Irish Council of Imams, was launched in Dublin yesterday. Representing all 14 imams in Ireland, of both the Sunni and Shia traditions, it will have the authority to speak on relevant issues on behalf of the estimated 40,000 Muslims in the State. The council is a theological body whose objectives, as well as giving the Muslim view on events in Ireland, will also include the formation of a specialised official Muslim body to give the Islamic verdict on topical issues in Ireland.*<sup>42</sup>

The ICI is strongly associated with the ICCI. The ICI is registered at the ICCI address and in 2008, Irish phone records listed the ICI at the same address as the ICCI.<sup>43 44</sup> As discussed later, the ICI General-Secretary Ali Selim is a private secretary to Hussein Halawa and a resident theologian at ICCI.

6 The Taoiseach is roughly equivalent to a Prime Minister.

7 The ICCI also maintains relationships with a large number of Irish NGO's, which will not be detailed here.

8 At the time, some media reports suggested that the ICI was set up to counter the Supreme Muslim Council of Ireland (SMCI), head by South African imam Shaheed Satardien, who told local media in August 2006 that Ireland was becoming a “fundamentalist haven” and that “an ocean of extremism” was spreading among Muslims throughout Ireland.

## LEADERSHIP

### 1. NOOH AL-KADDO (ICCI DIRECTOR)

Dr. Nooh Edreeb Al-Kaddo was born January 21, 1953 and was originally from Baghdad, Iraq.<sup>45 46</sup> An on-line bio states that he has an MBA and a PHD in Public Administration from the University of Liverpool and was a management consultant and trainer in the Human Resources Development section



of the London office of the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT).<sup>47</sup> In 1996, Dr. Al-Kaddo was one of the founders of a U.K. management consulting company, which said it had clients in Europe, Middle East and Far East.”<sup>48 49</sup> Media articles indicate that Dr. Al-Kaddo lived in the UK for 17 years before moving to Ireland from Liverpool in 1997 in order to take up work at the ICCI.<sup>50</sup> Dr. Al-Kaddo was an active opponent of the 2003 Iraq war and was a founding member and spokesperson for the Irish “Muslims 4 Peace and Justice.”<sup>9 51 52</sup> He was reported to have traveled to Iraq three times since the fall of Saddam Hussein and in an April 2004 statement to the media, he appeared to defend insurgent activity in Fallujah commenting on the burning and mutilating of American contractors:<sup>53</sup>

“ Yes, it is right to defend yourself but to burn those people was not acceptable. I was shocked. I was not expecting that.”<sup>54</sup>

Dr. Al-Kaddo is currently the Executive Director of the ICCI and a director of the Al Maktoum Foundation Ireland.<sup>55 56</sup> He is also listed in corporate records as the Executive Director of the ICCI-affiliated Intercultural Interdenominational Primary School Limited described in media reports as the planned “first tridemoniminational religious school” in Europe.<sup>57 58</sup> Since March 2000, Dr. Al-Kaddo has also been a member of the board of the Stichting Moskee Essalam, responsible for the mosque that was funded by the Al Maktoum Foundation.<sup>59</sup>

Dr. Al-Kaddo has numerous ties to the global Muslim Brotherhood. He plays an important role with the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE) that was discussed in an earlier NEFA report and essentially comprises

the global Muslim Brotherhood in Europe.<sup>60</sup> Dr. Al-Kaddo has served as FIOE Head of Planning and Senior Advisor for the FIOE Development Programme.<sup>61 62</sup> He is currently listed in U.K. corporate records as a director of both the Europe Trust and the Europe Trust Property Enterprises Limited (EPTE), representing the funding arm of FIOE.<sup>63 64</sup>

Dr. Al-Kaddo is also associated with organizations that are part of the international network of charities known as the Union of Good (UG). As discussed in an earlier NEFA report, the UG is headed by global Muslim Brotherhood leader Youssef Qaradawi and serves to raise funds for Hamas. These organizations will be discussed later in this report.

