



THE INVESTIGATIVE JOURNAL

— TRUTH IN JOURNALISM —

ERDOGAN'S LONG ARM IN THE US:

Turkish Influence Operations Among American Muslims

Ahmet S Yayla

TABLE OF CONTENTS

3	Background
5	United States, Erdogan and American Muslims
8	President Trump and Erdogan
9	Erdogan's Intelligence in the U.S. 2010 Onward
10	Executive Summary
11	Groups and Individuals in the United States Working Closely with Erdogan
	Turkish Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet) and the Diyanet Center of America (DCA)
	Introduction
12	Personnel and Budget
14	Historical Evolution of Diyanet under the AKP
16	Imam Hatip Schools (Religious Vocational Schools)
	Mosques and Foundations and Diyanet's "Spy Imams" Overseas
	Turkey
	Overseas
17	International Spying Imams of Diyanet
24	The Turkish American Community Center (TACC): American operations
26	Diyanet Center of America (DCA)
29	Functions of DCA
30	Coordination of the Turkish-American Mosques
32	Affiliated Diyanet Institutions
	Activities
	Events, Training, and Panels
34	Friday Khutbah (Sermon) Invitations
35	Turkish American Religious Foundation (TARF)
38	ForumUSA – AKP Influence Operation
40	Turkish Heritage Organization (THO)
41	Funding
42	Establishment of the THO
45	The FBI Probe and Warnings about the THO Activities
47	Structure, Hierarchy, Links to Erdogan Family and Espionage
55	THO and Turkish Diplomacy/Bureaucracy in the U.S.
	Anti-Semitism and Hostility towards the U.S.
56	The Zakat Foundation of America (ZF)
57	Terrorism Connections: al-Qaeda and IHH
59	Close Ties with Turkish Bureaucrats and Institutions
61	Ties with U.S. Organizations
64	Muslim Groups and Individuals in the United States Working Closely with Erdogan
	The United States Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO)
70	Annual MAS-ICNA Conventions (The Muslim American Society and the Islamic Circle of North America)
75	Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)
86	Islamic Circle of North American (ICNA)
89	International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT)
95	Muslim Legal Fund of America (MLFA)
99	American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)
104	Zaytuna College
105	Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)
113	Conclusions
116	Exhibits

ERDOGAN'S LONG ARM IN THE U.S.:

TURKISH INFLUENCE OPERATIONS AMONG AMERICAN MUSLIMS

Understanding the mindset of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, and how it led to behind-the-scenes funding of not only Turkish but also American Muslim nonprofits in the United States is essential to assess the strategic changes in Turkish foreign policy since 2011.¹ It helps to explain Turkey's deliberate drift away from the West and NATO and rapprochement with Muslim Brotherhood affiliates and other political Islamist movements.

Erdogan gradually increased his influence operations in the U.S. first after he took office in 2002, but more importantly, after 2010 when he consolidated his hold on the MIT through the appointment of its head. He worked through means including reassignment of friendly officials to Washington DC as embassy and consulate personnel, working with different lobbying firms, reaching out to American Muslim communities in an effort to facilitate their lobbying power to boost his policies and objectives in the U.S., establishing new Turkish-backed institutions as long-term policy investments, hiring of prominent people close to President Trump and intensified intelligence operations in an effort to influence Trump's policies toward Turkey and himself.

BACKGROUND

After President Erdogan secured a decisive victory in the June 2011 elections, he immediately and deliberately started to shift Turkey's decades-old established secularist government legacy and foreign policy away from the West and towards the Islamic world. In the eyes of many Muslim activists, he is a leading contender for the title of Caliph of a post-ISIS Caliphate.

Erdogan's self-understanding likely was shaped by two important historical events, the so-called Arab Spring demonstrations, chiefly in Egypt, beginning on December 18, 2010², and the Syrian civil war beginning on March 15, 2011. Both historical turning points affected Erdogan, seeing an opportunity to promote himself in the Islamic world as the person to lead the 'Ummah' or community of believers.

Erdogan has never disguised his ambitions to become the leader of the Islamic world.³ As Turkey's economic prosperity progressed, Erdogan invested in international diplomacy and humanitarian aid to leverage his influence in the Islamic world and among Muslim migrants in the West. The religious aspirations of deeply devoted Muslims were fueled by Erdogan's frequent visits and support to several Muslim civil-society organizations that promoted his agenda.

When the Arab Spring started in Tunisia, spreading to Egypt and arriving in Libya, Erdogan carefully planned and produced policies to increase his influence in those countries. For example, he took an official trip to Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya, beginning in 2010. During his visit, he often mentioned his plan to visit Gaza during the same trip⁴ in September 2011.

Erdogan spoke from this perspective on May 11, 2011, in a PBS interview with Charlie Rose, saying, "Let me give you a very clear message. I don't see Hamas as a terror organization. HAMAS is a political party. And it is an organization. It is a resistance movement trying to protect its country under occupation. So, we should not mix terrorist organizations with such an organization."⁵

Furthermore, Erdogan openly and officially supported the Muslim Brotherhood and Muhammed Morsi in Egypt after he was elected on June 30, 2012. He advised Morsi to counter the opposition harshly, in particular when the Egyptian military started to oppose Morsi openly.⁶ The New York Times reported that Erdogan, while in Egypt in September 2011 said publicly "as a Turk, I didn't want to be watching this situation from afar as if I was watching a football game."⁷

Erdogan's 2011 visit Egypt was well received in the region. The press praised his speeches and extolled him as the person to unite the Islamic world and counter Israel. Die Welt, reporting on the same trip, was among the first Western platforms to draw attention to Erdogan's Islamic ambitions in the region. DW called him the "New Caliph,"⁸ in headlines and framed his role as a game-changing player in the region, dubbing "Erdogan as the new Saladin?"⁹ Similarly, HAMAS leader Khaled Meshaal praised Erdogan after he was re-elected to lead the AKP at the 4th ordinary congress of his party in September 2012. Meshaal addressed the 40,000-person audience, "Turkey's support for the people of Syria and Palestine is unforgettable. My brother Erdogan, thank goodness God gave you so much. And you deserve it. **You are also a leader of the Muslim world.**"¹⁰

Meanwhile, Erdogan successfully used Israel's conflict with the Palestinians for his domestic and political ambitions, particularly after his infamous angry exchange with Shimon Peres, the Israeli president, during the World Economic Forum at a panel discussing Gaza, when he rebuked Peres with the following: "When it comes to killing, you know well how to kill."¹¹

Additionally, several Islamist figures in Turkey promoted Erdogan as the leader of the new "Islamic world." For example, Abdurrahman Dilipak, a close ally of Erdogan, publicly claimed that **"Erdogan will establish the real Islamic Caliphate."**¹²



"You are also a leader of the Muslim world."¹⁰

Similarly, Kadir Misiroglu, a well-known author known for his support of Osama bin Laden and the 9/11 attacks, claimed that **"anyone who does not vote for Erdogan is an infidel."**¹³

Erdogan used these incidents to extend his influence both domestically and internationally in three ways. First, he used the Arab Spring and the military takeover by President Sisi in Egypt to certify his leadership position in the Sunni

Islamic world. Second, he tried to extend Turkey's influence in Syria by supporting the overthrow of Bashar Assad and his Shia government. Third, and more importantly, he utilized the global Islamist movements, particularly the Muslim Brotherhood and HAMAS networks¹⁴ around the world, to support his policies and to increase his influence.

Erdogan started to see and present himself as the only leader that could represent and lead the Muslim world, including the Muslim Brotherhood.

In fact, to this end, Erdogan and the AKP supporters not only rallied behind the Muslim Brotherhood and HAMAS establishments around the world, but commercial groups and big investors began to pour in continuous financial support. As documented by Aylin Unver, a non-resident fellow at Johns Hopkins' Center for Transatlantic Relations, in her 2014 book, titled "Islam and Democracy: Perspectives on the Arab Spring," Turkish businessmen with close ties to Erdogan included the MUSIAD (the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Associations) and Turkish charities such as IHH (the Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief).¹⁵

UNITED STATES, ERDOGAN AND AMERICAN MUSLIMS

When Erdogan's new AK Party won the general elections on November 3, 2002, he could not become the Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic due to a court ban. In fact, only through a delicate process and international support was Erdogan able to get elected to the Turkish Parliament and become the Prime Minister on March 15, 2003.¹⁶ Erdogan, in this era, was skeptical about possible American support for his rule as the leader of the AK Party, and he sought ways to establish connections with the U.S., particularly with President George W. Bush. He felt he needed legitimacy and backing to his political career, mostly due to fear of the ultra-secularist Turkish military. A month after the elections, in December 2002, Erdogan secured a meeting with President Bush, which was the beginning of his American journey.¹⁷

Erdogan at first had almost no Turkish-American connections besides Egemen Bagis who first became his translator, then a parliament deputy and eventually the minister for EU Affairs and chief negotiator of Turkey in accession talks with the European Union¹⁸. (He was also caught red-handed taking bribes from Reza Zarrab (a Turkish sanctions evader who turned state's evidence) for his role in circumventing the American and UN embargo against Iranian oil, which led to his resignation in 2013.¹⁹)

Erdogan understood that he needed to rely on others for his dealings in the U.S., not only with the Turkish diaspora but also other Muslims in the U.S. Initially, Erdogan tried to work with the Gulen movement's already established connections in the U.S. as he had not trusted the Turkish bureaucracy in the U.S. including the Turkish Ambassador and other Ministry of Foreign Affairs service members and the Turkish military members serving in NATO or assigned to work in the U.S. Erdogan often called these people "monşör"²⁰ in Turkish referring to the French "monsieur"; this meant the elite "white" Turks whom he thinks oppose his rule. Erdogan knew he could not rely on Gulen for very long, as Gulen represented Turkey's traditional Sufi

Islam, and Erdogan adhered a form of political Islam along with traditional Turkish Nakshi Islam. While both Erdogan's and Gulen's bases were close to each other, having supported each other as Islamic movements against the secularist establishment in the country for a long time, everyone understood that their comprehension of religion when it comes to politics and education was completely different.

Erdogan lacked widespread support in the U.S. when he first became the Prime Minister in 2003. Additionally, the American Muslim establishments were not completely sure about Erdogan, who was recognized as the person who betrayed Necmettin Erbakan. Erbakan, the leader of the Welfare Party, where Erdogan started his political life, had already built worldwide connections with the global Muslim Brotherhood movements and other Islamic establishments. As Erdogan had turned against Erbakan, the major American Muslim groups were disposed to take their time and observe Erdogan at the beginning of his rule.

However, Erdogan was ambitious, and he needed permanent backers of his policies who would advocate for him no matter what. To this end, Erdogan poured millions of dollars for lobbying to influence American policymakers. For example, it was reported in 2009 that lobbyists operating with financial assistance from Turkey had more interactions with members of Congress than lobbyists representing any other foreign country spending over \$3,000,000 on lobbying firms in 2007-2008.²¹

Turkey's expenditures through Erdogan on the lobbying firms in the U.S. continuously increased with a peak just after the December 2013 anti-corruption operations, after which Erdogan needed the necessity of clearing his name through false narratives. (This eventually led to a federal trial in New York where Erdogan's former middleman in the Iranian oil -to- gold scheme became the star witness explaining in

fact how Erdogan ordered the circumvention of the Iranian embargo.²²)Furthermore, Erdogan's effort to lobby in the U.S. also increased after the 2016 coup attempt as he attempted to rally American support behind his rule, imprisoning thousands who had nothing to do with the coup attempt. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, Turkey spent over \$6 million throughout 2018, while Turkish non-government organizations spent \$1.4 million, whereas they had spent respectively \$7.3 million and respectively \$543,000 in 2017.²³

However, the formal lobbying channels were not enough for Erdogan, and he was not happy with the results in the U.S. in terms of the support he was getting from American Muslims and the general public. From this regard, in addition to formal lobbying to increase his influence, Erdogan adopted new policies for broader support in the U.S., which included increasing his soft power through a variety of means.

One of the first steps Erdogan took was the mobilization of American Muslim groups like CAIR, ISNA, and ICNA, which were established mostly for solidarity reasons. Erdogan opted to reach out to those groups as the leader of the new Islamic world. These groups included many American Muslims who had moved to the U.S. years before and became prominent.

Erdogan's move was not a simple attempt to ask the support of those groups, but a coordinated campaign with the backing of the Turkish state apparatuses and finances, including the Turkish government establishment and intelligence operations in the U.S. as well as other civil society groups established by Erdogan like the THO or MUSIAD. It also included taking control of older institutions, foundations, and mosques which already existed before Erdogan.

Furthermore, as presented in this report, most of the well-established American Muslim groups and Turkish institutions controlled by or close to Erdogan started to interact with each, most of the times being present at each other's events, ranging from panels and conferences to fairs and Ramadan iftar dinners. This attempt at religious alliance included many of these groups being invited and present during Turkish state visits when Erdogan or other senior Turkish state officials came to the U.S.

As discussed in this report, some of the American Muslim groups decided to rally behind Erdogan, often without being able to comprehend Erdogan's real intentions. They may have believed he was a sincere and just Muslim and thus opened their platforms in the U.S. not only to Erdogan, but also other Turkish establishments developed under Erdogan. In return, Erdogan promised to represent the Islamic world,²⁴

particularly after the coup in Egypt as the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood members found refuge²⁵ in Turkey. Erdogan also openly rallied against Israel and supported HAMAS as a form of "Pan-Islamist (Neo-Ottomanist) Foreign Policy."²⁶

Beyond playing to the leadership of the ummah or Muslim community of believers, Erdogan also started to support American Muslim groups financially, often using the means of the Turkish state through sponsorships, advertisements, and direct exchange of cash or checks. Furthermore, at this point, members and supporters of these groups were often invited to Turkey for a variety of reasons, including meetings, education, or just plain vacations, often all paid by Turkey as detailed in this report.

In addition to reaching out to American Muslims and relying on their existing networks in the U.S., Erdogan also decided to establish his own institutions as a long-term investment whereby he would be able to influence Turkish-Americans, American Muslims and more importantly American politicians, universities and think tanks and maybe American public opinion. While Erdogan opened a number of high-profile institutions, some of which are subjects of this report, his supporters also began to slowly take over Turkish mosques, foundations, and local papers.

Among the newly established, opened or taken over institutions are:

- Diyanet Center of America (DCA) and the main Diyanet Mosque in Lanham, MD
- Turkish Heritage Organization (THO)
- The Turkish-American National Steering Committee (TASC)
- The Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Associations (MUSIAD)
- TURKEN Foundation
- KAGEM DCA, Diyanet Women, Family, Youth and Education Center
- Turkish American Religious Foundation (TARF)
- Zakat Foundation
- ForumUSA newspaper



American Muslim organizations that collaborate and coordinate with Turkey and Erdogan:

- The United States Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO)
- MAS-ICNA Conventions
- Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)
- Islamic Circle of North American (ICNA)
- International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT)
- Muslim Legal Fund of America (MLFA)
- Muslim American Society (MAS)
- American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)
- Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)
- Zaytuna College



PRESIDENT TRUMP AND ERDOGAN

The next step in Erdogan's game was the facilitation of the newly elected Trump administration through a variety of means. The first happened through President Trump's former national security adviser, General Michael Flynn, who, from August to November 2016 worked for a Turkish front company owned by Ekim Alptekin, chairman of the Turkish-American Business Council, a close ally of Erdogan with underworld connections, while serving as the military advisor of then-candidate Trump.²⁷ General Flynn's firm, the Flynn Intel Group, was paid \$530,000 for his work through a contract signed on August 9, 2016, with a Netherlands company named Inovo, owned by Alptekin.²⁸

In return, General Flynn wrote an op-ed in *The Hill* on August 11, 2016, titled "Our ally Turkey is in crisis and needs our support"²⁹ and asking the extradition of Gulen by naming him as "a shady Islamic mullah" and "radical Islamist" and arguing "Washington is harboring Turkey's Osama bin Laden" from Turkey's point of view.³⁰

The second incident happened when General Flynn met with Erdogan's son-in-law, the Minister of Finance and Treasury Berat Albayrak, and with Minister of Foreign Affairs Mevlut Cavusoglu in September 2016³¹ to "discuss a plot to kidnap and extradite" Gulen from his Pennsylvania house in exchange for \$15 million.³² During the sentencing of Flynn, the judge told General Flynn, referring to his dealing with Turkey, "arguably you sold your country out."³³

The third incident involved Rudy Giuliani, the former mayor of New York City, and President Trump's personal lawyer. Reza Zarrab, the Turkish-Iranian gold trader who worked with Erdogan to circumvent the American embargo against Iranian oil, hired Mr. Giuliani's firm, Greenberg Traurig LLP, among his defense team. Additionally, the same firm was also a "registered agent of the Turkish Government."³⁴ Mr. Giuliani worked extensively to terminate the Zarrab case in an effort to assist Erdogan, whom he knew he was behind the criminal scheme. Meanwhile, Mr. Giuliani, held a secret meeting with Erdogan in Turkey to discuss the Halkbank case as he was acting as an agent of Turkey.³⁵ (Halkbank is the Turkish state-owned bank involved in the oil-to-gold scheme)

Judge Berman wrote in notes he prepared for a press interview, "I am still stunned by the fact that Rudy was hired to be – and he very actively pursued – being the 'go-between' between President Trump and Turkey's President Erdogan in an unprecedented effort to terminate this federal criminal case in the middle of the case."³⁶ Judge Berman continued, "had Rudy succeeded, he and the two presidents I mentioned, would have helped very significantly the country of Iran – which was the beneficiary of the conspiracies to avoid USA sanctions against Iran, i.e., the very heart of the allegations in this case."³⁷

Later, it was revealed on October 15, 2019, that Mr. Giuliani, as the president's lawyer, "repeatedly urged President Trump to arrange for the deportation of a Turkish cleric, Fethullah Gulen, calling him a violent extremist who needed to face justice in Turkey," in 2017, according to a former White House official.³⁸

ERDOGAN'S INTELLIGENCE IN THE U.S. 2010 ONWARD

As Erdogan seemingly grasped the control of the Turkish National Intelligence Agency (MIT) with the assignment of his long-term right-hand man and confidant Hakan Fidan on May 25, 2010, he started to increase his intelligence operations not only in the U.S. but around the world as well. Erdogan was not shy about this, and he and his advisors openly talked about their intentions to the public and media. For instance, NBCNEWS reported on September 27, 2018, stating, “despite being a NATO ally, Turkey has vowed to target opponents of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan on foreign soil, including in the United States.”³⁹

Similarly, American Enterprise Institute scholar Michael Rubin asked in a Newsweek article on November 18, 2016, “Why is Turkey Spying on the U.S.?”⁴⁰ According to Rubin, when Erdogan and Fidan decided to carry out unknown intelligence operations, “the MIT veterans argue—correctly—that Erdogan risks their long-term relationship with the CIA by running operations in the United States.” However, according to Rubin, “rather than heed their advice, Erdogan’s response has just been to transfer, reorganize and purge to put political loyalists in place” to carry out espionage and intelligence operations in the U.S.