In addition, as noted above, Dr. Al-Kaddo was formerly a management consultant and trainer in the Human Resources Development section of the London office of the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), a part of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>65</sup>

Dr. Al-Kaddo appears to have at least three children who are involved with organizations and causes associated with the global Muslim Brotherhood. For example, Ibrahim Al-Kaddo was active in the 2003 Irish antiwar movement as well as the Socialist Worker’s Party, a far-left UK group often aligned with the Muslim Association of Britain, also associated with the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>66 67 68</sup> A 2005 website identifies Ibrahim Al-Kaddo as head of the Irish chapter of the Federation of Student Islamic Societies in the UK and Ireland (FOSIS), closely associated with the Muslim Association of Britain and the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>69</sup>

### 2. HUSSEIN MOHAMMED HALAWA (IMAM)

Hussein Halawa was born in Cairo, Egypt in 1956.<sup>70</sup> In a newspaper interview, he said that he started memorizing the Koran when he was five years old and after finishing secondary school in Egypt at 19, he started giving lectures and delivering sermons as well as teaching in private schools.<sup>71</sup> Halawa’s online biography says that he went on to obtain



a Bachelor of Theology from Al-Azhar University and his MA and Ph.D. in Islamic studies at the International Islamic University - Islamabad.<sup>72</sup> He told a newspaper interviewer that it was “probably my love of travel” and his visits to other countries that led him to come to live in Ireland.<sup>73</sup> A newspaper interview suggests he came to Ireland in 1995.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Al-Kaddo has also acknowledged having relatives in Mosul and Baghdad Iraq and in one media report asserted that one of his relatives in Iraq might have been tortured at Abu Ghraib.

Sheikh Halawa is currently the ICCI Imam and in September 2006, local media was reporting that Halawa became the first President of the Irish Council of Imams.<sup>75 76</sup> An online biography describes him as a university lecturer in the Islamic world and a member of Fiqh academies in India and America.<sup>77</sup> A 2006 newspaper interview described his English competence as “limited” and that he requires the use of an English translator for interviews.<sup>78</sup> The same interview says “a strict Islamic code is in operation” at his home and for his five children.

Sheikh Halawa also has strong ties to the global Muslim Brotherhood. As of 2007, he was identified as the Secretary-General of the European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR), the theological body associated with FIOE.<sup>79</sup> A 2006 Irish newspaper article described Halawa as a “close friend” of global Muslim Brotherhood leader Youssef Qaradawi who chairs the Council. The same article discusses Halawa’s ties to the Muslim Brotherhood:

“ Many Muslim Brotherhood members I met recently in Cairo asked me if I knew Sheikh Halawa after hearing I was from Ireland. I tell Halawa this and ask if he is in the brotherhood himself. “I am not an Ikhwani [ Muslim Brother],” he says. “I am not a member of any party or political organisation. I am a Muslim scholar.”<sup>80</sup>

Sheikh Halawa has also attended conferences associated with the global Muslim Brotherhood including the 2002 Muslim Education in Europe Conference in Bonn, Germany also attended by many global Muslim Brotherhood leaders such as Tariq Ramadan and Ibrahim El-Zayat.<sup>81</sup>

### 3. ALI SELIM (SECRETARY-GENERAL ICI)

Ali Selim is listed in Irish corporate records as ICI secretary with an address at the ICCI and is generally referred to media reporting as the ICI Secretary-General.<sup>82</sup> An introduction in an article written by Mr. Selim provides the following biographical details:



“ Ali Selim was born in Egypt where he lived while he pursued his education and achieved a BA in Comparative Theology from the renowned Al-Azhar University of Cairo in 1993. He is acclaimed in his skills of translation, English to Arabic and vice-versa, and has spent time working

*in this field. Ali moved to Ireland where he studied Ecumenics and obtained his Masters in this field from Trinity College Dublin. He is an employee at the Islamic Cultural centre of Ireland since 1999. Throughout his years in Ireland Ali has worked as a teacher in the Muslim National School, and as an official translator especially in areas of theology and religious presentations. Presently Ali is the private secretary to Imam Sheikh Halawa at the Islamic Cultural Centre and a resident theologian therein. He continues to work in the educational field, in particular he travels to schools and colleges across Ireland to educate the students on Islam and create awareness of the religion and its culture. He also facilitates workshops on Islam and Islamic etiquette at the Centre for service providers and NGO’s, and also is also a commanding speaker and lecturer on Islam and comparative religions. He is also a member of the three-faith forum in Ireland. Ali has throughout his life in Egypt worked as a tour guide where he utilized his command for the English language to his great benefit. He continued to use this ability as a tour guide during visits made by students of theology to the Islamic Cultural Centre of Ireland. Ali is married and a father of three children and he takes his duty as a father one of considerable trust, a trust awarded to him by God Almighty.*

Despite the claim that Mr. Selim is proficient in English, a journalist who interviewed him in 2006 found that “it is obvious his knowledge of the language is limited and the interpreter will be required.”<sup>83</sup>

### ICCI TIES TO THE GLOBAL MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

#### 1. FIOE

As noted above, The Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE) is essentially the representative of the global Muslim Brotherhood in Europe.<sup>84</sup> Although the ICCI is not listed as a member organization, the ICCI has many ties to FIOE including:

- ◆ As noted above, Dr. Al-Kaddo and Hussein Halawa play important leadership roles in the FIOE.
- ◆ The European Council For Fatwa and Research (ECFR), a FIOE organization, is headquartered at the ICCI and a 2001 ICCI publication stated that the ECFR General Secretariat was permanently located at the ICCI facility

in Dublin.<sup>85 86</sup> At least six meetings of the ECFR are known to have been held in Dublin from 1998-2003.

- ◆ An ICCI publication states that the ICCI is the official examination center of the European College for Islamic Studies in France, likely the same organization known as the Institut Européen des Sciences Humaines -, the theological training facility of the FIOE.<sup>87</sup>
- ◆ The same publication reports that ICCI cooperated in organizing youth leadership conferences with the FIOE youth department and that the ICCI cooperated with FIOE to sponsor a conference titled “Muslims of Europe in the aftermath of the 11<sup>th</sup> September Crisis.”

## 2. INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS

The International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS) was launched on July 11, 2004 in conjunction with a visit by Youssef Qaradawi to London for a meeting of the ECFR. The IUMS characterized Qaradawi’s comments on the founding as follows:

“ In his opening address before the founding conference Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi stressed that the fall of the Islamic caliphate ended any unified reference for all Muslims. About the aim of the IUMS, Sheikh Al-Qaradawi said that it aims at creating an international Islamic reference for all Muslims that oversteps local juristic assemblies.<sup>88</sup> ”

The IUMS was listed in Irish corporate records at the ICCI address but in dissolution.<sup>89</sup> The IUMS website, however, continues to list Dublin, Ireland as the “Main Headquarters” of the IUMS.<sup>90</sup> According to the IUMS website, the organization has a board of 41 members chaired by Youssef Qaradawi and which includes many known leaders of the global Muslim Brotherhood such as Faisal Malawi, Jamal Badawi, and Essam Al-Bashir.<sup>91</sup>

ICCI has also co-sponsored two important conferences with the AMSSUK, a network of Muslim social scientists that is closely related to the International Institute of Islamic Thought UK. In September 2000, the AMSS UK and ICCI cosponsored a conference titled “MUSLIMS OF EUROPE IN THE NEW MILLENIUM” that included Tariq Ramadan, Taher Al-Alwani, and other Muslim Brotherhood leaders.<sup>92</sup> In September 2002, the AMSSUK and the ICI cosponsored a conference titled “Muslim Education in Europe” that included an even larger number of global Muslim Brotherhood leaders including Tariq Ramadan, Ibrahim El-Zayat, AbdulHamid AbuSulayman, and Ahmed Jaballah.<sup>93</sup>

## 4. ICCI CONFERENCES, LECTURES, COURSES, AND DEBATES

The ICCI has also held its own conferences featuring speakers from the global Muslim Brotherhood. Examples included a March 2002 conference titled “The Environment: The Endangered Species” which featured Jamal Badawi and an October 2007 conference titled “Our Children...Hopes & Realities” which featured Sheikh Wagdy Ghoneim and Saudi Sheikh Salman Al-Awda.<sup>94</sup>

Over the years, the ICCI has sponsored a large number of leaders of the global Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas through lectures, courses, and debates. They have included:<sup>95</sup>