“...that Erdogan risks their long-term relationship with the CIA by running operations in the United States.” However, according to Rubin, “rather than heed their advice, Erdogan’s response has just been to transfer, reorganize and purge to put political loyalists in place” to carry out espionage and intelligence operations in the U.S. “

Rubin gave a specific example of the cash delivery method the Turkish intelligence was using at the time: “there have been several diplomatic pouches delivered to the Turkish Embassy filled with cash, according to people who heard some of the couriers and Turkish diplomats brag. More cash was reportedly delivered when Erdogan last visited the United States,”⁴¹ asking “What is the purpose of the cash transfers? Are some of the law firms and registered foreign agents acting on behalf of the government of Turkey receiving more money than they declare? Or is money going to support organizations that are acting as unregistered foreign agents or channeling cash into campaigns?”⁴²

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Erdogan has been using politically neutral state resources to mobilize support in the U.S. for himself and his party. As we will see, Erdogan is using Turkish government agencies, officials, and Turkish affiliates in the U.S., which are, like the religious affairs bureau or Diyanet, supposed to be politically neutral, **to spy on** overseas Turks he views as opponents and influence American policy.

Erdogan has engaged in adroit **manipulation of Islam** for his personal aggrandizement. For example, he invested \$110 million in the Diyanet Center (DCA), building a massive mosque and center in Maryland to boost his influence and reach among American Muslims and to represent himself **as the leader of the Muslim community or ummah** in the U.S.



A portion of the Turkish-American diaspora loyal to Erdogan has worked with Turkish government agents and affiliates in the U.S. and like-minded American Muslims to carry out **influence operations** favorable to Erdogan.

Erdogan's American supporters have **sometimes gone as far as committing illegal acts**, as when Erdogan supporters joined Turkish security officials attacking the civilians protesting Erdogan outside the home of the Turkish ambassador in Washington, DC, on May 16, 2016.

Turkish officials, journalists close to Erdogan, Turkish-Americans who support Erdogan, and Turkish-owned businesses in the U.S. may be engaging or open to engage in espionage activities on behalf of the Turkish Intelligence Agency (MIT) willingly or unwillingly, voluntarily or without being asked due to their enthusiastic support of Erdogan or due to fear of reprisals to their family members in Turkey.

Erdogan has been using Turkish government institutions, private and state-owned businesses, and Turkish-American individuals to **finance** and support American Muslim organizations, their events, conferences, and other activities directly and indirectly, often with high visibility by Erdogan

himself speaking at some of those events. American Muslim organizations may have **failed to document the financial support** they receive from Turkey, some of which have apparently been paid in cash.

Turkish government affiliates or NGOs listed in this report may be **disguising different lobbying activities** and the sources of their funds and other financial activities through charities and American Muslim organizations without registering as required under **FARA as foreign agents**.

GROUPS & INDIVIDUALS IN THE UNITED STATES WORKING CLOSELY WITH ERDOGAN

TURKISH PRESIDENCY OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS (DIYANET) AND THE DIYANET CENTER OF AMERICA (DCA)



INTRODUCTION

The Turkish Presidency of Religious Affairs, referred to as the Diyanet⁴³, is the official and constitutional governmental institution⁴⁴ successor to the Ottoman establishment of the Shaykh al-Islam⁴⁵ representing the highest religious authority in the name of Islam and the State.⁴⁶ It is a massive institution supervising 90,000 mosques in Turkey and thousands overseas. Diyanet, both in Turkey and abroad, has around 145,000 personnel, representing a doubling of staff since Erdogan came to power, including 100,000 imams, 40,000 Qur'an and faith course teachers, 3,000 preachers, and 1,250 muftis (senior imams in charge of cities, towns, departments or units). "Diyanet's share of government spending has increased by about a third, and its staff has doubled, to nearly 150,000."⁴⁷

These figures are based on President Ali Erbas' recent media brief. President Erbas also stated on January 30, 2018, that Diyanet would hire 6,000 more personnel in the upcoming months.⁴⁸ In addition, there are over 2000 Diyanet personnel assigned overseas.⁴⁹

Diyanet was established in 1924 with the new Turkish Republic and its new constitution under article 136, which states "The Presidency of Religious Affairs, which is within the general administration, shall exercise its duties prescribed in its particular law, in accordance with the principles of secularism, removed from all political views and ideas, and aiming at national solidarity and integrity."⁵⁰

Thus the Diyanet is, in theory, a non-political body. However, we shall see that since 2010,⁵¹ it has become a powerful arm of the AKP.

A Turkish law passed in 1965 explained the duties and objectives of the Diyanet as "to execute the works concerning the beliefs, worship, and ethics of Islam, enlighten the public about their religion, and administer the sacred worshipping places."⁵²

The Diyanet began as a purely domestic institution, but by 1971⁵³ had expanded its operations abroad due to Turkish migration to different countries around the world.

Today Diyanet operates both in Turkey and in 102⁵⁴ countries through Turkish Embassies and Consulates via religious counsels and Diyanet Imams and other officers.

The principles and objectives of the Diyanet include:

- To be objective and unbiased with all political opinions, thoughts, and activities in Turkey and abroad.
- To embrace the whole society by accepting the differences in the richness of Turkey.
- To provide services to strengthen social stability, peace, national unity and solidarity, and to caution against activities of various destructive, harmful, and sectarian movements.
- To guide people about dangerous, harmful, and unethical behaviors and habits which lead to social instability.
- To adopt an attitude understanding the traditions, expectations, and sensitivities of the society.
- To provide religious services decorated and illuminated by knowledge and good conduct, benefiting from technology and past experiences.
- To transform and facilitate the knowledge founded by the Turkish Faculties of Theology and other universities around the world.

The principles and objectives of the Diyanet continued:

- To have educated Diyanet officers to understand and lead society and live an exemplary life and implement the good through their deeds and words.⁵⁵
- To ensure Turkish citizens living abroad would not be assimilated but would live their daily lives in harmony with their cultural heritage.
- To promote Turkey's knowledge and experience in religious studies.
- To ensure that the religion of Islam is understood correctly (abroad), to monitor the discussions involving faith practices and understanding among the European Union Countries and to present reliable information to the Western public regarding these matters.⁵⁶

PERSONNEL AND BUDGET

The President of Religious Affairs leads Diyanet. The current president is Dr. Ali Erbas, who was appointed by President Erdogan in 2017. We will discuss him in more detail below. In Diyanet's organizational structure, there are five deputy presidents, each heading one of several departments or divisions including the Foreign Relations General Directorate with the sub-divisions including International Turkish people departments, Euro-Asia Countries department, International Education and Guidance Department, Muslim Countries and Populations department and Inter-faith and Culture Relationships department. Additionally, Diyanet has local structures inside Turkey in every city, town, and village.⁵⁷

Diyanet also has a sister foundation named "Turkish Diyanet Foundation" (TDV), which was established in 1975 to collect money and aid through a variety of means to support Diyanet and carry out humanitarian aid activities. TDV has established itself both in Turkey with branches over 1000 locations⁵⁸ and around the globe within 135 countries, including the U.S.⁶⁰ Diyanet has one of the largest budgets among

Turkish bureaucratic institutions, and its budget has quadrupled since 2006⁶¹, in addition to frequent supplemental budgets and irregular increases, unlike other institutions. In 2017, Diyanet's official budget was 6.5 billion Turkish Liras (approximately 2 billion dollars based on average exchange rates). However, the allocated amount was not enough, and the Turkish Treasury Department supplemented Diyanet with an extra 350 million Turkish Liras in addition to the allocated budget.⁶²

Furthermore, the President of Diyanet has the TDV's budget at his command, which was also used for mostly Diyanet related activities and was around \$800 million in 2016.⁶³

In 2018, Diyanet's budget was increased by 13% to 7.8 billion Turkish Liras⁶⁴ which was more than the total of eleven ministries' budgets including the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources and the Ministry of Science, Industry, and Technology.⁶⁵



DIYANET MOSQUE

Diyanet Center of America (DCA) is a non-profit organization funded by the Turkish government that is based in Lanham, Maryland serving the needs of the Muslims in the Washington Metropolitan Area. The center holds regular Friday congregational prayers, Ramadan dinners, religious holiday celebrations and various other social, cultural, and religious activities.

The organization was established as the Turkish American Islamic Foundation in 1993, and as the scope of services expanded it was renamed to the Turkish American Community Center (TACC) in 2003. After the completion of a comprehensive construction project, the center was renamed to its assumed business name of Diyanet Center of America, which receives major support from Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet), an institution of the Government of Turkey. The result of the construction project is a small village that will be an important cultural hub for all visitors and residents of Washington DC area.



HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF DIYANET UNDER THE AKP

Erdogan has always given special attention to Diyanet during his tenure; however, the disapproval of the secular state institutions, including the constitutional court and the military were always a concern for him, delaying his reshaping of Diyanet until 2010. While Diyanet, in general, and historically, stayed away from internal politics and focused on its formal duties,⁶⁶ in 2010 just seven months before the general elections, it found itself in the middle of a controversy. Turkey's Higher Education Council (YOK) allowed female university students to attend classes wearing headscarves, contrary to past policy.

Then-Prime Minister Erdogan openly suggested that Diyanet should be consulted. He was expecting a positive response.⁶⁷ Diyanet President

Ali Bardakoglu - appointed by Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer,⁶⁸ who was known with his strong secularist stand - surprised Erdogan, stating that **"the headscarf was not a formal requirement of the religion⁶⁹ and involving Diyanet with this issue was against the secularism principle of the constitution."**⁷⁰

Mr. Bardakoglu's negative response gave Prime Minister Erdogan the grand opportunity to fire him⁷¹ on November 10, 2010.⁷²

The firing of Mr. Bardakoglu due to the headscarf issue was also an opportunity for Erdogan to increase his support among his base, who were vehemently behind the abolishment of the headscarf ban at the universities.⁷³ However, Erdogan was very cautious due to his fear of a negative response from secular establishments of the country,⁷⁴ including the military, which expressed its stand and opposition by the Chief of Staff not attending the annual Republic reception given by the newly elected President Abdullah Gul. The point was to avoid a handshake with Mr. Gul's wife, who wore a headscarf.⁷⁵

"the headscarf was not a formal requirement of the religion⁶⁹ and involving Diyanet with this issue was against the secularism principle of the constitution."

After Mr. Bardakoglu was fired, Prof. Mehmet Gormez was appointed as the President of Diyanet⁷⁶ He remained in that position almost seven years until his retirement at 58 on July 31, 2017.⁷⁷

Ten months before the firing of Diyanet's president Bardakoglu, Erdogan passed a new law on January 7, 2010, Act 6002, making both strategic and at the same time, structural changes

at Diyanet's position within the Turkish State's hierarchy. Diyanet was, before the stated amendment, a general directorate under a ministry, and with the new law, the Presidency of Diyanet was established, and the President's status was elevated to "undersecretary of Prime Ministry"⁷⁸ which is the highest appointed bureaucratic position in Turkey. With this structure, now, the President of Diyanet was directly tied to the Prime Ministry, which provided Diyanet a greater autonomy and a higher representation status among the Turkish state hierarchy.

The new amendments to Diyanet -related legislation also established new overseas duties and enacted new obligations to launch institutions in foreign

countries.⁷⁹ The new law also enacted the founding of 24-hour broadcasting Diyanet TV and Radio stations, which became an important tool for Diyanet and the Turkish State years to come.⁸⁰ Diyanet also centralized its Friday sermons, enabling the Imams to read the same sermon during Friday prayers, which became an essential social and political influence mechanism at the hands of the government.⁸¹

The best example of how the Friday sermons were used to support the politicians happened after the infamous corruption operations of the Turkish National Police against Erdogan's inner circle on December 17, 2013⁸², when a sermon on "bribes" was scheduled and distributed before the operations started, Diyanet immediately changed the sermon with a new one titled "Understanding the Quran" and to make sure that the Imam's got the message, all imams in Turkey were sent SMS messages about the new sermon telling them not to read the "bribes" sermon. Additionally, the verses and hadiths referencing to bribes and corruption were advised not to be cited during Friday sermons, including the famous hadith of the Prophet Muhammed indicating "both the giver and the receiver of a bribe end up in hell."⁸³

Now that Diyanet law was amended by providing Diyanet new authorities and better representation, it's budget, and personnel numbers were amplified more than ever⁸⁴ at the same time increasing Diyanet's global reach drastically.⁸⁵

This change was observed by several international researchers, as well. For example, Svante Cornell evaluated this situation in his article titled "The Rise of Diyanet: the Politicization of Turkey's Directorate of Religious Affairs" by stating "the Diyanet, originally created by the Turkish state to exercise oversight over religious affairs, is now firmly under the control of President Erdogan, and has turned into a supersized government bureaucracy for the promotion of Sunni Islam."⁸⁶ As Cornell notes, "the Diyanet has ignored Turkey's non-Sunni Muslims, including around 15 million Alawites."

During the coup attempt in Turkey on July 15, 2016, Diyanet played a critical role by asking citizens to counter and resist the coup. Diyanet, immediately

after the coup attempt, requested the imams and assistant imams to run to their mosques and start reciting the "salah" or call to prayer, which lasted almost twenty for hours after the coup attempt and frequently repeated to advise and remind people to stand up against the coup attempt.⁸⁷ In fact, "salah" was recited all over Turkey constantly from the minarets and loud speakerphones with the message of the Diyanet president "asking the citizens to counter the coup without applying violence"⁸⁸ until President Erdogan indicated the threat was over and asked Diyanet to cease.⁸⁹ Additionally, Diyanet has prepared a special Friday sermon after the coup attempt for July 21, 2016, Friday prayer⁹⁰, which mentioned the coup attempt advising national unity and praising the people who countered the coup attempt.⁹¹

A recent editorial in the Economist addressed this issue under the title of **"Turkey's religious authority surrenders to political Islam" by stating that though "designed as a check against political Islam, the Directorate (Diyanet) has become one of its main platforms."**⁹² The article concluded that while **"the Diyanet has walked a fine line to help safeguard Turkey's identity as a country that is both Muslim and secular" for over a century, the tolerant and Sufi Islam is under threat, and "despite its original purpose, the Diyanet is not helping."**⁹³

***"Turkey's religious authority surrenders to political Islam" by stating that though "designed as a check against political Islam, the Directorate (Diyanet) has become one of its main platforms."*⁹² The article concluded that while *"the Diyanet has walked a fine line to help safeguard Turkey's identity as a country that is both Muslim and secular" for over a century..., the tolerant and Sufi Islam is under threat, and "despite its original purpose, the Diyanet is not helping."*⁹³**

IMAM HATIP SCHOOLS (RELIGIOUS VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS)

Diyanet institutions are mainly staffed by graduates of Imam Hatip schools. These are vocational and professional educational institutions established in 1951 to promote and unify the education of Imams and preachers. Students, while attending these schools, both go through regular middle and high school curriculums in addition to the religion and faith-related classes to prepare them to be Imams and preachers.

Historically, the Imam Hatip schools have been a very sensitive and political issue in Turkey. Some considered Imam Hatip Schools as the “backyards” of the AKP, indicating that Erdogan’s party deliberately using these schools to produce students who would support his ideals.⁹⁴ (Do you want to say something about whether this is true? How these schools have evolved since 1951?) The AKP government has put a special emphasis on the Imam Hatip schools and increased their numbers and budgets around the country dramatically and kept constantly building new ones, including 128 new Imam Hatip school constructions in 2018 making the total number of these schools in Turkey over 4,000.⁹⁵ In fact, in 2017, in 191 towns, Imam Hatips were the only available high schools forcing the students at those locations to attend these schools.⁹⁶ While only a fraction of the graduates of these schools become Imams or preachers, many graduates continue their educations, particularly in social science or law faculties.

Erdogan, himself a graduate of Imam Hatip high school, has often rallied and promoted attendance at these schools by stating, “Imam Hatips are the apple of Turkey’s eye.”⁹⁷ Finally, Imam Hatip Schools have evolved around a heated political discourse in Turkey, and Erdogan has managed to use these schools to increase his influence among his base and religious circles of Turkey.

MOSQUES AND FOUNDATIONS AND DIYANET’S “SPY IMAMS” OVERSEAS

Turkey

Diyanet oversees around 90,000 mosques in Turkey.⁹⁸ Through the mosques and assigned Imams or muezzins (assistant Imams), Diyanet is the most widespread established government agency with a presence in the most remote villages and very small communities. In addition to the mosques, Diyanet also maintains and runs Quran training centers providing Islamic education and cultural activities to communities at over 18,000 locations in Turkey.⁹⁹ According to official statistics, 1,150,00 people attended and graduated from different courses provided by Diyanet in Turkey alone during the 2014 – 2015 education calendar.¹⁰⁰

Overseas

Diyanet has established a large-scale official presence abroad, particularly where many Turkish people live, through hundreds¹⁰¹ of mosques¹⁰² and dozens¹⁰³ of schools it maintains. Currently, Diyanet has official Counselors assigned in fifty-two countries including Germany, the United States, Belgium, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Russia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Albania, and Mauritania.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, Diyanet also maintains faith attaches in thirty-eight locations around the world.¹⁰⁵ Officers, Imams, and assistant imams at Diyanet-affiliated mosques and Imams in Europe are paid through Diyanet Turkey via official channels.¹⁰⁶

Through the institutions Diyanet runs, including the mosques and courses, Diyanet not only can reach the people who frequent the mosques for daily prayers, but also provide courses and tutoring to the communities they serve therefore reaching a wide spectrum of the populations they serve. For example, DITIB, Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs,¹⁰⁷ is the body founded by Diyanet to serve the Turkish diaspora in Germany. DITIB maintains 970 mosques¹⁰⁸ in Germany with officially assigned and paid Imams, preachers, and assistant Imams from Turkey.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, ATIB, Austria

Turkey Islamic Foundation, Diyanet's official arm in Austria, carries out corresponding duties in Austria through 63 mosques.¹¹⁰ Diyanet has two different institutions in the Netherlands, the Turkish Islamic Cultural Federation, and the Islamic Foundation Netherlands.