Youssef Qaradawi	Qatar (Most important leader of the Global Muslim Brotherhood, ECFR)
Faisal Mawlawi	Lebanon (Muslim Brotherhood)
Abdullah Bin Bayyah	Saudi Arabia (ECFR)
Zhagoul El-Naggar	Egypt
Jamal Badawi	Canada (Islamic Society of North America)
Shaker El-Sayed	USA (Muslim American Society)
Esam Al Bashir	Sudan
Mouhammad Siyam	Possibly the late Hamas leader
Daud Abdullah	U.K. (Muslim Council of Britain)
Dilwar Hussein	U.K. (Islamic Foundation)
Ahmed Assal	Pakistan (International Islamic University)

## FUNDAMENTALISM

The ICCI and its leaders appear to support the implementation of the Shariah (Islamic Law) in Ireland:

- ◆ In July 2004, local media reported that the Alliance Irish Bank (AIB) had begun talks with the ICCI, described as “the representative body for Ireland’s 20,000-plus Islamic community” to supply tailor-made mortgage deals for prospective Muslim homeowners.<sup>96</sup>
- ◆ In February, local media reported on an initiative supported by the ICCI to set up Sharia-based councils for family problems:<sup>97</sup>



- ◆ In May, local media reported that the ICCI called for a national policy to be introduced allowing the hijab to be worn in all schools in Ireland.<sup>98</sup>
- ◆ In February 2006 ICCI leaders called the Danish cartoons “an attack on our prophet, an attack on our faith and suggested that freedom of speech should be limited in such cases.”<sup>99</sup>

ICCI theologian Ali Selim attracted a great deal of local media attention in September 2006 when he told a newspaper interviewer that, ideally, he would like to see Shariah law adopted in Ireland in the “event of a Muslim majority.”<sup>100</sup> Along the same lines, Mr. Selim said in 2006 that religious law should be imposed over secular law if the majority wished that.<sup>101</sup> In October 2007, a local blogger reported that in a media interview, Mr. Selim refused to condemn a Saudi punishment of 200 lashes of a Saudi woman who was gang-raped, claiming that it is a domestic affair of the Saudi state and that he “hadn’t seen any good news reports about it anyway.”<sup>102</sup>

## PLOTS AND CONSPIRACIES

There is evidence to suggest that the ICCI promotes a worldview in which Muslims are the victims of various plots and conspiracies. In February 2006, Hussein Halawa told Islamic media that a media campaign led by unidentified enemies of Muslims was behind the Danish cartoons:

“ I would like to stress that the caricatures, which have caused anger across the Muslim world since they were published in Denmark’s *Jyllands-Posten* last September and were reprinted in many European capitals, are one of the single measures within a systematic media campaign that aims at tarnishing the image of Islam. This media campaign is led by the people whose keen interest is to deteriorate the relations between Muslims and people of other religions. That is why we see them, from time to time, publishing provocative statements, books, laws, and lately cartoons that are no more than an extra measure within a larger context.”<sup>103</sup>

In April 2006, Halawa told the same Islamic media that terrorists were “paid agents” of the “enemies” of Muslim countries:

“ Moreover, I would like to stress that those who attack non-Muslim civilians in Muslim countries such as those who masterminded the recent attacks in Egypt are either paid agents or else people who are ignorant of the religion of Islam. I am more inclined

*to consider them as paid agents because if we ponder over the similar attacks and bombings that took place in Egypt in the last two years we will notice that they correspond to certain national events. This gives us the clue that fingers of accusation are pointing at the hidden hands of the enemies of Egypt as well as other Muslim countries who are mainly targeting the security and stability of those countries.*

In October 2006, Ali Selim suggested that there were conspiratorial forces behind the 911 attacks:

“ ...history, definitely, will prove to us that those people were not the only ones involved in 9/11. That, in actual fact, there’s a wider circle that’s under the shade so we can’t see it at the moment. It’s such a very complicated issue, you see. So to be convinced that only those people did it is very difficult. They were involved in it – nobody can deny that. But they can’t have been on their own. Who are the others? That’s the question that time will answer.”<sup>104</sup>

Mr. Selim also told the interviewer that he had seen no proof that Muslims carried out the July 2006 London bombings, suggesting that videotapes of the bombers might have been faked and that he was not aware that they were identified by their own families.

## RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

The ICCI has promoted at least three individuals associated with anti-Semitism. The ICCI has featured an appearance(s) by Zaghoul El-Naggar, an Egyptian with a long background with the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>105</sup> Dr. El-Naggar is best known as a proponent of “Bucailleism”, the belief that “the Qur’an prophesied the Big Bang theory, space travel and other contemporary scientific breakthroughs.”<sup>106</sup> Dr. El-Naggar has also published anti-Semitic materials promoted on his website including a book entitled “The Plot: Milestones in Zionist and World Subversion of the Palestinian People.”<sup>107</sup>

On at least two occasions, the ICCI has invited Egyptian preacher Wagdy Ghoneim to speak at ICCI events including its October 2007 annual conference.<sup>108</sup> <sup>109</sup> During a Brooklyn College conference sponsored by the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood on May 24, 1998, Mr. Ghoneim led anti-Semitic chanting referring to Jews as “Descendants of the Apes.”<sup>110</sup> Mr. Ghoneim, a former Imam at the Islamic Institute of Orange County, left the United States in December 2004 rather than be expelled for immigration violations. Local

media reported that Mr. Ghoneim was suspected of having ties to terrorist fundraising activities.<sup>111</sup>

The ICCI also promotes the works of Harun Yahya, the pen name for Turkish author Adnan Oktar.<sup>112 113</sup> Oktar is probably best described as an Islamic “creationist” but is also known for his anti-Semitic writings including those, which promote Holocaust denial.<sup>114 115</sup> Although an Israel research institute reported in 2004 that Oktar had “undergone a change and become more tolerant toward Jews”, his official biography contains statements that suggest anti-Semitism and his work titled “What Should a Moslem’s View of the People of the Book and Zionism Be?”, currently posted on his website, reflects anti-Semitic themes common to the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>116 117 118</sup>

In addition to anti-Semitism, the ICCI has been linked to anti-Shia activity. Time Magazine reported in April 2008 that according to local Shiites, relations between the Dublin Sunni and Shia communities deteriorated as Shi’ites gained power in Baghdad, growing worse as the sectarian conflict in Iraq became more violent.<sup>119</sup> The report recounted an incident concerning the son of a Shia imam who had been taunted as an “infidel” at the ICCI-operated Muslim National School. Dr. Imam Ali Saleh, a Najaf-born Shi’ite scholar and Dublin religious leader has reported that he has personal knowledge of anti-Shia comments made by speakers at the ICCI.<sup>120</sup> It should also be noted that in October 2007, the ICCI invited Saudi Sheikh Salman Al-Awda to speak at its annual conference.<sup>121</sup> At the time, Dr. Al Saleh said the cleric had recently written an article in a Saudi newspaper describing Shias as “non-Muslims”.<sup>122</sup>

## ICCI AND TERRORISM

While the ICCI officially condemned the September 11 attacks and other Jihadist violence, at least one ICCI leader appears to have taken a more ambivalent attitude toward terrorism. In October 2006, ICCI theologian Ali Selim claimed he was unaware of any Muslims calling for Jihad against the West.<sup>123</sup> Mr. Selim went on to say that he had “no opinion” about Osama Bin Laden:

“ I can’t reach a conclusion about [Osama Bin Laden], because I haven’t seen the man himself. I have just seen him on the screen and I’ve read what a lot of people have written and said about him, but I need to hear from the man in order to judge him. But in fact, even what we see on the screen, we then hear in a month’s time somebody coming up and saying,

*‘Oh, that was fake, that was not Osama Bin Laden, that was another person’, blah, blah, blah. But if I see him face to face and speak to him, I’ll be in a better position to judge [laughs].*

Also, as noted earlier in the report, the ICCI invited Saudi Sheikh Salman Al-Awda to speak at its 2007 annual conference and was one of 26 Saudi clerics to declare in 2004 that it was a religious duty to fight US troops in Iraq

Evidence also suggests connections between ICCI and Hamas: In March 2004, the ICCI co-sponsored a demonstration at the Israeli Embassy to protest the killing of Hamas spiritual leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassine.<sup>124</sup> In April, the ICCI called the killing of Hamas leader Dr. Abdul Aziz Rantisi “brutal savagery, the like of which has never been seen in the past or present history”<sup>125</sup>