Diyanet has eight mosques in Sweden run by the Sweden Diyanet Foundation¹¹¹, over 60 mosques in Belgium through Belgium Diyanet Foundation¹¹², 210 mosques, and over 200 imams in France through the DITIB France, French-Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs.¹¹³ Additionally, TDV has been working on the construction of twenty-nine different mosques in eleven different countries.¹¹⁴ In the United States, Diyanet is represented by the Diyanet Center of America (DCA), an operating title for the Turkish American Community Center

(TACC). The TACC was originally established in 1993 as a non-profit organization located in Lanham, Maryland to provide religious, social and educational services to Turkish immigrants and Muslims living in the U.S.¹¹⁵ Diyanet activities in the U.S. are officially maintained by the faith counsel at the Turkish Embassy and the general director of the DCA both of whom are appointed by the central Diyanet authorities in Turkey. DCA runs 26 around the U.S. in addition to the Diyanet Center of America with the main mosque situated on a 16.5-acre property in Lanham, Maryland, which is about ten miles from Washington, D.C. This mosque was built by the Turkish government with a price tag of \$110 million and opened by President Erdogan in 2016.¹¹⁶

INTERNATIONAL SPYING IMAMS OF DIYANET

Another important controversy revolves around the new generation of spy imams, particularly in the West. Several European countries, including Germany¹¹⁷, Belgium¹¹⁸, Austria¹¹⁹, Netherlands¹²⁰, Switzerland¹²¹, Norway¹²², and Sweden,¹²³ have carried out **investigations of Turkish Imams, appointed and paid by Diyanet, for spying on behalf of Turkish Intelligence (MIT) against Turkish citizens living in their countries.** This applies to Turks, who are considered as the enemies of the Erdogan regime, particularly the followers of Fethullah Gulen.¹²⁴ **Erdogan's international network of "Imam spies" has become an essential tool to collect intelligence and information on the dissidents of Erdogan.**¹²⁵

Susanne Schröter, an expert on European Islamic movements, has recently said that DITIB, Diyanet institutions in European countries, has become **"an extended arm of the Turkish president, Erdogan."**¹²⁶

"Several European countries...have carried out investigations of Turkish Imams, appointed and paid by Diyanet, for spying on behalf of Turkish Intelligence (MIT) against Turkish citizens living in their countries... Erdogan's international network of "Imam spies" has become an essential tool to collect intelligence and information on the dissidents of Erdogan."

The Diyanet is not shy about the imams collecting intelligence for Ankara. A report titled “Diyanet gathers intelligence on suspected Gulenists via imams in thirty-eight countries” was published via Hurriyet Daily on December 07, 2016. According to Diyanet official statements revealed during a public parliamentary commission brief established to investigate the coup attempt in 2015, its imams collected intelligence in thirty-eight different countries on “the activities of suspected followers of the U.S. based Islamic preacher Fethullah Gulen, widely believed to be the mastermind of the failed July 15 coup attempt.”¹²⁷ The Diyanet told the members of the parliamentary commission that Diyanet imams and other officers included religious attaches **collected intelligence and information and wrote reports** on Gulenists in “Abkhazia, Germany (three reports from Dusseldorf, Cologne and Munich), Albania, Australia (two reports from Melbourne and Sydney), Austria (two reports from Salzburg and Vienna), Azerbaijan, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria (two reports from Plovdiv and Sofia), Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, Japan, Montenegro, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Kosovo, Lithuania, Macedonia, Mongolia, Mauritania, Nigeria, Norway, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Turkmenistan and Ukraine.”

Additionally, Diyanet shared sample files with the Parliament members, including the pictures of individuals allegedly linked to the Gulen movement, Gulen-linked schools, businesses, foundations, associations, and media outlets. Diyanet representatives told the commission that Diyanet mosque officials, religious coordinators, and religious services counselors prepared fifty reports from the intelligence and information they gathered abroad as of December 2016.¹²⁸

Given the fact that there are probably thousands of overseas Turkish mosques¹²⁹ run by the Turkish Imams who are appointed by the Turkish Government and whose salaries are paid by the Diyanet, **this large network of Imams constitutes a ready to use network of government agents who could easily be facilitated for intelligence gathering activities among the Turkish communities through the Turkish National Intelligence.**

Because the Turkish Imams are Turkish government officers, it is almost impossible for them to refute orders coming from Ankara, for instance, orders to spy. Not carrying out the orders of Erdogan and his deputies coming through the MIT means a brutal purge.¹³⁰ Even many judges were fired or arrested because they didn't act upon the requests provided by the MIT when they were arresting or releasing the suspects.¹³¹ Under the conditions in Turkey after the coup attempt in 2015, **it is virtually impossible to expect an officer to deny the requests coming through the MIT knowing the fact that a denial would result in firing and likely an arrest.**

it is virtually impossible to expect an officer to deny the requests coming through the MIT knowing the fact that a denial would result in firing and likely an arrest.

Also, many of the Imams, as well as all other officers assigned to work overseas or in Turkey, particularly after 2014, were chosen among the people who were considered one hundred percent loyal to Erdogan.¹³²



Turkish Islamic organization #DITIB admits preachers spied in Germany [dw.com/p/2Vgzu?maca=e...](https://www.dw.com/p/2Vgzu?maca=e...)

12:20 PM - Jan 12, 2017

Germany has had several spy imam cases recently. German investigators in North Rhine-Westphalia stated that thirteen imams in their jurisdictions had provided information to Ankara on thirty-three Turkish people and eleven Turkish organizations, including Gulen-affiliated organizations. Similarly, three other imams in neighboring Rhineland Palatinate also passed information about the Turkish communities in their cities.¹³³ In fact, German authorities raided apartments of four Turkish imams suspected of spying to search for evidence in February 2017. The Federal Public Prosecutor's Office (GBA) of Germany said in a statement after the raids that "the imams had acted on an order issued on September 20, 2016, by the Turkey-based Diyanet religious authority."¹³⁴

Halife Keskin, the head of Diyanet's foreign relations department, "allegedly called on the Turkish diplomatic missions to gather information on the followers of Islamic preacher Fethullah Gulen." According to German investigators, a copy of the order¹³⁵ from Diyanet was provided to Karlsruhe authorities by an insider. The document included the statement that Keskin "commissioned imams in Germany to investigate Gulen supporters."¹³⁶

A DW (German Deutsche Welle broadcast company) report published on February 16, 2017, revealed "a larger effort by Diyanet in Germany and Europe to report back to Ankara on the Gulen movement." The reports obtained by the DW included reports written by "religious attachés at Turkish diplomatic missions in Munich, the Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland, and Belgium." For example, one of the reports included the activities organized by the Gulen movement in Salzburg, Austria, claiming how a "Gulen affiliated group successfully infiltrated (the Turkish community) in the name of cultural

integration by organizing swimming classes for women." Ironically, the same organization was awarded an "Integration Award" by the Austrian authorities in 2015 for its activities among the community.¹³⁷



Report: German authorities investigate high Turkish religious official [dw.com/p/2aU4E?maca=e...](https://www.dw.com/p/2aU4E?maca=e...)

4:44 AM - Apr 1, 2017

Similarly, a report titled "Turkey's MIT agency menacing 'German Turks'" published on August 21, 2016, indicated that "'Welt am Sonntag' quoted an unnamed 'security politician' as saying that the MIT had at

its disposition in Germany most of the 800 regular agents it had in Europe as well as a network of 6,000 informants across Germany - far more than previously known."¹³⁸

In Sweden, Ozer Eken, the chairman of a lobbying organization linked to the AKP, was surreptitiously recorded when he was forcing a member of the Gulen organization to provide information on other supporters. Eken said, “What I can tell you is that if you help the state, the state is going to help you.” He also added, **“You are going to be arrested, but your wife will be arrested too, they are going to take you your wife as a hostage.”** Based on this incident, Emre Oguz, a former Turkish journalist, told Radio Sweden that “The Imams (who are paid by the presidency of religious affairs, Diyanet) must report about people who go to the mosque. I know that. I’ve talked to imams before the coup attempt. It was a special task for them. Imams who do not want to report are themselves reported. So now all imams follow directives from Turkey.”¹³⁹

In April 2017, the Belgian authorities canceled the ‘recognition license’ of the Turkish Diyanet-run Fatih mosque, the second largest mosque in Belgium, on espionage charges. According to the news reports, the Flemish minister, Liesbeth Homans, took action after stating, “Turkish-sponsored mosque is ‘nest of spies’” on Twitter.¹⁴⁰ Belgian authorities specified that “the imam of the Fatih mosque was allegedly involved in espionage on Kurdish-Turks and supporters of the Gulen movement and the imam was allegedly connected to Turkish intelligence services.”¹⁴¹ After this incident, Belgian authorities rejected the visa applications of twelve Turkish imams who would be assigned to work at the Diyanet mosques in Belgium.¹⁴²



Art Digitimm
@ArtDigitimm

#PicOfTheDay. Homans withdraws the recognition of Fatih mosque in Beringen.
01:21 - 7 Apr 2017 - Bruges, Belgium

Dominique
@petrodom

Une #mosquée de #Beringen nid d'espions ?
@LiesbethHomans en serait convaincue ! #islam @de_NVA
#Belgique rtbf.be/info/belgique/...
13:57 - 6 Apr 2017



The Fatih mosque, in Beringen, Belgium

In the Netherlands, Yusuf Acar, the chairman of the Turkish Diyanet's Dutch mosque and the Religious Affairs Attaché of the Turkish government in The Hague, was accused of spying for Turkey. Acar allegedly collected names of people who were associated with the Gulen movement and passed them to Turkey. Acar, in his statement to a newspaper, claimed that "as attaché, I collected information that anyone can find on the internet."¹⁴³ However, it was later understood that "the Dutch Religious Affairs Foundation asked 145 mosques in the country to draw up profiling lists and sent these lists to Religious Affairs Attaché Yusuf Acar in The Hague."¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, Acar reportedly banned people who were deemed the members of Gulen organizations from entering the Diyanet mosques by posting lists on the doors of the mosques.¹⁴⁵

The Christian Democratic Party (CDA) Deputy Pieter Heerma called for an action against Acar calling him "**Turkey's long arm**" and requested his deportation.¹⁴⁶ After the "**spy imams**" scandal erupted in the Netherlands, the Dutch Foreign Ministry reportedly **declared Acar persona non grata**,¹⁴⁷ and the Minister Koenders requested Acar to leave the Netherlands immediately.¹⁴⁸ Turkey, in an effort to not to escalate the situation, promptly reassigned Acar to Turkey.¹⁴⁹

In December 2016, in the Netherlands, a polling station at a Diyanet mosque in Amsterdam was accused of pressuring Turks

voting abroad in the Turkish elections. The Amsterdam municipality visited a polling station at "a Turkish mosque in the Dutch capital after the mosque was accused of pressuring voters with posters of what is believed to be a religious movement controlled and paid by the Turkish government" as the Turkish people living in the Netherlands voted. According to the Dutch authorities, "the polling stations must be politically neutral so that voters' decisions aren't influenced."¹⁵⁰ The polling station reported for violations was located at a Diyanet mosque. According to Siebe Seitsma from the Amsterdam municipality, posters and fliers were not allowed to ensure political neutrality. A Dutch woman named Elise Steilberg, who visited and took a picture of the scene posted on Twitter that "there were Turkish flags in the mosque and a Turkish radio station was playing."¹⁵¹



In Austria, where 600,000 people with a Turkish background live¹⁵² Diyanet's official organization ATIB, Austria Turkey Islamic Foundation, was accused of espionage through "numerous secret documents from almost every European embassy that were leaked to Peter Pilz," an Austrian Green Party politician. Pilz said that ATIB members were reported to be working "together with the Turkish intelligence agency MIT by means of gathering intelligence and reporting suspicious Turks living abroad." According to the report, the mosque associations in Austria are directly funded by the Turkish government, and the imams, officers, educational institutions and teachers, are under the influence of Ankara. Pilz also added that "the Islamic Religious Society in Austria (IGGÖ) is said to be under the direct control of the AKP." Austrian government ordered auditing of the "cultural association" ATIB based on the allegations. According to Pilz, the documents he acquired stated that Erdogan has been using Diyanet and affiliated Imams in thirty different states. He said that he "will present the secret documents throughout Europe. Erdogan would have to deal with thirty states at the same time."¹⁵³

In March 2017, Bulgaria expelled a Turkish consular officer associated with Diyanet, saying, "he was a threat to national security; while his post involved social services, he was allegedly intervening in religious affairs."¹⁵⁴

In Norway, Yusuf Yüksel, the general secretary of Oslo-based Den Tyrkisk Islamske Union (Turkish Islamic Union) affiliated with the Turkish government and the Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet) was “reportedly involved in unlawful profiling activities of unsuspecting people of Turkish origin across Norway.” Yüksel, on July 31, 2016, shared a message on Facebook with the group of “norsk-tyrkere” (Norwegian Turks) asking the group members to spy on members of the Gulen movement. He asked them to “inform on FETO terrorists whom you know.” Similarly, Musa Gelici, the Turkish Imam of Oslo’s Tyrkisk Islamske Union (a Diyanet affiliate), an affiliate of Norsk Tyrkia Islamske Stiftelse, (Norway Turkish Islamic Foundation), who is also a Diyanet officer called Gulen organization members in Norway as terrorist militants on July 16, 2016 in one of his Facebook messages.

As a result of these posts and harassments by Diyanet attaches and Imams in Norway, “Turkish passports of some Turks living in Norway were unlawfully revoked by the Turkish government” because their names were shared with the Turkish government. Additionally, several of the Turks affiliated with the Gulen movement were also threatened after the above messages were posted by Diyanet members.¹⁵⁵



Yusuf Yüksel, general secretary of Oslo-based Turkish Islamic Union (left) and Musa Gelici, Turkish Imam of Oslo Tyrkisk Islamske Union (right)

In Romania, following the July 2016 coup attempt, Osman Kilic, the religious affairs counselor of the Turkish Embassy, was asked to ‘map out’ the Gulen network in Romania. Kilic sent his report to his superiors at Diyanet in Ankara on September 27, 2016, from Turkey’s Counsellor for Religious Affairs in Bucharest. The report included the extent of the Gulen Movement’s activities in Romania, including “a list of 11 schools, kindergartens and one university that are part of the Lumina Educational Institutions, which have been active in Romania since 1994.” Some Turkish members of the “Gulen Movement” had their passports canceled.¹⁵⁶

On June 28, 2017, the then- president of Diyanet Mehmet Gormez, during an official meeting in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the grand mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Husein Kavazovic, warned Bosnian Muslims to target the Gulen movement supporters in that country and called on “Muslims worldwide to protect themselves and their children from structures” of the Gulen movement.¹⁵⁷

In Perth, Australia, in April 2017, Suleyman Arslan, the Turkish imam and member of the board of Diyanet-funded and operated Suleymaniye Mosque, asked his congregation and the worshippers praying at his mosque to spy on the Gulen movement. Arslan was seen and heard in a video captured at the Suleymaniye Mosque asking the prayers to report “every kind of information” regarding Gulen supporters’ activities in Australia to the Turkish consulates.¹⁵⁸

While there have not been any direct allegations in the U.S. accusing Diyanet affiliated officers or Imams spying on behalf of the MIT on the Turks living in the U.S., it would be very naïve not to expect similar activities in the U.S. as Diyanet's orders to its attaches and officers included all International posts.

Journalist and think tanker Michael Rubin investigated the issue of Turkish espionage focusing on the “special operations” of the MIT in the U.S. Rubin wrote that ***Erdogan reorganized the MIT structure abroad and put political loyalists in place to ensure reliable flow of intelligence particularly in the U.S.*** when “the MIT veterans argued—correctly—that Erdogan risked their long-term relationship with the CIA by running operations in the United States.”

According to Rubin, Erdogan's new MIT special operations ***“signals not only continued Turkish covert operations in Syria and Iraq but, according to Turkish sources, in Europe and the United States as well.”***¹⁵⁹

“signals not only continued Turkish covert operations in Syria and Iraq but, according to Turkish sources, in Europe and the United States as well.”¹⁵⁹



THE TURKISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY CENTER (TACC): AMERICAN OPERATIONS

The Turkish American Community Center (TACC) is a non-profit organization (holding (501(c)(3) status) located in Lanham, Maryland. TACC's main objectives include providing religious, social, and educational services to Turkish communities and Muslims living in the United States.¹⁶⁰ TACC was founded in 2003 as an extension of the Turkish-American Islamic Foundation (TAIF), which was founded in 1993.¹⁶¹ The Diyanet Center of America (DCA) has become the operating name of the Turkish American Community Center (TACC)¹⁶² with the Turkish government's decision to build "a Turkish-American Cultural Center to foster the needs of the Turkish population in the Washington DC Metropolitan area" in 2013.¹⁶³

In 2008, the president of TACC Ibrahim Uyar described the TACC as "a non-profit organization that operates completely within Maryland State Laws. All contributions to TACC are tax-deductible under Section 501(c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. TACC was also stated to be in full cooperation with the Republic of Turkey, Division of Religious Affairs (Diyanet), who provide the TACC facilities' grounds." Uyar also added Imam Kerim Birinci, who ran the TACC Masjid and supported the community and was also funded by Diyanet.¹⁶⁴ TACC's mission, as stated in official language is: "to unite the Turkish-American community within the Washington DC Metropolitan area, strengthen relations with the surrounding population, and provide a cultural home for the Turkish people." TACC's vision was "to build a Turkish-American Cultural Center to foster the needs of the Turkish population in the Washington DC Metropolitan area," as specified in 2009.¹⁶⁵

In 2009, the administrator board included Mehmet Pacaci as the president, Cahid Kara as the vice president, Adem Buyukacar as the general secretary, Ilker Yas as the treasurer, Erhan Fettah as the public relations officer, and Hamit Yazici and Ugur Altintas as board members.¹⁶⁶

In 2008, before the building of the Center, the Turkish Diyanet Foundation (TDV) described itself as owning two parcels in the vicinity of the proposed center. The TDV purchased the land in 1993.¹⁶⁷ The property was described as composed of two adjacent pieces. The first one is 10.78 acres, and the second is 3.69 acres.¹⁶⁸

According to the DCA website, after the proposed land was acquired in Lanham, Maryland, an area with significant Turkish and Muslim populations,"¹⁶⁹ the local Turkish American community held regular Friday congregational prayers, iftar dinners, Eid celebrations, and various activities in a modest building adjacent to a small masjid on this location" between 1993 and 2008. In 2008, members of the TACC with a group of fellow Muslims living in the Washington D.C. area cooperated to commence planning an Islamic Center, which became the Diyanet Center of America. In 2009, Diyanet Center's project proposed by a Turkish architectural company, HASSA, was approved by Dr. Mehmet Gormez, then- president of Diyanet, and by then- Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. The construction of the center started on September 23, 2012. On May 15, 2013, an official ceremony was held with the participation of Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan and other dignitaries for the laying of a ceremonial stone on the mihrab (the prayer niche) section of the mosque.¹⁷⁰ Diyanet Center of America complex received \$110 million from the Presidency of Turkish Religious Affairs (Diyanet) to complete the project.¹⁷¹



Prime Minister Erdogan talked at the construction ceremony on May 15, 2013.¹⁷²



Construction site as of April 2013.¹⁷⁴

As of 2013, Dr. Yasar Colak, the President of DCA and the Religious and Social Affairs Counselor at the Turkish Embassy, was assigned as the President of the TACC. After the construction started in 2012, TACC's board members increased in number and included Ebuzer Yurteri as Vice President, Adem Buyukacar as general secretary, Huseyin Koca as treasurer, Erhan Fettah as the PR chief and ten other Turkish board members.¹⁷³

Construction of the DCA was completed on October 30, 2015.¹⁷⁵ The TACC, with the completion of the Diyanet America Center, has principally become the Diyanet Center of America (DCA), and its website <http://www.taccenter.org> was shut down around the same time. The President of TACC, Yasar Colak, became the President of the Diyanet Center of America with the closure of the TACC.¹⁷⁶

TURKISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY CENTER
Bridging the Two Cultures

2008 TACC GELENEKSEL PİKNIĞİNE DAVET

"Tüm halkımızı ve Amerikalı dostlarımıza TACC'nin geleneksel piknik şenliğine davet eder, çeşitli etkinliklerimizin yer alacağı piknikimizde ailece sizleri de aramızda görmekten büyük şeref ve mutluluk duyarız."