A 2001 ICCI publication presents photos of “exhibitions on ‘Intifada’ and charity bazaars in support of the Palestinian People.”<sup>126</sup> During a site visit to the ICCI facility in November 2008, a collection box marked “Palestine” was observed outside the ICCI mosque.<sup>127</sup>

As noted above, on two recent occasions the ICCI sponsored speaking appearances by Egyptian preacher Wagdy Ghoneim. Local media describes Mr. Ghoneim as an Egyptian cleric who has been denied entrance to Canada and Switzerland because of his alleged links to Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.<sup>128</sup> One Swiss media report stated that Mr. Ghoneim had been expelled from the U.S in connection with extremism and in Italy had defended suicide attackers and asserted that “the destiny of all the men is to become Moslem, if not they will become like cats or mice”.<sup>129</sup>

ICCI leaders also have connections to Hamas. As noted earlier in this report, ICCI imam Hussein Halawa was described as a “close friend” of Youssef Qaradawi who is sometimes described as a spiritual leader of Hamas and is responsible for the fatwas, or religious rulings, that authorized suicide bombings directed against Israeli civilians.<sup>130</sup>

ICCI Executive Director Noah Al-Kaddo has been listed as an officer in three U.K organizations that in turn are part of the Union of Good, identified earlier as a worldwide

consortium of charities led by Youssef Qaradawi that helps to raise funds for Hamas. In 2004, a business database listed Dr. Al-Kaddo as the CEO of Human Appeal International (HAI), the UK branch of a charity founded in 1984 and based in the UAE.<sup>131</sup> U.S and Israeli governments have reported that HAI has had a close relationship to Hamas and has provided payments to a Hamas-related charity in the PA-administrated territories.<sup>132</sup><sup>133</sup> In 2003, HAI was listed as part of the Union of the Good.<sup>134</sup>

U.K. records also list Dr. Al-Kaddo as a Trustee of the Human Relief Foundation (HRF), a UK based charity with offices in the London, Glasgow, Iraq (Baghdad and Mosul), Kashmir, Pakistan, Sudan and Jordan.<sup>135</sup> <sup>136</sup> <sup>137</sup> The HRF annual reports provide an itemized list of donors many of whom are associated with the global Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>138</sup> HRF has been a member of the Union of Good since the inception of that organization and is currently listed as a member organization.<sup>139</sup> <sup>140</sup>

In 2004, U.K. Company records also list Dr. Al-Kaddo as the Director of Orphan.com registered at the same address as HAI and also part of the Union of Good.<sup>141</sup>



Finally, the ICCI has promoted speaking appearances by Azzam Tamimi. Dr. Tamimi is a leader in the U.K. Muslim Brotherhood and is closely associated with Hamas.<sup>142</sup>

## MUSLIM ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND

### FOUNDING

Four of the founders of the Muslim Association of Ireland (MAI) had been directors of an earlier organization known as the Irish Islamic Association (IIA) that was registered as a Limited Company on August 2, 2000 and dissolved on June 7, 2002.<sup>143</sup> <sup>144</sup> Mansour K. Sheleg, one such IIA director and identified as a medical student, listed his address at the ICCI and the ICCI was also listed as the registered office of the IIA.

The Muslim Association of Ireland (MAI) was created in 2001 and the address of the MAI head office was the same as the last address of the IIA as listed in Irish company records.<sup>145</sup> According to an archived MAI webpage, the organization had its origins as a student society at the University College

Dublin, consistent with the identity of the IIA founders.<sup>146</sup> According to an MAI Draft Constitution, the MAI was defined as:

“ *An Islamic gathering, which aims to provide welfare for the Muslim community in Ireland and to introduce the principles and noble values of Islam to the Irish society. It is a member of the Federation of Islamic organizations of Europe.*<sup>147</sup>

The administrative structures specified in the draft constitution are consistent with other Muslim Brotherhood organizations and include a General Assembly, Shura Council, and Departments of Dawa, Youth and Students, Media and Information, Public Relations, Education, and Women.<sup>10</sup>

### MAI TODAY

The MAI currently describes itself as “a community-based, independent non-profit organization funded by contributions from members of our community and as of 2005, the MAI was registered with the Irish Registrar of Friendly Societies.<sup>11</sup><sup>148</sup><sup>149</sup> The organization has had at least three addresses and the MAI has indicated that unidentified rental problems have forced it to move.<sup>150</sup> The current MAI location is in an unmarked unit at the Greenhills Business Centre in Tallaght, the largest town and county seat of South Dublin County and an area with the highest concentration of Muslims in Dublin.<sup>12</sup>



The most recent annual MAI report from 2007 states that the MAI had 60 members while MAI Executive Director Adam Argiag says there are currently 70 members and some 300 people of many nationalities use the facilities mentioning in particular Arabs, Pakistanis, Nigerians, Russians, Bangladeshis, Kurds and Tanzanians.<sup>151</sup> <sup>152</sup> The majority, however, are Libyans according to Mr. Argiag.

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10 This is similar to the administrative structure of the FIOE.

11 The Irish Registrar of Friendly Societies is the Irish authority for “cooperative associations.”

12 MAI is sometimes referred to as the Tallaght Mosque.

## FUNDING

The MAI Executive Director stated that while the MAI relies on donations, they are currently looking for funds, have held charity dinners, and are seeking government funding. The MAI has stated that is trying to purchase the building it is currently renting in order to secure a permanent Mosque in the area and ensure that it will not have to be moved again.<sup>13 153</sup>

MAI executive director Adam R. disclosed that a “millionaire businessman” located at Citywest and with business interests in China allowed MAI to use the Greenhill facilities rent-free. He further stated that this individual was “supportive of the Muslim community.” Irish property records indicate that the MAI facilities are owned by Anne Lindsay who is a director of a company known as Softworld Limited with a business address at Citywest, a business park located approximately 3.8 km west of Talaght.<sup>154 155</sup> Also listed as a director of Softworld Limited is Francis Moore. Moore’s business address is also used by a computer product and services company in Vienna.<sup>156</sup> An Irish business directory states that Softworld Limited is “engaged in business as suppliers of satellite receivers and specialised software” and lists and an address at the Greenhills Business Centre.<sup>157</sup>

## LEADERSHIP

MAI documents identify the following individuals as part of the MAI leadership.<sup>14 158</sup>

### 1. ADAM ARGIAG (EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR)

Adam Argiag identifies himself as the MAI Executive Director and MAI registration documents list him as “Director” since 2006, a position he also held in 2002.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>160</sup>In an interview, Mr. Argiag said he was from Libya, identifying his home village in the Green mountains 250km from Crete and that he still had family there.<sup>161</sup> He said he had a degree in food engineering and been a part time MAI executive for six years. During that time, Mr. Argiag said he had:



- ♦ Lectured on integration to the “Irish political system”
- ♦ Debated the EU Lisbon Treaty with a Sein Fein member
- ♦ Lectured Irish police in Tula and other places
- ♦ Lectured school-teachers in understanding Islam (5<sup>th</sup> year students)
- ♦ Hosted Iraqi parliamentarians “to tell the truth”

Mr. Argiag said he was married with children and doesn’t visit his home in Libya. He said that his children are in Catholic school because he doesn’t support separate schools for Muslims.

### 2. KHAIRI DUIBI (TRUSTEE)

Khairi Duibi has been listed as an MAI Trustee since 2002 and was listed as a member of the Executive Committee in 2003.<sup>162</sup> In a 2003 local media report, Mr. Duibi was described as a spokesman for the MAI.<sup>163</sup> In February 2003, Mr. Duibi participated in a press conference staged by several religious organizations to announce the details of a protest march against US action in Iraq.<sup>164</sup> In December 2006, local media reported that Mr. Duibi was stepping down as group leader of the Irish Muslim Scouts.<sup>165</sup> An Internet city directory identifies a Khairi Duibi as the owner of an unnamed supermarket selling “authentic Arabic food and drinks.”<sup>166</sup>

### 3. OMAR AL-KHADRAWI (IMAM)

Mr. Argiag said an individual named “Omar” was Imam for MAI and he is a member of the Irish Council of Imams. A FIOE webpage identifies an Omar al-Khadrawi as chairman of the MAI Shura council.<sup>167</sup> An Irish media report identifies an Imam Umar Khadrawi and as a member of the Tallaght mosque.<sup>168</sup>