Piknikimiz potluck şeklinde olup, içecekler TACC tarafından temin edilecek, ızgaralar için küçük bir miktar ücret talep edilecektir.

15 Haziran Pazar günü oynanacak Avrupa Kupası maçlarından Türkiye-Çek Cumhuriyeti karşılaşması siz halkımızın izlemesine sunulacaktır.

Piknikimize önceki dönem emektar hocalarımızdan Yrd. Doc. Dr. Sayın Hasan Yavuzer Beyefendi de teşrif edecek olup, kendisiyle hasret gidermek isteyen tüm dostlara duyurulur.

ETKİNLİKLER

Çocuklar İçin: Moon bounce, kar topu makinesi, su topu oyunu, çuval yarışı, ip atlama

Yetişkinler İçin: Futbol ve voleybol maçları—Halat çekme yarışı

LOCATION: TACC Grounds
DATE : Jun 15, 2008
TIME: 01:00PM-06:00PM
ADDRESS: 9704 Good Luck Rd.
Lanham, MD 20706
DIRECTION:
<http://www.taccenter.org/locations.html>

"We would like to invite the Turkish-American and American Communities to join in our festivities."

We are pleased to be able to spend time and enjoy the day with you and your families.

ACTIVITIES

For Kids: Partake in, moon bounce, snow-cone machine, water balloon toss, and potato sack race

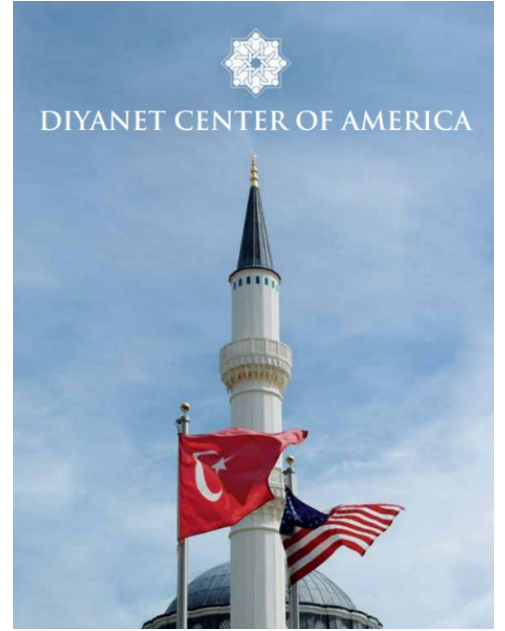
For Adults: Soccer and volleyball games, Tug-of-War contest

9704 Good Luck Road, Lanham, MD, 20706 Phone: 301.459.9389 • Cell: 301.221.4557 • Web: www.taccenter.org • info@taccenter.org

A picnic activity flier from 2008, could be used at the TACC segment.

DIYANET CENTER OF AMERICA (DCA)

On April 2, 2016, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan inaugurated the Diyanet Center of America (DCA), the Turkish-funded Islamic complex,¹⁷⁷ including culture centers and one of the largest mosques¹⁷⁸ in the United States, with two minarets and a grand dome.¹⁷⁹ President Erdogan defined the complex as “a place to serve American Muslims and spread Islam’s message of love and compassion.” Erdogan described the Diyanet complex as a traditional and historic Turkish social and spiritual complex (kulliye as it was called during Ottoman times) with religious and educational compounds. The majority of the project was funded by Diyanet, as well as Turkish-American non-profit organizations. Erdogan said the kulliye was “built in the Ottoman tradition with touches of Seljuk architecture.” Erdogan added the Diyanet site - once home to “a small container used as a mosque” where he attended an iftar dinner during a U.S. visit - “now has turned into a center of civilizations.”¹⁸⁰



DCA’s official webpage introduces the complex through Diyanet’s three fundamental services: “to guide the overseas Turkish population in religious matters; to promote cooperation among Muslim countries and Muslim minorities in religious services and education; and to provide social support to those in need, regardless of their religion, nationality or race.” Diyanet with its qualified and devoted staff “provides these services with an incredible sense of vigor and enthusiasm, and has promoted religious education, religious services, and social and cultural events in over 100 countries across the world” and “immensely proud of all that it’s achieved in those countries.”¹⁸¹ The Diyanet complex, in line with the traditional and historic Islamic concept of kulliye, features a grand mosque built in the classical Ottoman architectural with a touch of Seljuki architecture, a museum, several exhibition halls, an auditorium, a guest house, a school, art studios and gallery, a library, a basketball court, a fitness center with a swimming pool, a Turkish bath (hamam), 10 traditional Turkish homes, an Ottoman-style garden with fountains and a 310-vehicle underground garage scattered around 16.5 acres.¹⁸²



DCA defines its vision as “to create a highly esteemed organization that leads in advocating for the religious, moral and spiritual values of the Muslim society in America, and to make a contribution to peace and tranquility for all mankind, and to be a prestigious mediator on Islamic issues.” And DCA explains its mission as “to enlighten society about religion with factual and updated knowledge based on essential Islamic sources and to provide guidance to society about faith, worship, and moral principles and to improve relations on the basis of justice, peace, tolerance, and mutual understanding.”¹⁸³

In addition to its mission and vision, DCA also listed core principles on its website:

1. Committed to providing religious services without regard to politics.
2. Relies on true knowledge based on the Qur’an and the authentic traditions of the Prophet and takes into consideration various religious interpretations, tendencies, and traditions and evaluates them in the light of mainstream understanding and rational approach.
3. Aims to preserve all of the differences in belief and culture in an atmosphere of freedom and mutual respect.
4. Committed to protecting the Muslims’ religious and cultural roots in the face of assimilationist policies.
5. Supports freedom of religion and freedom of expression.
6. Advocates dialogue between faith communities both in America and the world.
7. Seeks the preservation of the historical and cultural heritage of other religions based on Islam’s exalted historical tolerance.
8. Condemns all types of violence and terror and considers them to be crimes against humanity regardless of who the perpetrator and victim may be.
9. Supports equal and complementary rights and responsibilities for men and women.¹⁸⁴

Dr. Yasar Colak was the president of DCA until the end of 2017.¹⁸⁵ At the beginning of 2018, Dr. Colak was assigned back to Ankara.¹⁸⁶ Currently, Fatih Kanca, the Social and Religious Services Counsellor¹⁸⁷ at the Turkish Embassy in Washington, D.C, is the acting President of DCA. Among the members of the board of directors of the DCA in addition to the president, Prof. Ahmet Aydilek as the Secretary-General, Ahmet Kilic as Vice President, Kevser Ozer as public relations officer, Sibel Ozkan as treasurer and Mustafa Tuncer and Ali Tos as members of the board.

There are several departments established under the board of directors of the DCA. The Department of Religious Services includes the imams and chaplains along with the religious service coordinators. Ali Tos is the executive imam, and Mehmet Ali Araci and Tarif Sharim are his assistants. Azime Erbudak is the female chaplain. Sami Erdem is the preacher. Efe Poturoglu is the legal advisor at the department of the executive directorate. The department of education includes an executive director, Ahmet Aydilek and six additional school and class coordinators, including Raida Alvi, Kevser Ozer and Mehmet Ali Araci. The department of social services is led by social services and relief coordinator Seema Sahin. The department of intercultural relations is led by Holly Gobeze. Amir Ahmed is the hiring coordinator at the department of human resources. In addition to the listed departments, there are also departments of finance, prevention and security, sports activities, maintenance and cleaning and media, marketing, and IT.¹⁸⁸

The DCA also oversees and coordinates the Turkish mosques around the U.S. Currently; there are twenty-six mosques run by the Diyanet in the U.S.¹⁸⁹ The representatives and imams of the mosques regularly meet in Washington DC for coordination meetings held by the Social and Religious Services Counsellor at the Turkish Embassy.¹⁹⁰

1. *Diyanet Mosque of Atlanta Ahiskan Turks in Alpharetta, GA*
2. *Diyanet Mosque of Bergen in Cliffside Park, NJ*
3. *Diyanet Mosque of Brooklyn Crimean Turks in Brooklyn, NY*
4. *Diyanet Mosque of Brooklyn Eyup Sultan in Brooklyn, NY*
5. *Diyanet Mosque of Burlington Selimiye in Burlington Twp., NJ*

6. *Diyanet Mosque of Charlotte Ahiskan Turks in Stallings, NC*
7. *Diyanet Mosque of Dayton Ahiskan Turks in Dayton, OH*
8. *Diyanet Mosque of Dayton Osman Ghazi in Dayton, OH*
9. *Diyanet Mosque of Delaware in New Castle, DE*
10. *Diyanet Mosque of Karachay Turks in Paterson, NJ*
11. *Diyanet Mosque of Kentucky Ahiskan Turks in Louisville, KY*
12. *Diyanet Mosque of Levittown Yunus Emre in Levittown, PA*
13. *Diyanet Mosque of Long Island Mawlana in Port Jefferson Station, NY*
14. *Diyanet Mosque of Massachusetts Imam Bukhari in Indian Orchard, MA*
15. *Diyanet Mosque of New Haven in New Haven, CT*
16. *Diyanet Mosque of Paterson Mawlana on Sussex Street, Paterson, NJ*
17. *Diyanet Mosque of Philadelphia Ahiskan Turks in Philadelphia, PA*
18. *Diyanet Mosque of Portland Ahiskan Turks in Portland, OR*
19. *Diyanet Mosque of Queens Mimar Sinan in Sunnyside, NY*
20. *Diyanet Mosque of Rochester Turkish Society in Rochester, NY*
21. *Diyanet Mosque of South New Jersey in Monroeville, NJ*
22. *Diyanet Mosque of Springfield Ahiskan Turks in West Springfield, MA*
23. *Diyanet Nour Mosque of Connecticut in Thomaston, CT*
24. *Diyanet Ulu Mosque of Paterson in Paterson, NJ*
25. *Diyanet Mosque Florida under construction*
26. *Diyanet Mosque San Francisco under construction*



FUNCTIONS OF DCA

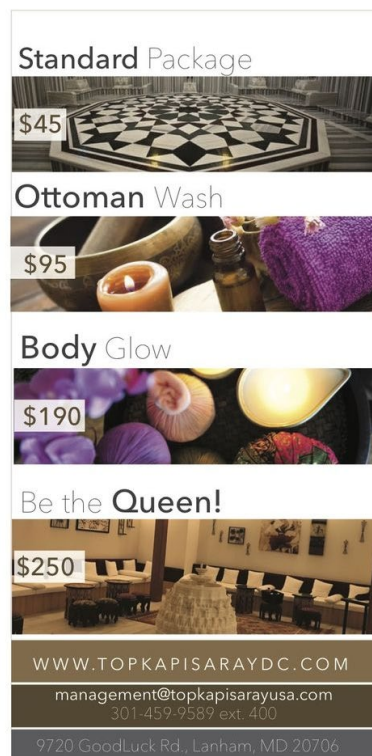
DCA has a central role in Turkey's Northern America operations similar to DITIB, its European sister organization, not only targeting the Turkish people but also other Muslims and people living in the U.S. It functions as a central hub for the Turkish government's institutional and non-institutional operations and activities in the U.S.

One of the most important aspects of the Diyanet Center of America is the fact that it is solely owned, funded,¹⁹¹ operated, and managed¹⁹² by the Turkish government through the Diyanet¹⁹³. In fact, the current acting President of the DCA Fatih Kanca is at the same time the attaché of the Office of Social and Religious Services Counsellor of the Embassy of Turkey¹⁹⁴ in Washington, D.C., the diplomatic mission of the Republic of Turkey to the United States with corresponding consuls in Houston, Chicago, New York, Los Angeles and Boston.¹⁹⁵

The majority of the staff working at the DCA including the president, imams, chaplains, preachers, coordinators, and other workers are Turkish and assigned by the Presidency of Turkey's Religious Affairs¹⁹⁶ who are officers of the Turkish government; therefore, under the direct supervision and hierarchy of the Turkish government.

While the DCA hosts a variety of official meetings, panels, training sessions, and conferences at its Maryland facilities, many local Muslims also rent the facilities for weddings, meetings, and other gatherings. DCA offers its facilities for public use at very reasonable prices attracting many activities to the center.¹⁹⁷ In fact, the DCA facilities have recently become very well-known for local weddings,¹⁹⁸ celebrations, wedding photography,¹⁹⁹ and Diyanet religious engagement²⁰⁰ (nikah²⁰¹) or religious marriage ceremonies by Diyanet Imams.²⁰² However, DCA only allows Sunni imams if renters bring their own. DCA also rents its residential houses, including a VIP house and rooms in the traditional Turkish houses.²⁰³

Similarly, non-Turkish Americans visit the DCA to see the mosque or museums or to shop. A recent reviewer on Yelp wrote about the complex very favorably stating, "this is probably the most beautiful mosque I've been to. The architecture is amazing. It's breathtaking. Each time I go, I'm still in amazement. It's a great place to go, even if you aren't Muslim. I've felt welcomed every time I've been."²⁰⁴



COORDINATION OF THE TURKISH-AMERICAN MOSQUES

The president of Diyanet Center America also serves as the coordinator for “Diyanet imams and female chaplains who serve Turkish American and broader communities in more than 25 religious centers across the United States.” Dr. Yasar Colak, the President of DCA and the Religious and Social Affairs Counselor at the Turkish Embassy, and his deputy Fatih Kanca held an official coordination meeting with the Imams and female chaplains of the Turkish American mosques at the DCA campus between March 17 – 19, 2017.²⁰⁶

According to the DCA webpage, the main objective of the meeting was “to discuss different aspects of religious services, alongside the educational and social activities organized” in the Turkish-American Diyanet centers. The opening of the program was held at the Turkish Embassy building in Washington, DC., and Serdar Kilic, the Ambassador of Republic of Turkey to Washington D.C., addressed all imams and female chaplains **“allegorically naming all religious leaders as ‘ucbeyleri/frontier chiefs’ to highlight the importance of their mission to help Turkish immigrants in the United States.”**²⁰⁷

During the coordination summit, apart from the meetings at the DCA complex, the Turkish imams and female chaplains also visited the main campus of All Dulles Area Muslim Society (ADAMS) in Sterling, VA, and the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) of Herndon, VA. Finally, the Imams and female chaplains attended a presentation titled “Religious Life in the U.S. and the Muslim-American Experience: Historical Processes and the Indigenization Debate” by Dr. Ahmet Selim Tekelioglu who is a research fellow with the Diyanet Islamic Research Institute (DIRI). Tekelioglu provided information about the demographics of American Muslim communities and the Muslim institutions established by the Americans. Tekelioglu also focused on the African American Muslim experience in the U.S.²⁰⁸

Similarly, on November 14, 2017, the 4th Diyanet officers’ coordination meeting was held at the Diyanet Center with the participation of male and female religious officials working under the Presidency of Religious Affairs. During this meeting, several decisions were made related to the services of the Diyanet mosques and officers.



Diyanet America @DiyanetAmerica - Jan 17
 HE @DIBAIIErbas and Diyanet US visited the Diyanet Mosque of Paterson Mawlana. President Erbas exchanges gifts with Imam Muhammet Gundogdu and Community Center Leader Hasan Oren.
 HE also gave gift to Ayse Zulai Kaplan, 11, who finished the Seerah Competition of DCA with 40/40.



COORDINATION OF THE TURKISH-AMERICAN MOSQUES

The meeting conclusions included the necessity of the education of Turkish youth and children based on the regional needs, “our values education” programs should be adopted with additional support and staff, establishment of Friday sermon commission and the distribution of the pre-written sermons to the U.S. mosques, the fact that the sermons should address both the Turkish and at the same time U.S. Muslims, re-planning of the religious services based on the regional needs, enrichment of the services and activities offered by the Turkish mosques by establishing cultural and educational services, facilitation of “youth clubs” aiming to increase the youth interactions with the Mosques, encouraging female chaplains to get involved in the issues related with women and families and a new request of increasing the number of female and male officers in the U.S. due to the large geographical area served and the population density.²⁰⁹

A similar coordination meeting with the Imams and chaplains assigned to the Turkish-American mosques was organized in October 2015 in the DCA center by Dr. Yasar Colak, the President of DCA and the Religious and Social Affairs Counselor at the Turkish Embassy. New York Religious and Social Affairs attaché Hasan Mollaoglu was also present during the meetings. Apart from regular coordination meetings, the Imams and chaplains also attended a panel in which the CAIR (Council on

American-Islamic Relations) President Nihad Awad spoke about “Islamophobia in the U.S., how to deal with it, and the efforts of American Muslim organizations against Islamophobia.” The Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Washington D.C., Serdar Kilic, also addressed the attendees and praised their services in the U.S.²¹⁰

In addition to inviting the Imams to the DCA, official Diyanet delegations coming to Washington D.C. often visit different mosques and visit their Imams and congregations at their locations. For example, when the President of Diyanet was in Washington, D.C. in January 2017, he visited the Diyanet Mosque of Paterson Mawlana and South Jersey Murat Mosque, meeting with the boards, imams, and congregations of the mosques.