### 4. HUSSEIN HAMED (SHURA COUNCIL)

In August 2006, local media identified Hussein Hamed as an MAI representative.<sup>169</sup> A Hussein Hamed signed a March 2003 petition posted online and entitled “Declaration and Pledge by the Irish Resistance” calling for “direct action against the Warmachine of the US/UK Aggressors worldwide and/or offer moral or material support to those of the Resistance who can and will do so” but excluding “violence against persons.”<sup>170</sup>

### 5. MANSOUR SHELEG (SHURA COUNCIL)

As noted above, a Mansour K. Sheleg was identified as a medical student in the original IIA registration although no current listing for him was found in Irish medical

13 The estimated cost of the building is 2 million Euros.

14 Those in the MAI leadership that could not be further identified are not listed here.

registrations.<sup>171</sup> Mr. Sheleg is also a group leader of the Irish scouts, having taken over from Mr. Duibi in 2006.<sup>172</sup>

## 6. MOHAMMED DUADU (TRUSTEE)

In 2004, Mohammed Duadu listed his address at ICCI.<sup>173</sup>

Other sources identify two other individuals as MAI leaders:

### 1. MANSOUR AL-KATTABI

A 2007 rental agreement involving the MAI was signed by Al-Kattabi who was listed as “Executive Director.”<sup>174</sup>

### 2. FATHI AKKARI

Local sources report that a Fathi Akkari is the “real powerhouse” behind the MAI. This is likely the same individual who is a Lecturer of Electronics at the Tallaght Institute of Technology and referred to as “Br. Fathi Akkari (Aka Abu Anas)” in the minutes of a 2008 Islamic Foundation of Ireland General Meeting.<sup>175176</sup> Dr. Fathi Akkari has been described as “from the Islamic Cultural centre” and a Fathi Akkari was one of the conference organizers for a September 2000 meeting hosted by the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (U.K.) and the ICCI. Dr. Nooh Al-Kaddo also attended the meeting, where the two gave a joint presentation.<sup>177 178</sup> A Fathi Akkari is also listed in Irish corporate records as the Managing Director of Eastern Foods, identified as an import/export company.<sup>179</sup>

## AFFILIATIONS

The MAI is currently listed as the Irish member of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE) and the MAI is also a member of the European Federation of Muslim Women, likely part of FIOE.<sup>180 181 182</sup> Despite this clear evidence of the links between MAI and the FIOE, MAI Executive Director Adam Argiag stated that the MAI was “not part of any larger group.”

## ACTIVITIES

Many of the known activities of the MAI appear to center on Palestinian/anti-Israeli activism. For example, in 2006 the MAI joined the ICCI, IFI, FOSIS, and the Palestinian Right Institute in a statement condemning the UN and EU over alleged inaction in the Lebanese/Israeli War declaring:

“...the events show the complete failure of the United Nations as an organisation for peace, security and justice. The UN instead has become the tool to the hands of the aggressors and those supporting them,” it said. The groups also condemned the British government for “supporting and allowing these weapons of mass destruction to be delivered through UK to Israel.”<sup>183</sup>

Other examples include:

- ◆ The MAI has sponsored 2008 appearances by Azzam Tamimi, discussed earlier as a well known U.K. Muslim Brotherhood leader and known to be close to Hamas.<sup>184</sup>
- ◆ In March 2003, the MAI and the Palestinian Return Center, known to be associated with the Muslim Brotherhood in the UK, co-sponsored two speakers during a “Jenin Week” in Dublin.<sup>185</sup>
- ◆ An archived MAI webpage displays photographs best described as pro-Palestinian propaganda consisting of photographs appearing to show Israeli soldiers abusing Palestinian children.<sup>186 187</sup>



## RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

MAI Executive Director Adam Argiag has numerous publications in his office written by Harun Yahya, described earlier in this report in connection with anti-Semitic writings. Mr. Argiag was also actively promoting Mr. Yahya during a site visit. It is not known, however, if any of these materials at the MAI location contained anti-Semitic material.



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