DIYANET CENTER OF AMERICA

Turkish Language Classes

by KAGEM DCA



INSTRUCTOR SERMIN VURAL TAYLOR

Every Thursday between 11:00am-2:00pm

KAGEM DCA House
 7021 97th Avenue, Lanham, MD 20706 DCA Complex

Program open to everyone older than 10 Years-old
 Starting at February 1, 2018, Thursday

www.diyanetamerica.org/events/turkish

AFFILIATED DIYANET INSTITUTIONS

Diyanet has established several institutions under the umbrella of DCA, mostly hosted at the DCA and funded by Diyanet. These institutions usually act as the organizers of DCA events based on the subjects. While these organizations will be studied separately in detail, they are:

- **KAGEM-DCA**, Diyanet's Women, Family, Youth, and Education Center²¹¹
- **Diyanet Islamic Research Center (DIRI)** at DCA²¹²
- **Ibn Haldun University** (Branch hosted at DCA, a private university in Turkey)

ACTIVITIES

DCA consistently organizes a variety of social, educational, religious, and cultural activities targeting both Turkish and American communities to reach a wider audience and increase their outreach. Some of the activities are organized by Diyanet only, others with other Turkish or U.S. institutions and organizations. Diyanet, very successfully by relying on Turkish government funds, used ample resources to institutionalize its facilities for these kinds of outreach activities.

EVENTS, TRAINING, AND PANELS

DCA regularly holds a variety of classes inviting local communities from different backgrounds. Many of these courses are organized with the cooperation of other Turkish NGOs, several of which are also Turkish state-backed organizations. These activities are also supported by the Turkish Ambassador to the US Serdar Kilic. For example, on July 13, 2016, Ambassador Kilic hosted the students who were attending DCA Summer school from different states at the Turkish Embassy in Washington, D.C.²¹³

Diyanet Center of America added an event. April 9 at 12:30am

Muslim Soup Kitchen Project by Zakat Foundation of America & KAGEM DCA at Diyanet Center of America

April 29, 2018, Sunday / 10:30am

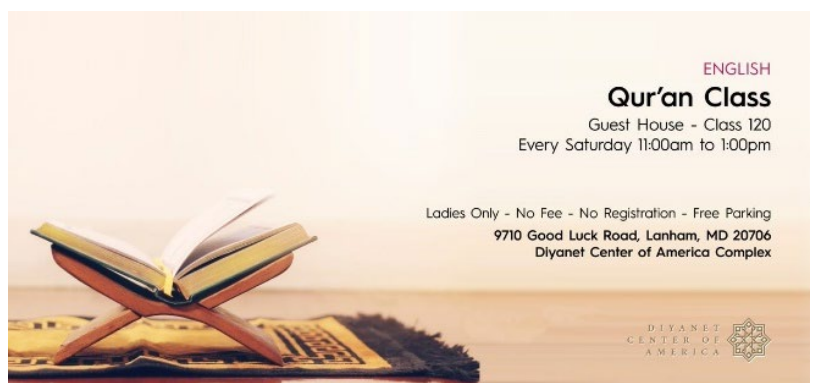
Cafeteria, Guest House, DCA Complex
9610 Good Luck Road, Lanham, MD 20706

Donate now and be part of it!
Feed those in need!
<https://diyanetamerica.org/events/msk/>

#national #muslim #soup #kitchen #nmsk #nmskp #msk #DCA #KAGEM
#helping #food #feed #unity



The poster for the Muslim Soup Kitchen Project features a black pot with the text 'MUSLIM SOUP KITCHEN' on it. Below the pot, it says 'by KAGEM DCA'. The event details are: April 29, 2018, Sunday / 10:30am, Cafeteria, Guest House, DCA Complex, 9610 Good Luck Road, Lanham, MD 20706. It includes a link to the event page and a list of sponsors: Diyanet Center of America, Zakat Foundation of America, and KAGEM DCA. At the bottom, it says 'APR 29 National Muslim Soup Kitchen Project Sun 10:30 AM - Diyanet Center of America - Lan...' and 'Food - 130 people'. There is an 'Interested' button.



The poster for the Qur'an Class features a background image of an open book on a wooden stand. The text on the right side reads: 'ENGLISH Qur'an Class Guest House - Class 120 Every Saturday 11:00am to 1:00pm'. Below this, it says 'Ladies Only - No Fee - No Registration - Free Parking' and '9710 Good Luck Road, Lanham, MD 20706 Diyanet Center of America Complex'. At the bottom right, there is a logo for 'DIYANET CENTER OF AMERICA'.

KAGEM-DCA is one of the most prominent among these institutions. KAGEM-DCA holds the following events and classes:

- Turkish language classes
- Paper Marbling (Ebru) workshops²¹⁴
- Women's Qur'an Halaqa (reading Qur'an)²¹⁵
- Little learners for kids ages 3+²¹⁶
- Arabic Classes
- Kids Club for the ages 7 – 12
- Young women's club
- 2017 Summer Season Educational Programs²¹⁷
- 2017 Character Education Summer program²¹⁸
- Friday night meetings
- Orphan Sponsorship Program
- Adult Calligraphy Workshop
- Muslim Soup Kitchen and Cooking Clubs
- Annual Women Wellness Workshop
- Sunday Seminars
- Youth Camps, i.e., Turken Foundation – KAGEM DCA winter camp²¹⁹
- KAGEM-DCA Youth Meetings ages 17-25²²⁰
- Thanksgiving Youth Camp
- April Cooking Club with Yvonne Maffei²²¹
- DCA Hifz Program
- KAGEM DCA at International Bazaar in D.C.
- Zakat Foundation of America Eid Festival at DCA²²²

In addition to the above cultural and education activities, DCA regularly invites speakers to its facilities. This kind of invitations and events aim to reach out to the experts being invited by associating them and their organizations with Diyanet and DCA. A few examples:

- Community Story Time: Amina's Voice via KAGEM-DCA by Hena Khan²²³
- Yaqeen Institute for Islamic Research²²⁴ & KAGEM DCA panel²²⁵
- "Wake-Up Call for Civil Liberties Event" with National Coalition to Protect Civil Freedoms (NCPCF)²²⁶ featuring Omar Suleiman and Jonathan AC Brown²²⁷
- "The Opening Ceremony: Surah Al-Fatiha" program at KAGEM-DCA house²²⁸ by Ustadh Saif Omar from Fawakih Institute²²⁹
- "Portrait of a Prophet" by Shaykh Hassan Lachheb, Dalia Mogahed, Moutasem Atiya and Baraka Blue at DCA via Celebrate Mercy and Al-Madina Institute²³⁰
- Meeting with "BRIDGE America," a DC-based NGO working with "the International Rescue Committee (IRC)" to help with the settlement of refugee families in the Washington Metro area²³¹
- Diyanet Islamic Research Center at DCA panel titled "Approaches to Ottoman Empire in World History: Religion, Politics, and World Order."²³²
- "Muslim Youth in the U.S. & Challenges Ahead"²³³ presented by DCA, Tri-State Imam Council²³⁴ and Turkish American National Steering Community (TASC)
- "Refugee Women on the Axis of the Middle East and Europe from a Female Perspective" by DCA and KAGEM²³⁵
- Oral History Series "Understanding the Past, Charting the Way Forwards" with Dr. Hisham Altalib, the President of the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) by Diyanet Islamic Research Institute.²³⁶
- Diyanet Islamic Research Institute panel on Alexander Russell Webb by Dr. Celal Emanet²³⁷
- Workshop- Islam, Cosmopolitanism, and Globalism by Diyanet Islamic Research Institute²³⁸
- "The Struggle of Muslim Youth for the Soul, Islam, and Atheism"
- Book release with Imam Abdul-Rahman Yaki of ICNA Northeast Massachusetts,²³⁹ "Introduction to Islamic Marital Counselling" at the DCA
- Meet the author by KAGEM-DCA, Saba Syed, author of "An Acquaintance."
- American Computer Science League competition workshop at DCA via KAGEM-DCA
- Film Screening by Jerusalem Awareness Association (Kudus Bilinci Dernegi) and KAGEM-DCA "Here We Are Forever"
- Community Appreciation Luncheon "the Future of Our Youth" by Islamic Relief USA²⁴⁰ and KAGEM-DCA with Rami Nashashibi, Jonathan Brown, and Sami Catovic.
- Graduate Student Colloquium "History, Memory, Identity" Diyanet Islamic Research Institute with Ali Vural Ak Center for Global Islamic Studies at George Mason University
- The Islamic Research Center panel with Dr. Ovamir Anjum on "Islam and the Secular Academy in the U.S." at DCA.²⁴¹
- Comedy show at DCA with Jeremy McLellan²⁴²
- Panel by KAGEM-DCA "Beyond Bilal" by Ahmad El Amin²⁴³
- The First Turkish-American Youth Academy "New Horizons in Human Rights: Experiences and Challenges" at DCA via Turkish Youth and Sports Ministry, Youth Commission for Diplomacy and Collaboration and Ibn Haldun University²⁴⁴

EVENTS, TRAINING, AND PANELS

Finally, DCA organized a panel titled “Establishing a Mosque in America: Charting a Meaningful Future” and opened a booth at the 42nd Annual ICNA-MAS Convention in Baltimore, Maryland, on April 14, 2017. Panel speakers included Imam of ADAMS Center Imam Mohamed Magid, President of Prince George’s County Muslim Council Br. Jameel W. Aalim-Johnson, board member of KAGEM and founder of Young Leaders Institute Sr. Nadia Hassan, Spokeswoman and Outreach Manager for CAIR-MD Director Dr. Zainab Chaudry, and board member at DCA and a Professor at University of Maryland, College Park Ahmet Aydilek.²⁴⁵

FRIDAY KHUTBAH (SERMON) INVITATIONS

Diyanet invites unaffiliated Sunni imams to give Friday sermons at its DCA mosque. These invitations establish connections and associations between DCA and the imams, along with their affiliated institutions. Normally, the Friday khutbahs are given by Turkish imams and usually, by the President of DCA, unless there is a visiting dignitary such as the President of Diyanet or other important Imams from Turkey. In general, historically, DCA President Dr. Yaşar Colak delivered Friday sermons, but when the Diyanet presidents were in the U.S., they addressed the congregations for Friday sermons.²⁴⁶



Here are a few examples of the US-based imams' appearances at DCA.

- *Khutbah by Ermin Sinanovic, Director of Research and Academic Programs at the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT)*²⁴⁷ – November 24, 2017, & February 9, 2018
- *Khutbah by Tarif Shraim, Chaplain at the University of Maryland*²⁴⁸ – July 28, 2017, & January 19, 2018

- *Khutbah by Ayman Aishat of Muslim Legal Fund of America*²⁴⁹ – December 20, 2017
- *Khutbah by Osama Abu Irshaid, The American Muslims for Palestine board member*²⁵⁰ – December 1, 2017
- *Khutbah by Shaykh Mohammed Faqih of AlMaghrib Institute*²⁵¹ – July 7, 2017
- *Khutbah by Imam Essa Wood, Furqaan Project's southeast Zone Representative at Murray State University*²⁵² – June 30, 2017
- *Khutbah by Suhaib Webb, Resident Servant at the Islamic Center at NYU*²⁵³ – February 3, 2017²⁵⁴

Friday sermons have been at the center of heated debate in Turkey. Many argue that Diyanet's prepared, distributed, and obligatory Friday sermons²⁵⁵ have been politicized with modifications to support President Erdogan and radicalized with references to Jihad²⁵⁶ as it is understood and practiced by the Salafi jihadis²⁵⁷, which has never been an issue in the past. DCA being funded and controlled by Diyanet, it would be naïve to expect the DCA sermons to be free of Turkish politics. For example, in Turkey, Diyanet distributed a Friday sermon about Turkey's Olive Branch Operation in Afrin and called the “armed struggle as the highest level of jihad” to support President Erdogan's actions in Syria in a context of “Holy War.” This sermon was also delivered by the President of Diyanet, Dr. Ali Erbas, at a mosque in Hatay, Turkey²⁵⁸. However, the Prophet Muhammed called the offensive jihad as the “lesser jihad” on the contrary to the “greater jihad” defined by the Prophet Muhammed as the struggle to be a good Muslim.²⁵⁹

Consequently, the decision to synchronize Friday sermons during the DCA and affiliated mosques' Imams meeting in Washington, D.C.,²⁶⁰ indicates an effort to control the Friday sermons in the U.S. by Diyanet and the Turkish Government.

Additionally, this tendency is also supported by the actions of the President of Diyanet, Ali Erbas, when he spoke about the coup and labeled the Gulen group as “the malicious terror group” in January 2018 while visiting the U.S. in Washington D.C. This departed from one of the most important historical policies of Diyanet, not involving itself in politics.²⁶¹

TURKISH AMERICAN RELIGIOUS FOUNDATION (TARF)

Turkish-American Religious Foundation is an operating name of the Diyanet Center of America and the Turkish American Community Center (TACC) in the U.S.²⁶² TARF is a non-profit organization primarily focusing on the establishment and functioning of the regional American - Turkish Diyanet owned and ran mosques²⁶³ in addition to providing religious, social, cultural²⁶⁴ and educational²⁶⁵ services to Turkish immigrants and Muslims²⁶⁶ with several branches in the United States.

TARF, in the U.S., operates just like other Diyanet foundations established around the world, including its sister foundation in Germany, DITIB,²⁶⁷ and other European foundations. The representatives and officials of the TARF have been primarily Turkish government officers assigned to the U.S. TARF does not maintain a central web page, while some of its regional branches²⁶⁸ have dedicated local websites. Branch web pages refer to the Diyanet Center of America webpage as needed to address the central TARF.²⁶⁹

Based on the foreign not for profit corporation annual report filed on April 5, 2018, to the U.S. Government with a document number F15000004683, TARF was officially listed as “Turkish-American Religious Foundation Inc.” with the current mailing address at 2525 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington D.C. 20008, which is the address of the Turkish Embassy, Washington, D.C.²⁷⁰

Mehmet Ulutas²⁷¹ acted as the registered agent for the TARF in 2018. His filed address was 8811 W. 34th Ct, Hialeah, FL 33018.²⁷²

According to the foreign not-for-profit corporation annual report, the officers working for the TARF were:

Fatih Kanca, Chairman and President. His address was registered at 2525 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington D.C. 20008, the address of the Turkish Embassy. Fatih Kanca is officially the Social and Religious Services Counsellor²⁷³ at the Turkish Embassy in Washington, D.C.,²⁷⁴ and the acting President of the Diyanet Center of America.

Vice-Chairman or President is Sinan Dedeler.²⁷⁵ His address on file is 825 3rd Avenue, 28th floor, New York, NY 10022,²⁷⁶ which is the address of the Turkish Consulate General in New York.²⁷⁷ Fatih Kanca is the religious attaché of the Diyanet assigned to the Turkish Consulate General in New York.

Secretary of the TARF is Mehmet Ali Araci, who is an imam and Hajj coordinator for the Diyanet Center of America.²⁷⁸ The address for Mehmet Ali Araci on file is the same address of the Diyanet Center of America, which is 9704 Good Luck Rd. Lanham, MD 20704.

Yener Hendenoglu – who seems to run a trucking company²⁷⁹ – was registered as the director with an address filed at 203 Fountain Avenue, Burlington, NJ 08016, which is the address of Diyanet Selimiye Mosque²⁸⁰ in Burlington Twp., NJ.²⁸¹ Yener Hendenoglu²⁸² is the President of the New Jersey Burlington Country Selimiye Mosque²⁸³ association.²⁸⁴

Dilaver Usmanov was also registered as a director with an address filed at 4604 Bardstown Rd, Louisville, KY 40218, which is the Diyanet Mosque of Kentucky Ahiskan Turks.²⁸⁵ Usmanov is a representative of the Ahiska Turkish Mosque.²⁸⁶

Similarly, according to the foreign not for profit corporation annual report filed on April 8, 2017, and April 11, 2016, the TARF listed the Embassy of Turkey in Washington, D.C. as its principal place of business at 2525 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington D.C. 20008. Also, the names on the form 990s filed in 2016 by the TARF match in the following forms.

In 2017 and 2016, the name of the registered agent was Mehmet Ulutas,²⁸⁷ as it was in 2018. In 2017 and 2016, the President of the TARF was Yasar Colak, who was the Social and Religious Services Counsellor²⁸⁸ at the Turkish Embassy in Washington, D.C.²⁸⁹ and the President of Diyanet Center of America.²⁹⁰

Adem Sakarya was registered as the general secretary of the TARF at 825 3rd Avenue, 28th floor, New York, NY 10022,²⁹¹ which is the address of the Turkish Consulate General in New York.²⁹² Adem Sakarya was the acting religious attaché of the Diyanet assigned to the Turkish Consulate General in New York²⁹³ until 2018.

Mustafa Tuncer was registered as a director at the TARF with an address filed at 711 Interchange Blvd, Newark, DE 19711, which is the business address²⁹⁴ of Mustafa Tuncer, who is the president of the Turkish American Businessman Association,²⁹⁵ MUSIAD USA²⁹⁶.

Hasan Guclu is the second registered director at the TARF with an address filed at 9704 Good Luck Rd. Lanham, MD 20704, the Diyanet Center of America.²⁹⁷ Hasan Guclu²⁹⁸ is the Executive Assistant to the President of the Diyanet.²⁹⁹

Additionally, based on the filings with the Divisions of Corporations at the Florida Department of State on October 21, 2015, the TARF listed Yasar Colak as the Chairman, Hasan Mollaoglu, as the Vice-Chairman, Adem Sakarya, Mustafa Tuncer and Hasan Guclu as directors. The only different name for the years 2016 and 2017 was Hasan Mollaoglu, who was the religious attaché of the Diyanet assigned to the Turkish Consulate General in New York.³⁰⁰

Also, the forms submitted to the Florida Department of State was filed by Efe Poturoglu,³⁰¹ a partner specializing in immigration law with Saltzman & Evinch, PLLC, which “provides a variety of legal services to foreign and domestic clients in the private and public sectors.”³⁰² Efe Poturoglu³⁰³ also represents the Turkish Resource Center of North America in Washington, D.C., the Turkish

American Business Association in Washington, D.C., and MUSIAD USA.³⁰⁴

TARF has been building mosques through its local affiliates in the U.S., and the Diyanet has both arranged its activities and assigned Imams and officers to run the mosques by the local TARF offices. For example, on July 14, 2009, a Turkish news web page posted an article detailing the plans to open three mosques in the U.S. through the TARF in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. Dr. Gazi Erdem, religious attaché of the Diyanet assigned to the Turkish Consulate General in New York, told reporters that with the funds collected from Turkish and American people, they were opening the Diyanet Mosque of New Haven³⁰⁵ at a price tag of \$576,000. Erdem also added that they also purchased a church for \$900,000 in New York’s Long Island and converted it to the

Diyanet Mosque of Long Island Mawlana.³⁰⁶

Erdem also added that he had requested new Imams from Turkey for both mosques and TARF New Haven and Long Island branches were established to construct and oversee these mosques.

Additionally, he also talked about his plans to open the third mosque in New Jersey’s Cliffside Park,³⁰⁷ which was later on opened as the TARF Bergen Diyanet Mosque.³⁰⁸



Similarly, TARF established the Turkish American Religious Foundation-Virginia Mosque for the construction of the Norfolk Mosque.³⁰⁹ Mustafa Cuce is the Chairman of the Board of TARF-Virginia,³¹⁰ and he is also listed as the representative and person in charge by the Diyanet.³¹¹ TARF-Virginia was opened on November 18, 2017. The TARF board of the directors posted an invitation signed by the TARF and DCA in addition to announcing on Facebook the fact that the new mosque would be run by the Diyanet.³¹² “We are going to have the grand opening of our masjid which will be continuing its services under the responsibility of our Presidency of Religious Affairs, on November 18, 2017, at 11 am with the attendance of our valuable brothers and sisters like you. On behalf of the administration that I am representing and our whole community, I would like to express that we will be extremely happy to see you with us on this very exciting day.” TARF-Virginia collected donations through PayPal,³¹³ and the President of Diyanet, Ali Erbas, visited the Virginia Beach mosque on January 18, 2018.



Donate to

Turkish-American Religious Foundation

Purpose: TARF-Norfolk Mosque Construction

\$0.00

USD

☐ Make this a monthly donation ?

[Donate with PayPal](#)

or

[Donate with a Debit or Credit Card](#)



Members of TARF (Turkish American Religious Foundation) and TACC (Turkish American Community Center) selected the new board members for the next 2 years on the Election Day of 2018.

-

May Allah will help and give them strength!

-

#Turkish #American #Religious #Foundation #TACC



On January 17, 2018, Diyanet Center of America posted a tweet stating, “Members of TARF (Turkish American Religious Foundation) and TACC (Turkish American Community Center) selected the new board members for the next two years on the Election Day of 2018.”³¹⁴

Finally, the TARF has always been officially led by the Social and Religious Services Counsellor at the Turkish Embassy in Washington, D.C. Also, historically, the Social and Religious Services attaché at the Turkish Consulate in New York has been the Vice President of the TARF. The treasurer of the TARF was always Mustafa Tuncer, who is the president of the Turkish American Businessman Association, MUSIAD USA.³¹⁵ Other members were usually Turkish businessmen living in the U.S.

The address of incorporation listed on federal and state forms for TARF has always been either the Turkish Embassy in Washington D.C. (2525 Mass Ave) or the Turkish Consulate in New York (825 3rd Ave). TARF has always acted and been managed as an official Turkish State institution while it was incorporated as a private entity. TARF was filed as a foreign entity at the state level; however, at the federal level, there is no evidence that TARF has registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA).

FORUMUSA – AKP INFLUENCE OPERATION

ForumUSA began its publication in the U.S. in June 2003 as a Turkish-American monthly published newspaper³¹⁶ with the objective of being the voice of a rapidly growing Turkish-American population.³¹⁷ ForumUSA is a community newspaper published both in Turkish and English distributed in Connecticut, Florida, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania and reaches other subscribers through distribution points or mail. ForumUSA³¹⁸ is also online. The “Global Daily News” portal³¹⁹ and newspaper was established by the owners of ForumUSA in February 2018 to publish in English focusing on Turkish - American relationships, ethnicity/race in the U.S., and news related to Muslims in the U.S.³²⁰

ForumUSA maintains close relationships with the Turkish Embassy in Washington, D.C., Turkish New York Consulate General, and official representatives of Federation of Turkish American Associations, ATA, and other Turkish associations affiliated with its readers according to its website.³²¹

In May 2015, ForumUSA was acquired³²² by Mustafa Tuncer, mentioned above as a Turkish businessman in the U.S. and the President of the Independent Turkish American Businessman Association, MUSIAD-USA.³²³ Tuncer is currently the owner and publisher of ForumUSA, and he also writes op-ed articles for his newspaper.³²⁴ Tuncer describes his mission as “to better and more appropriately convey the facts about the 17-25 December 2013 corruption operations (against President Erdogan’s close circles) and the July 2016 coup attempt in Turkey, which targets the New Turkey” to the American and Western public through his media.³²⁵ In April 2018, Tuncer also announced his (ultimately unsuccessful) candidacy to be a deputy (member) of the Turkish Parliament from President Erdogan’s political party, AKP, in his hometown Sakarya for the upcoming elections in June 2018.³²⁶

Since Mustafa Tuncer acquired ForumUSA, the newspaper has started to take a clear and strong stand to support and back the policies of President Erdogan. For example, the paper’s headline in December 2016 reads as “support to Erdogan: You are not alone!” and continues claiming that the Turkish economy is targeted to cripple Erdogan’s government after the unsuccessful coup attempt.



Ramazan mektebi



ForumUSA publishes Ramazan³³⁰ special issues³³¹ during the holy months of Ramadan. These magazines, mostly focusing on issues related to Islam and society including fasting and prayers during Ramadan generally feature articles written by the Diyanet Imams assigned to the Turkish-American Diyanet mosques in addition to the President of Diyanet and the Turkish Ambassador in Washington D.C. For example, for both of the 2016 and 2017 Ramadan specials, Turkish Ambassador to Washington D.C. Serdar Kilic wrote articles. Additionally, the President of Diyanet, Mehmet Gormez, had articles in both 2016 and 2017 issues. Additionally, for these issues, Yasar Colak, the President of DCA and the Religious and Social Affairs Counselor at the Turkish Embassy³³² wrote the introductory articles. In these two special issues, almost all the Diyanet Imams working for the American Turkish mosques wrote articles covering a variety of subjects including the Imams and preachers of the Diyanet Center of America, Diyanet Mevlana Paterson Mosque, Long Island Mevlana Mosque, Atlanta Turkish Mosque, Delaware Diyanet Mosque, Diyanet Mosque of Brooklyn Crimean Turks, KAGEM DCA director, Diyanet Mosque of Dayton Osman Ghazi and many others who work for the Diyanet.

Similarly, ForumUSA started a campaign called “the U.S. Turks are mobilized: Our Taxes should not support the terror” to support President Erdogan’s position in Afrin and the Olive Branch operation. Tuncer also pens strong op-eds to support President Erdogan. For example, in an article he published in his newspaper on December 7, 2016, he claims that the European Parliament’s decision to pause the Turkish-EU succession process is a deliberate economic coup against Turkey.³²⁷ ForumUSA also covers its activities involving other Muslim organizations in the U.S., including the 43rd ICNA-MAS fair. ForumUSA featured an article detailing the 43rd ICNA-MAS fair and listed the Turkish organizations which attended the fair, including the DCA, Ibn Haldun University, Turken Foundation, Zakat Foundation, and Turkish American Steering Committee (TASC). The Global Daily News also opened a booth during the ICNA-MAS fair.



ABD’deki Türklere harekete geçti...

Vergiler teröre gitmesin



Türkiye’nin Afrin’de terör mücadelesi sürerken ABD’de teröre 550 milyon dolarlık bütçe ayrıldı. “ABD’de ödediğimiz vergilerin YPG gibi örgütlere gitmesine HAYIR” diyen Türk diasporası başlattıkları kampanyada eyalet temsilcilerini arayarak tepkilerini dile getiriyor

MUSAID-USA is known for its close relationship with President Erdogan and considered one of the main Turkish lobbying backing his policies. Tuncer, MUSIAD-USA president, as well as the owner of ForumUSA, unsuccessfully tried to post ads at Washington D.C. metro stations on the first anniversary of the coup attempt in Turkey. The Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority refused to allow posters for its metro and bus stops prepared by the Independent Turkish American Businessman Association, MUSIAD-USA, for being “too political.”³²⁸ Mustafa Tuncer was very upset with the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority’s decision and called the ban through his newspaper as an “unacceptable embargo” and a “great international clash,” which would not change their commitment to the cause nor deter them from addressing the struggle in Turkey.³²⁹



ForumUSA also maintains close ties with the Diyanet and the DCA. For example, ForumUSA covered the Diyanet’s coordination meeting and its new policy on preparing and editing central Friday sermons for the Diyanet mosques around the U.S. in its April 2018 issue.

TURKISH HERITAGE ORGANIZATION (THO)

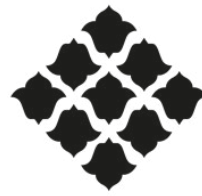
Turkish Heritage Organization (THO) is, in theory, a Washington, DC-based NGO founded in 2014³³³ by a group of Turkish-American entrepreneurs “to promote dialogue around issues of importance in the US-Turkey bilateral relationship as well as Turkey’s role in the international community.”³³⁴ THO was established as a nonpartisan, nonprofit 501(c)(3) and IRS exempt organization.³³⁵ THO activities involve six subjects related to the Turkey- U.S. relationship, including security, education, energy, economy, humanitarian aid, and technology.³³⁶

But Erdogan’s son in law Berat Albayrak’s hacked³³⁷ emails³³⁸ reveal the story behind the establishment of THO and how the Erdogan family established this NGO to facilitate lobbying and PR as a hidden arm of the Turkish government. It has run afoul of US authorities for this reason.

Indeed, THO’s founder and first president Halil Ibrahim Danismaz had to leave his position at THO and the U.S.³³⁹ after being “interviewed by the FBI about his work for the Turkish government.”³⁴⁰ According to a hacked mail sent by Ibrahim Uyar, the president of the Turkish American Steering Committee, to Berat Albayrak, **the FBI accused Danismaz and Uyar “of trying to intervene in American politics on behalf of President Erdogan and working as a secret agent in the name of the Republic of Turkey.”**³⁴¹

Ali Cinar has been the president of THO since November 2016³⁴², when Danismaz was forced out. The official THO team also includes Executive Director Elvir Klempic, program manager Pinar Gezgenc, communications manager Savannah Lane, and contributor Sarah Houston.³⁴³ According to the THO 990 forms,³⁴⁴ Goksen Elkas³⁴⁵ and Ayhan Ogmen³⁴⁶ worked as directors, and Yenal Kucuker³⁴⁷ was the executive director of THO in 2015 and 2016. Their names were not on the organization’s webpage at the time of writing.

THO routinely organizes panels focusing on issues closely related to Turkey’s political stance and



**TURKISH
HERITAGE
ORGANIZATION**

objectives. THO’s events calendar listed around three panels a month including a roundtable for the Turkish Foreign Minister on June 4, 2018,³⁴⁸ a panel discussion on Turkey’s snap elections and the impact on U.S.-Turkey relations on May 31, 2018,³⁴⁹ Washington’s shifting Syria policy for U.S.-Turkey relations on April 23, 2018,³⁵⁰ a teleconference panel on Turkey’s Operation Olive Branch in Syria on March 20, 2018,³⁵¹ “Future of Syria: Syrian Kurds and Realities in the Region” on October 16, 2019, and “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus: Perspectives on Defense, Energy and Economy in the Region” on September 26, 2019.

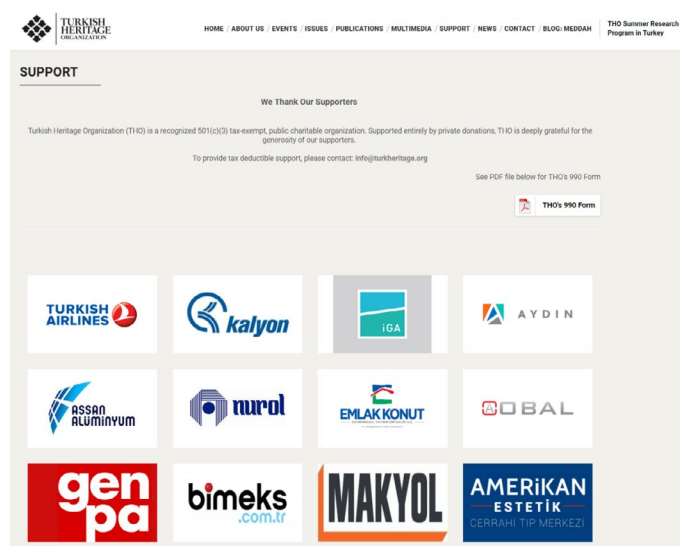
THO, in addition to its meetings, produces statements and reports, covering mostly US-Turkey relationships from the Turkish government’s angle such as THO’s statement on President Trump’s Jerusalem declaration on December 8, 2017,³⁵² or THO’s statement on the visa crisis and the U.S.–Turkey relations published on October 9, 2017.³⁵³ THO also produces weekly newsletters distributed online and via email covering the week’s important events, panels, and US-Turkey related news.³⁵⁴ THO also has an advisory board comprised of mostly U.S. academics and political scientists focusing on the Middle East and the region, including Michael M. Gunter, Mark Meirowitz, Robert Olson, Parag Khanna, F. Stephen Larrabee, Herbert Reginbogin and others.³⁵⁵ In May 2015, THO announced through a public statement three new advisory board members: Dmitri Trenin of the Carnegie Moscow Center, Frederick Starr of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), and Stephen Larrabee of the RAND Corporation.³⁵⁶

THO FUNDING

THO, on its webpage, indicates that it is entirely supported by private donations. THO 990 tax forms reported \$1,135,000 revenue in 2015 and \$763,000 in 2016. However, the supporters of the THO are exclusively Turkish companies, which happen to be either Turkish state-owned businesses or private companies with close ties to President Erdogan, including Turkish Airlines (THY), Turkish Emlak Bank Investment Company, Kalyon Group, IGA, Aydin Group, Nurol Group, and others.³⁵⁷

The founder of the THO, Halil Ibrahim Danismaz, used to work for the THY. But in his own terms, **he got paid for almost doing nothing.** Among the hacked emails of Berat Albayrak, an email³⁵⁸ dated August 7, 2011, that Danismaz sent to Berat Albayrak, **indicates that Danismaz's position at the THY was a cover.** He also brought up the same issue in another email dated July 16, 2014, asking Albayrak if his position at the THY was becoming a problem.³⁵⁹ Danismaz wrote to Berat Albayrak that "nobody could fire him, and he would get paid even without showing up at work as long as the AKP would rule."³⁶⁰

There are two significant characteristics of the Turkish companies supporting THO. The first is the fact that all of the companies listed as the funders of the THO **historically supported the AKP, President Erdogan's party, and maintained close ties with President Erdogan.** These companies practically represented the shift of the financial capital in Turkey towards President Erdogan's close circles and AKP supporters by being granted mega construction projects or the purchase of state-owned companies most of the time through shady processes creating shady business moguls.³⁶¹ Projects awarded to these individuals and companies included \$20 billion Akkuyu Nuclear Power Station,³⁶² the New Istanbul Airport project at \$35 billion,³⁶³ the purchase of Bogazici and Akdeniz power distribution companies, metro projects³⁶⁴ and many others.³⁶⁵



The other common characteristic of these companies is the fact that several of **the owners were among the suspects in the infamous 17-25 December 2013 anti-corruption³⁶⁶ and bribery operations³⁶⁷** carried out by the Turkish National Police targeting the inner circles of President Erdogan including his son Bilal Erdogan³⁶⁸. For example, Kalyon Group's owners and Cengiz Group's owner Mehmet Cengiz were among the suspects.³⁶⁹ Similarly, Emlak Konut's chief executive Murat Kurum was arrested in the first phase of the anti-corruption operations.³⁷⁰

Among the supporters of the THO is IGA, a construction company founded in 2013 to construct and operate the new Istanbul Airport,³⁷¹ a consortium of companies whose owners are close friends of President Erdogan.³⁷² (Cengiz group is part of the IGA consortium.) The corruption scheme was set up in a way to guarantee the award of high-profile government projects to President Erdogan's close friends, some of whom are among the THO supporters list, in return for supporting President Erdogan's projects financially. For example, the businessmen subject to the anti-corruption operations were forced by President Erdogan to contribute \$50 to 100 million to a financial pool³⁷³ to establish Turkuvaz Media,³⁷⁴ hence known as "the pool media" led by President Erdogan's son in law's brother Serhat Albayrak.³⁷⁵

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE THO

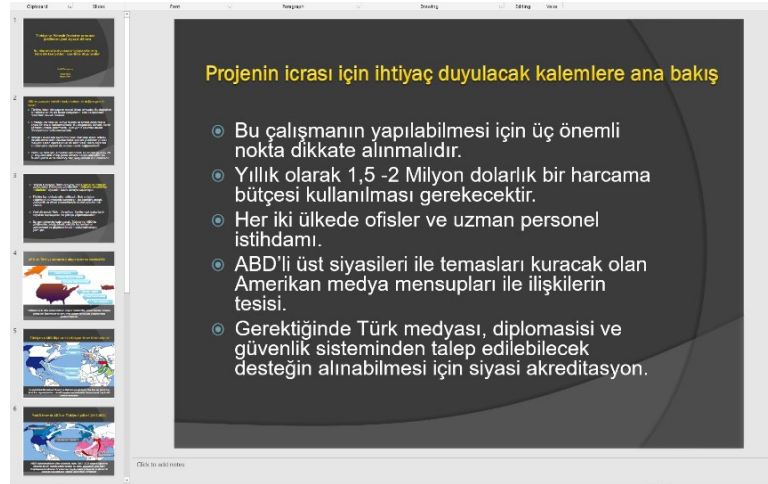
We know through the hacked emails of Berat Albayrak (President Erdogan's son in law and Turkish Minister of Energy and Natural Resources) which were released by WikiLeaks³⁷⁶ that Danismaz was in touch with Albayrak and President Erdogan's son Bilal Erdogan from September 2007 until March 2016 during which period they exchanged 337 emails.³⁷⁷

In an email³⁷⁸ titled "Lobby and Media" dated June 5, 2012, which Danismaz sent to Berat Albayrak and Esra Albayrak (Berat's wife and President Erdogan's daughter) he explained his strategy of establishing a lobbying and media organization in the U.S. in detail with two attached PowerPoint presentations.

Danismaz claimed in his email that there were not any organizations representing "their sensibility" in the U.S. referring to President Erdogan and the AKP. He added that if needed, he could present his plan about lobbying activities in the U.S. to President Erdogan. Two attached PowerPoint presentation files included details about Danismaz's strategies and a roadmap about a lobbying and media organization to **"attempt to infiltrate Capitol Hill and the U.S. security establishment through front organizations and lobbyists under the guise of journalism."**³⁷⁹ The presentations were written in Turkish.

The first presentation started with the title of "the newly shaping political era between Turkey and the U.S." and "the necessity of amplified lobbying." Danismaz, in his first slide, stated that there was a need for a shift in lobbying activities of Turkey in the U.S. He explained that the reasons behind this shift were Turkey being a model country among the Muslim countries, the future of upcoming Syrian

conflict, the natural gas, and oil in the region and the U.S. desire to work with the Muslim countries which have influence in the region. Danismaz claimed that Turkey has no alternatives based on his reasoning, and he stated that in the new future, Turkey – U.S. relationships would encompass many more dimensions and would intensify.³⁸⁰



Danismaz continued that as a necessity of the new era, Turkey should reconsider and empower its classical lobbying tactics in the U.S. by presenting the economic, cultural, and educational connections between Turkey and the U.S. and pointed out the importance

of defense systems and military equipment trade. In the next slide, Danismaz listed the most influential lobbies in the U.S. according to him, which were the Western Europeans, Armenians, Jewish, Greek, and Arabic lobbying activities. He then listed four Turkish influencing powers in the U.S., including American defense interests in the region and military equipment export to Turkey, hired professional lobbies, the Gulen movement, and Turkish Associations. Danismaz also stated that Turkish lobbying power in the U.S. was very limited, the listed actors' profiles differed extensively, and that they never coordinated their activities.

Danismaz suggested that a new lobbying medium in the U.S. which would use the Jewish and Western European lobbying activities as the model on behalf of Erdogan's Turkey.

At the end of his presentation, Danismaz also offered a roadmap for the powerful lobbying activities he envisioned:

- Prominent American political actors and government insiders/high-level bureaucrats **must be invited to Turkey to speak** at a thought platform they would establish.
- The American politicians speaking at the proposed panels **must be paid generously**, and the panels and payments must be continuous.
- A newly established shared understanding through the **invited American politicians** would shape the future of the U.S.–Turkey relationships.
- The relationships established through these activities would pave the road for an effective lobbying power in Washington, DC.
- As a target, Danismaz aimed at establishing strengthened relationships with at least 20-25 high-level American politicians and 15-20 high-level administrators of global American companies through the same channels.
- The envisioned organization not only would make the propaganda of Turkey in the U.S. but also would **force a shift from military-based connections towards multi-dimensional political and economic relationships**.

Therefore, circumventing tax laws, possible impediments in other laws, and ethical barriers by using a “camouflaged shell organization to create a conduit for a problem-free funds-transfer”³⁸¹

In the next and final slide, Danismaz explained the logistical needs for his project, which included:

- A budget of \$1.5 – 2 million a year.
- Establishment of offices with experts in both countries.
- Mobilization of contacts in the U.S. to establish connections with American media elites who could introduce the new organization and its members to high-level U.S. politicians.
- Political backing from Turkey to ensure the support of Turkish media, diplomacy, and security sectors when needed.

Danismaz attached his second PowerPoint file as an appendix presenting his vision to implement the plan he detailed, which he labeled “Establishment of a special media medium to use in Turkish lobbying activities.”

- **Hiring famous and prominent journalists through freelance contracts and facilitating** their access to prominent U.S. politicians and official circles.
- **Establishing connections** with high-level politicians through the stated medium.
- Instead of paying for lobbying, the new organization should reimburse **honorariums and royalties** (through freelance contracts)
- Therefore, circumventing tax laws, possible impediments in other laws, and ethical barriers by using a “camouflaged shell organization to create a conduit for a problem-free funds-transfer”³⁸¹ to operate as a covert lobbying organization.³⁸²

Danismaz then detailed his vision on a periodical journal with influential articles through the connected journalists and others not “as an objective but as a tool to reach the desired ends.” He also stated that a group of experts representing the proposed journal should handle the connections with American politicians and bureaucrats. Danismaz also strategized that the payments for the targeted subjects for lobbying should be concealed through the fees for writing articles. He also added that there were not any “legal limitations for writing articles or any upper limits for the payments.” Danismaz, additionally, suggested in the next slide that **“American politicians should be invited to Turkey and paid honorariums for their talks in different meetings,”³⁸³ basically suggesting “to skirt lobbying laws by hiring journalists who could obtain access to American political and bureaucratic circles including members of Congress.”³⁸⁴**

While there are no indications in the hacked emails of Berat Albayrak about the email or envisioned lobbying and media organization, Danismaz suggested to establish in the U.S., two years after the email, in 2014, the Turkish Heritage Foundation was established. It had similar goals to those detailed in Danismaz’s email, with Danismaz becoming the first president of the new organization.

Most of the proposed activities in Danismaz's PowerPoint presentation were put into practice after the THO was established, including continuous panels with prominent journalists and experts, monthly newsletters and other publications. Echoing the proposed policies in Danismaz's email to Albayrak, then-head Ali Cinar told the press in Istanbul that "Turkey needs a stronger lobby in the U.S."³⁸⁵

Additionally, the criminal investigation of Ekim Alptekin, a Turkish businessman who hired the former U.S. National Security Advisor Michael Flynn for a \$600,000 lobbying deal on behalf of the Turkish Government, revealed that **Alptekin worked with Washington based consultants "to help set the Turkish Heritage Organization up."**³⁸⁶ This demonstrates direct links between the establishment of the THO and President Erdogan as Alptekin would not be involved in such dealings without the approval of President Erdogan.

Finally, it is safe to assume that President Erdogan decided to go with Danismaz's proposal after the 17-25 December 2013 corruption and bribery investigations against his inner circles³⁸⁷ to increase his lobbying power in the U.S. through the THO. This accompanied increased lobbying contracts and spending³⁸⁸ by the Turkish government in the U.S. Erdogan wanted to further his interests in the U.S. by creating alternative narratives to avoid the corruption and bribery allegations against himself and his family members. A similar conclusion was also drawn by Dr. Aykan Erdemir, a former member of the Turkish Parliament and a senior fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, who said **"Erdogan's effort to gain influence through various Turkish American organizations such as the Turkish Heritage Organization goes back to his 2013 rift with Fethullah Gulen, a Turkish religious leader who lives in the United States."**³⁸⁹

However, the establishment of the THO through President Erdogan's inner circles was clearly **"a scheme that is borderline illegal,"** according to one analyst of Turkish politics who did not want to reveal his identity. Similarly, American Enterprise Institute scholar Michael Rubin wrote that **"THO should be considered a foreign agent of Turkey because of some of the activities exposed in the emails."**³⁹⁰ According to Rubin, "A US-based organization worked as a front for the Turkish government without a FARA [Foreign Agent Registration Act]-registration."³⁹¹ Oddly enough, when the Daily Caller article on the THO was published pointing to the Turkish government's activities through the THO, Danismaz sent an email to Berat Albayrak copying the Daily Caller story and commented at the top of the email message, "our story," without denying the contents of the article.³⁹²

Steven A. Cook, a senior fellow for the Middle East and Africa studies at the Council on

"Alptekin worked with Washington based consultants "to help set the Turkish Heritage Organization up. "

Foreign Relations, wrote on Twitter asking, **"Hacked emails demonstrate that the Turkish Heritage Organization is working on behalf of the Turkish presidency. Isn't that a violation of its 501(c)3 status?"**³⁹³



Steven A. Cook
@stevenacook

Following

Hacked emails demonstrate that [@TurkHeritage](#) is working on behalf of the Turkish presidency. Isn't that a violation of its 501(c)3 status?

8:48 AM - 27 Sep 2016

THE FBI PROBE AND WARNINGS ABOUT THE THO ACTIVITIES

It was revealed through the hacked emails of Berat Albayrak via an email Ibrahim Uyar sent to Albayrak that Halil Ibrahim Danismaz was under FBI investigation, which was the reason he left the U.S. and his position with the THO. Ibrahim Uyar is a founding member and the former Vice Chairman of the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association, MUSIAD-USA,³⁹⁴ a business organization with close ties to President Erdogan.

Uyar, too, was scrutinized by the FBI. Based on the hacked emails of Berat Albayrak, Uyar sent an email³⁹⁵ to Albayrak on September 8, 2016. The subject of the email was **“an important matter.”** **According to Uyar, two FBI agents interviewed him at his business. The agents asked questions about MUSIAD-USA, the Turkish American National Steering Committee (TASC), co-chaired by Halil Mutlu, who is Erdogan's cousin, and President Erdogan.* Uyar wrote to Albayrak that “he was accused of attempting to infiltrate into the circles of American politicians on behalf of President Erdogan and spying (or working as a secret agent) on behalf of the Turkish government in the U.S.”** by the FBI. Uyar added that the FBI investigated their (referring to the other people interviewed) activities in the U.S. for the last two years and wanted to question Uyar due to a tip they received.

Uyar, then, continued stating that Murat Guzel (a board member at MUSIAD-USA)³⁹⁶, Mustafa Tuncer (the president of MUSIAD-USA),³⁹⁷ Halil Ibrahim

Danismaz (the founder and former president of THO) and his assistant Emre Eren were also under FBI investigation and they were interviewed by the FBI, too. Uyar also revealed that he had spoken to Serdar Kilic, the Turkish ambassador to the United States, who asked him to keep the FBI investigation secret and not to release anything to the media.³⁹⁸

Murat Guzel, who owns Natural Food Group³⁹⁹ and Nimeks⁴⁰⁰ organic food company, was among the Turks interviewed by the FBI. Guzel is known for his ties to the Democratic National Committee and served at the National Democratic Ethnic Coordinating Council. He also contributed around \$300,000 to the committees supporting Hillary Clinton for the 2016 presidential race. Guzel kept close ties with Democratic politicians.⁴⁰¹ He has shared pictures with then-President Obama⁴⁰² and other prominent Democratic leaders on his Facebook page and Twitter.⁴⁰³ Guzel also wrote an op-ed in The Hill titled “Hillary Clinton can expand the American Dream to immigrants” to support the Clinton campaign.⁴⁰⁴

In addition to his interactions and financial support to Democratic politicians, Guzel is known as a fierce supporter of President Erdogan. In an email Guzel sent to Berat Albayrak on November 19,

2014, he seems to be reporting to Albayrak in the issues they previously discussed.⁴⁰⁵ In this email, Guzel wrote to Albayrak, **“to stand behind Erdogan and do whatever we can do against the evil powers is not just an act of compassion but rather an ‘Islamic obligation’ upon all of us.”**^{406 407}

* <https://ahvalnews.com/us-turkey/us-congresswoman-omar-received-donation-erdogan-ally-last-month-report>

Similarly, a reply email by Ibrahim Kalin, President Erdogan's spokesperson, to Guzel on November 21, 2015;⁴⁰⁸ it was revealed that **Guzel paid former Congressman Dan Burton to write an op-ed**⁴⁰⁹ for the Washington Times titled "Why Turkey matters" to support the Erdogan government. Guzel stated in his email that he was able to have the op-ed written and published with a little amount of money.⁴¹⁰

A report published by the Washington Free Beacon on November 1, 2016, claimed that "Top Hillary Clinton campaign officials were warned (in the summer of 2015) that Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan would make contributions to the campaign through American proxies to gain favor."⁴¹¹

"Guzel paid former Congressman Dan Burton to write an op-ed"

The new President of the THO, Ali Cinar was among the names about whom the DNC campaign officials were warned. Cinar, like his predecessor Danismaz continued to pledge to the DNC based on the hacked emails of the Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta.⁴¹² According to an email sent by Michael Werz (a senior fellow at the Center for American Progress⁴¹³ focusing on emerging democracies, including Turkey, who worked with John Podesta,⁴¹⁴) to John Podesta on August 19, 2015, titled

"Flagging Turkish campaign donations;" the DNC campaign was warned about President Erdogan's intentions to invest in their campaign. Werz wrote to Podesta, who then forwarded it to Hillary Clinton, that **"John heard this second hand but more than once. It seems Erdogan faction is making substantial investments in U.S. to counter opposition (CHP, Kurds, Gulenists, etc.) outreach to policymakers and USG. Am told that the Erdogan crew also tries to make inroads via donations to Democratic candidates, including yours. Two names that you should be aware of are *Mehmet Celebi* and *Ali Cinar*. Happy to elaborate on the phone..."**⁴¹⁵

"Top Hillary Clinton campaign officials were warned (in the summer of 2015) that Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan would make contributions to the campaign through American proxies to gain favor." 411

Ali Cinar, at the time of the warning, had already given to Hillary Clinton \$2,700 on May 3, 2015.⁴¹⁶ Cinar also gave an additional \$2,000 to Hillary Clinton on August 24, 2016,⁴¹⁷ and \$500 more on September 6, 2016.⁴¹⁸ Cinar also gave \$1,080 to the Democratic National Committee on July 19, 2016,⁴¹⁹ as reported by the Washington Free Beacon.⁴²⁰

STRUCTURE, HIERARCHY, LINKS TO ERDOGAN FAMILY AND ESPIONAGE

While the THO is supposedly an independent and bipartisan organization according to its mission statement, there is ample evidence that it is managed through President Erdogan's orders and inner circle.

First of all, as we have seen, the THO was established after Halil Danismaz's proposal and presentations⁴²¹ to President Erdogan through President Erdogan's son-in-law Berat Albayrak, President Erdogan's daughter and Berat Albayrak's wife Esra Albayrak and President Erdogan's son Bilal Erdogan.⁴²² The activities of the THO overlap with the initial proposal Danismaz made to President Erdogan.

Secondly, the funding of the THO indicates a direct involvement of President Erdogan. All of the state and private companies listed as the sponsors of the THO⁴²³ are known with their close ties to President Erdogan. In fact, many of the companies are owned by people who are close friends of Erdogan. The companies listed under the THO support list happens to be the companies receiving lavish state contracts awarded by the

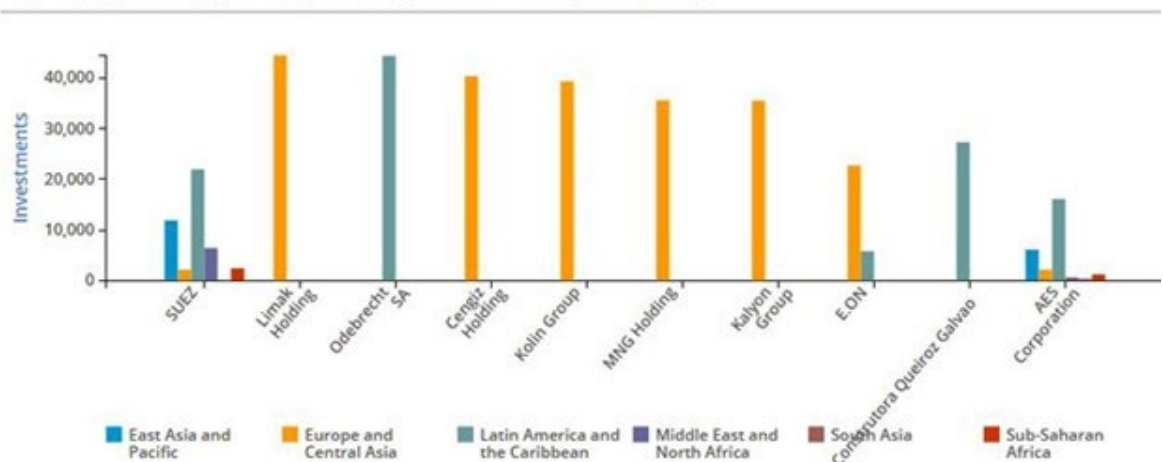
government. For example, one of the supporters is the IGA, a construction company founded in 2013 to build and operate the new Istanbul Airport,⁴²⁴ one of Turkey's most expensive public projects. Istanbul Airport project consortium includes Limak, Cengiz, Mapa, Kolin, and Kalyon construction groups, which are known to be receiving government contracts during the tenure of President Erdogan. These five companies alone were awarded government contracts by the Erdogan government worth 36 billion Turkish Liras.⁴²⁵ The Cengiz construction group was awarded eight government projects in 2017 alone worth around 8 billion Turkish Liras.⁴²⁶ The Kalyon group was awarded 7 billion Turkish Liras worth of projects in 2017.⁴²⁷

A French energy organization SUEZ recently published research on world public construction bids based on World Bank statistics which revealed the fact that President

Erdogan's favorite companies, the supporters of the THO including Makyol, Cengiz, Kalyon, and Kolin, are among the top ten companies in the world which received the most government awarded project contracts, a total of \$150 billion between 1990 and 2017; particularly, after 2002 when the AKP started to rule Turkey.⁴²⁸

Consequently, this clear trend of being awarded lavish government contracts by the Erdogan government comes at the price of a hidden understanding, which is in return to support President Erdogan and his activities. An established pool by these companies with contributions of \$50 to 100 million to purchase the Turkuvaz media group was the subject of the December 17-25, 2013 corruption and bribery investigations. **Therefore, it is clear and obvious that these companies were instructed to fund the THO by President Erdogan to support objectives in the U.S. and to lobby on his behalf.**

Top 10 sponsors by investment and region, 1990- 2017 (US\$ million)



Thirdly, Danismaz, in his capacity as the president of the THO, carried out espionage activities by collecting information about the people who are considered as opposing President Erdogan and sent reports to Berat Albayrak. For example, on May 7, 2014, **Danismaz sent an email⁴²⁹ to Berat Albayrak with an attachment labeled “report” with accounts and records of the people who were close to the Gulen Movement at the THY. This extensive report including names and narratives involving THY operations all over the world. Danismaz, when sending the report, wrote at the last line of his email “top secret,” and instead of writing Berat’s and Bilal’s names, he used pseudonyms of Brad and Billy for Berat Albayrak and Bilal Erdogan.**

“Thirdly, Danismaz, in his capacity as the president of the THO, carried out espionage activities”

It was also revealed from Danismaz’s emails that he had been reporting to Berat Albayrak about the people who were not supporting President Erdogan in the U.S. for at least ten years. On April 8, 2008, Danismaz sent an email to Albayrak titled M. Sahpolat. In the body of the email, he wrote that Sahpolat is a Gulen supporter, and he visits the NYC Cultural Center run by the Gulen Movement. **Danismaz attached screenshots from the human resources department at Canpolat’s job, which included all his personal information such as his Social Security number, addresses, education, previous jobs, family, and salary details.**⁴³⁰

Similarly, on April 27, 2014, Danismaz sent an email to Mustafa Varank, the adviser to President Erdogan, about a person named Atilla Pak. Danismaz reported to Varank that Pak was close to Besir Atalay, and that he was trying to get money from the Turkish government despite the fact that he is “an extreme enemy of the AKP.” Danismaz advised Varank not to grant any money to Pak. In the same email, Danismaz also reported about three more people including Ali Baba, a person close to Kilicdaroglu and an Alevi/Christian; Cenk Coktosun, a bar bouncer who curses Erdogan frequently and Ekmel Anda, the owner of posta212 newspaper who hosts

Turkish tycoon Ali Koc – formerly anti-Erdogan- when he travels to New York.⁴³¹ On July 25, 2014, Esra Albayrak sent an email⁴³² to Berat Albayrak asking about a person named Resat N. Erenci to see if he had any connections with the Gulen organization. An hour after receiving his wife’s email, Berat Albayrak forwarded it to Danismaz.⁴³³ The next day, Danismaz replied with detailed information about Erenci, Erenci seemed to not to have any connections to the Gulen group.⁴³⁴ On November 14, 2015, Danismaz sent an email⁴³⁵ to Berat Albayrak regarding Gonul Tol who is the founding director of The Middle East Institute’s Center for Turkish Studies.⁴³⁶ Danismaz, in his email, demanded that Tol’s funding from Turkey should be canceled because she and her husband Omer Taspinar’s views were against President Erdogan and Turkey.⁴³⁷ Danismaz asked from Berat Albayrak on September 15, 2016, to carry out an investigation about a person named Baris Sarikaya because he had suspicions about him.⁴³⁸

Fourthly, there is a clear trend of a hierarchical structure of how the THO was established and managed when Berat Albayrak's emails are examined.⁴³⁹ The founder of the THO, Halil I. Danismaz, always communicated with Berat Albayrak. He often included Bilal Erdogan and Esra Albayrak in the email chain to seek the approval of the steps he was taking or informing about the projects and tasks he assumed. Danismaz also regularly provided feedback about the people living in the U.S. who are considered as the enemies or opposition of President Erdogan. Berat Albayrak, on the other hand, often used instructive language when communicating with Danismaz by using imperative forms of the verbs in Turkish. For example, on November 7, 2015, Albayrak forwarded David Zaikin's⁴⁴⁰ email to Danismaz who helped to set up the THO initially,⁴⁴¹ and instructed Danismaz in a clear order form "CC me and email IK (Ibrahim Kalin) as urgent."⁴⁴² **This kind of language in Turkish bureaucracy is extremely rare other than in the military and ministerial level positions and indicates a strong hierarchical commitment and structure.**

From this perspective, on November 28, 2016, American Enterprise Institute scholar Michael Rubin wrote an article analyzing THO activities in the U.S., reaching the conclusion that **"Rather than promote Turkish heritage, the organization basically acted as an unregistered wing of the Turkish government and its ruling political party."**⁴⁴³ Rubin argued that based on the leaked emails, Berat Albayrak directly instructed THO President Danismaz in "who and what to attack verbally and in print"⁴⁴⁴ in the U.S. to promote Erdogan's point of view, particularly during the Gezi protests.⁴⁴⁵ Rubin also wrote that there has been "evidence that the THO was engaged in espionage" against the Turkish community deemed opposing President Erdogan in the U.S. Rubin claimed that according to sources familiar with the case, the THO was "allegedly reporting home on the political perspectives and ethnicity of ethnic Turkish and Kurdish owned business in the United States. To create a database of such information has chilling implications."⁴⁴⁶

Another aspect of the THO seems to be the fact that it is acting as a shell organization on behalf of the Erdogan family and Turkish government based on the email traffic of Berat Albayrak and Halil Danismaz. The following email⁴⁴⁷ from David Zaikin to Danismaz proves that Danismaz was involved in tasks and responsibilities beyond the THO and the fact that the THO was being facilitated as a shell organization **to cover spy-like or espionage activities to some extent.**

*From: dz@energymining.org
>> Date: October 6, 2015 at 8:49:50 AM EDT
>> To: Danismaz@turkheritage.org
>> Cc: danismaz@gmail.com
>> Subject: IK
>> IK hasn't responding for 2 days. RA is crying. RA needs to hear who to see in Nigeria, when, did IK call to other 2 countries. We need cooperation, docs. This is impossible
>> Sincerely,
>> David Zaikin*

RA in this email refers to **Robert Amsterdam**⁴⁴⁸, who is the owner of the law firm **Amsterdam & Partners representing President Erdogan in the U.S. and hired to investigate the Gulen Movement's activities. IK refers to Ibrahim Kalin**, the speaker and chief adviser of President Erdogan. Danismaz, while forwarding this email to Berat Albayrak, complained that Ibrahim Kalin was too slow to respond, and he was not able to make progress due to the delayed response of Kalin. Robert Amsterdam was complaining because he did not get paid. And, Danismaz was going to meet with three different PR companies in DC, and he was aware of the fact that Berat Albayrak was too busy. However, he needed to intervene to make progress on the issues they were working on, he wrote.⁴⁴⁹

Similarly, Danismaz reported to Berat Albayrak on September 6, 2015, in an email titled Aqua and explained that he had a long meeting with Robert Amsterdam and David Zaikin. They prepared an extensive plan. He wrote that he asked them to give him a precise date. Amsterdam told him, please speak to “Mr. President directly and promise him on my behalf that we will finalize this case in 9 to 12 months victoriously.” Amsterdam also insisted that before he shows up in front of the TV cameras, he had to speak to President Erdogan. Danismaz continued reporting that after he sets the dates, he would bring Robert Amsterdam to Ankara to meet with Ibrahim Kalin regarding the case in Turkey. “If you would like, you can meet with Amsterdam, too,” Danismaz wrote and added they were planning to work with the Herald Group in DC.⁴⁵⁰

This email alone clearly proves that President Erdogan and his close networks facilitated the THO and Danismaz through his choice of the president of the THO to manage different operations they were running in the U.S., instead of working with the Turkish Ambassador and the personnel at the Embassy of Turkey in DC. Not working with the Turkish Embassy and Ambassador about the issues they were discussing in the emails Danismaz exchanged with Berat Albayrak also confirms Michael Rubin’s analysis on **how the THO was being used as a**

front and shell organization for the activities President Erdogan could not facilitate through the official Turkish bureaucracy even though he had already assigned officers loyal to himself by then.

Another email⁴⁵¹ Danismaz sent to Berat Albayrak shed light on the emails discussed above and why maybe Robert Amsterdam was working about an issue in Nigeria, which was not explained in the email.⁴⁵² On June 14, 2013, Danismaz forwarded to Berat Albayrak titled “Important / RUSH / Follow up. The email⁴⁵³ body in Turkish was:

From: MEHMET KARATAS (Genel Mudurluk () - Ozel Kalem Muduru)

Sent: Thursday, June 13, 2013, 4:24 PM

To: OFFICE OF CEO

Cc: NIHAN GURSOY (Yer Isletme Bsk. (Hub Kontrol Merkezi Nobetci Md.) - Vip-Cip Muduru); ZERRIN CUHADAR (Yer Isletme Bsk. (Vip-Cip Md.) - Yolcu Hizmetleri Sefi); RABIA SIBEL YILMAZ (Yer Isletme Bsk. (Vip-Cip Md.) - Yolcu Hizmetleri Sefi); FAIK DENİZ (Kargo Bsk. () - Kargo Bolge Muduru(Yd)); HALİL İBRAHİM DANISMAZ (Pazarlama ve Satis Bsk.(2.Bolge) (New York Md./Ps) - Pazarlama Sf.); FATMA SAYGI GENÇAY (Genel Mudurluk (Ozel Kalem Md.) - Ozel Kalem Sefi)

Subject: Re: ÖNEMLİ RUSH / TAKYIP

Vip emniyet murat cimen gonderiden haberdardir.

Mehmet KARATAS

Ozel Kalem Muduru/Chief of Staff

www.turkishairlines.com<http://www.turkishairlines.com>
On 13 Haz 2013, at 16:03, “OFFICE OF CEO” <OFFICEOFCEO@THY.COM>mailto:OFFICEOFCEO@THY.COM>> wrote:
NIHAN HANIM,
25 ADET KOLYŦNŦN 14 JUN TK03 İLE İST-NYC PARKURUNDA RUSH OLARAK GÖNDERŦLMESŦ UYGUNDUR. AYRICA AYNI UÇUŞUN KOKPŦT EKŦBŦNE TESLŦMEN 1 ADET ZARF GÖNDERŦLECEKTŦR. EMNŦYETTEN GEREKLŦ ŦZŦNLER ALINMIŞ OLUP, AYRICA ZARF İCİN KAPTANA BŦLGŦ VERŦLMİŞTŦR. GEREGİNİ RICA EDER, İYİ CALISMALAR DILERİZ. ÖZEL KALEM MŦDŦRLŦĐŦ TESLİM ALACAK KŦBŦ: HALİL İBRAHİM DANISMAZ- NYC PAZARLAMA ŞEFŦ

In this email, the special secretary of the Turkish Airlines (THY) CEO Mehmet Karatas wrote to a THY officer that **“the rush delivery of 25 boxes of packages via 14 JUN TK03 İST-NYC flight is appropriate. Additionally, there would be an envelope that the flight crew needed to pick up. He added; REQUIRED PERMISSIONS FROM THE POLICE DEPARTMENT ARE ACQUIRED, AND THE CAPTAIN WAS INFORMED ABOUT THE ENVELOPE. Please take the necessary actions. Have a nice working day. Consignee (the person receiving the packages and the envelope) is Halil Ibrahim Danismaz, THY New York marketing chief.”**⁴⁵⁴

Karakas's subordinates also informed him that the cargo with 25 packages was loaded on the TK 3 IST-JFK flight with the label numbers TK 992766-67-100003-03-04-06-07-08-09-10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25 as a bulk cargo (referring to a pallet shipping).

"TK 3 ISTJFK SEFERINDE 25 ADET RUSH ETIKETLI KOLI YUKLENMIS OLUP KAPTANA ZARF TESLIM EDILMISTIR.RUSH ETIKET NO (TK 992766-67-100003-03-04-06-07-08-09-10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25) BULK YUKLENMISTIR.BILGILERINIZE ARZ EDERIM."⁴⁵⁵

This email clearly defines that the boxes involved a kind of cargo which required the permission of the Turkish National Police. In Turkey, such permission is only required for the transfer of explosives, weapons, ammunition, and or materials used to produce explosives. Therefore, clearly, 25 boxes of packages sent to NYC from Istanbul via rush cargo and the crew were instructed specifically to deal with only Danismaz are highly questionable and suspicious, pointing to the type of the work Danismaz was carrying out on behalf of President Erdogan. Danismaz also immediately after receiving this email forwarded it to Berat Albayrak with one word only, "FYI" never mentioning of the details regarding the cargo. The delivery of the envelope is also highly questionable as the captain was informed about the envelope indicating the fact that that envelope's content was critically important.

Danismaz forwarded another email⁴⁵⁶ on January 2, 2014, to Berat Albayrak, Bilal Erdogan and Serhat Albayrak, brother of Berat Albayrak and the CEO of Turkuvaz media group. This email which Mehmet Karatas sent to Danismaz explaining how to secure Internet-connected devices step by step, raises the existence of questionable activities as the same people in the email chain of the THY cargo incident were included.

Additionally, the Nigerian connection Danismaz discussed with Robert Amsterdam raises further questions. In a leaked wiretap, the special secretary of the Turkish Airlines (THY) CEO Mehmet Karatas was heard speaking to Mustafa Varank, the Chief Advisor of Prime Minister Erdogan, complaining about the fact that the THY was transferring weapons to Nigeria, and they did not know who was being killed with those weapons, the Christians or Muslims, and they did not want to bear responsibility, if the Muslims were being killed. Karatas also asked Varank to figure out what was happening by speaking to the Director of the Turkish National Intelligence (MIT).⁴⁵⁷

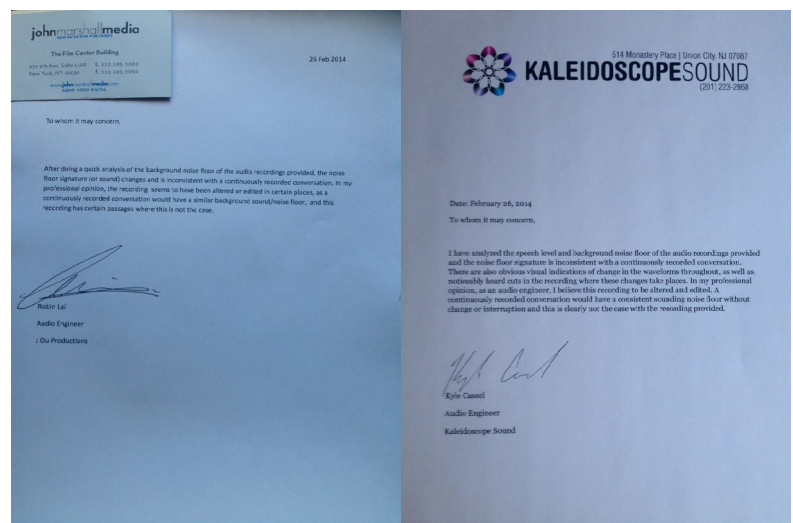
This incident was highly debated in Turkey, raising questions if the Erdogan Government was arming the Boko Haram terrorist organization in Nigeria.⁴⁵⁸ Clearly, Danismaz's involvement with Robert Amsterdam, Amsterdam's involvement with an unknown issue related to Nigeria (as discussed previously: IK hasn't responded for 2 days. RA is crying. RA needs to hear who to see in Nigeria, when, did IK call to other 2 countries. We need cooperation, docs. This is impossible⁴⁵⁹) and the secret cargo sent from Istanbul to New York indicates a broader and secretive web of operations Danismaz was carrying out on behalf of the Erdogan government.

"This email clearly defines that the boxes involved a kind of cargo which required the permission of the Turkish National Police. In Turkey, such permission is only required for the transfer of explosives, weapons, ammunition, and or materials used to produce explosives. "

In the morning of the December 17, 2013 corruption and bribery investigations⁴⁶⁰ in Turkey, President **Erdogan called⁴⁶¹ his son Bilal Erdogan and informed him that the police were raiding his inner circles' houses, and he needed to clean up their Istanbul villa and hide the cash in their house based on the wiretappings leaked.⁴⁶² Erdogan called Bilal five times⁴⁶³ that day, instructing his son how to move and hide their stashed cash and to learn if they had successfully hidden the money.⁴⁶⁴** Erdogan also sent his daughter Sumeyye Erdogan and son-in-law Berat Albayrak to help Bilal to hide the cash. Allegedly, that day Erdogan family had to hide over 1 billion dollars in cash⁴⁶⁵ and at the end of the day, when Bilal was reporting to his father that they could not find a place for the 30 million euros left, they decided to buy eight villas from prestigious Sehrizar Villas project at the Bosphorus in Istanbul.⁴⁶⁶

Apart from the corruption operations, the existence of extraordinary amounts of hard cash at Erdogan's villa and his leaked phone calls with his son **became a major headache for Erdogan, refusing to go away.⁴⁶⁷** Erdogan and his supporters, including his media, were never able to explain the cash and kept **claiming that the leaked wiretappings were edited and fake.⁴⁶⁸** In order to persuade the public, Erdogan sought to get forensic reports analyzing the wiretappings and to claim that the recordings were doctored. However, Erdogan's headache was not going away as Turkish sound analyzers and experts had already examined the recordings and decided that the recordings were not fake. Attila Ozdemiroglu,⁴⁶⁹ a Turkish composer, arranger, and sound expert, released his preliminary examination results and findings on his Twitter account⁴⁷⁰ stating "one can easily recognize if recorded talks were montaged from different sources, room sound, and ambient noise changes, + I analyzed the recordings again. **There is no montage other than adding the [five separate] conversations. One can understand this from the ambient noise.**"⁴⁷¹

According to the hacked emails of Berat Albayrak, Erdogan and his supporters sought to reach U.S.-based forensic sound analysts to discredit Erdogan's recorded phone calls. Danismaz led the efforts to acquire forensic reports in an attempt to prove that Erdogan's wiretappings with his son were fabricated. On February 26, 2014, Danismaz sent an email to Berat Albayrak, Serhat Albayrak, and Bilal Erdogan with the transcripts of phone calls between Erdogan and his son stating "FYI; we will get originally (in literal Turkish; signed in wet ink) signed forensic criminal expert reports."⁴⁷² President Erdogan's advisor Metin Kulunk provided the transcripts of the phone calls.⁴⁷³



The same day Danismaz told Berat Albayrak that they were getting forensic reports to discredit the calls, Metin Kulunk emailed two reports to Berat Albayrak. The first report⁴⁷⁴ was acquired from Robin Lai, an audio engineer at John Marshall Media.⁴⁷⁵ The second report was written and signed by Kyle Cassel, an audio engineer at Kaleidoscope Sound⁴⁷⁶ in New Jersey.⁴⁷⁷

On February 28, 2014, Danismaz sent a third forensic report to Berat Albayrak, Serhat Albayrak, and Bilal Erdogan, analyzing phone calls from the forensic laboratory of Catalin GRIGORAS and Jeff M. SMITH stating in the body of his email “the criminal report of the wiretappings.”⁴⁷⁸ One of the striking about the report Danismaz acquired from Grigoras and Smith is the fact that he used the pseudonym of “Mike Buerke” based on the email he sent to Berat Albayrak.⁴⁷⁹ Danismaz also summarized the findings of the last report he sent in another email in Turkish sent a few minutes after the previous email with the report.⁴⁸⁰

On March 1, 2014, Danismaz sent an email⁴⁸¹ to Berat Albayrak, Serhat Albayrak and Bilal Erdogan titled “some emails sent regarding the report, PLEASE DON’T SHARE WITH THE PRESS” stating “if they claim that the tapes were authentic, they need to prove their authenticity. We should follow this argument in the press and social media. If they find the original recording, that means they would also reveal their own real identities. They would refrain from this. And as long as they run away, the tapes are ‘officially’ fake.”⁴⁸² The next day, Danismaz sent another email⁴⁸³ titled “about the sound engineers” to Berat Albayrak, Serhat Albayrak, and Bilal Erdogan, stating that there is immense pressure on the sound engineers via emails questioning the authenticity of their reports. Danismaz also mentioned his intentions to pay a \$2000 retainer fee to the engineers to make sure they do not accept any sound examination jobs from Turkey. Danismaz also sought the experts’ opinions regarding the news on the wiretappings and counter-arguments against the reports in the media and reported the points of the audio analysts to Berat Albayrak and Bilal Erdogan.⁴⁸⁴

Report regarding digital audio analysis

‘Başçalan Erdogan’ın Yalanlarının ve Yolsuzluklarının Kaydı.mp4’

February 27, 2014

From the forensic laboratory of Catalin GRIGORAS and Jeff M. SMITH

Re: Digital audio analysis

As requested, this report contains details in the analysis of the digital media file as well as additional test material described below. One media file was downloaded from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cvf4aeRLu0E> on 02/27/2014.

The client in this case requested the audio analysis of the evidence file with regard to its authenticity.

3. Conclusion

Based analysis of the evidence audio signal, it is our opinion that the evidence audio recording:

- a) is not consistent with an original, copy or clone of an original recording
- b) contains traces of at least two signal lossy re-compressions, the last one most probably due to Youtube compression scheme
- c) contains traces of five different dialogues.

Signed, Catalin GRIGORAS and Jeff M. SMITH, 02/27/2014

While Erdogan's media widely used⁴⁸⁵ the reports provided by Danismaz and his team to deny that the phone calls between Erdogan and his son ever happened, and to show that the recordings were doctored and montaged,⁴⁸⁶ it was later understood that the first reports Danismaz acquired were basically false and never claimed that the recordings were doctored, only rather cut and edited.

John Marshall Media speaking to the Wall Street Journal, stated that **“three men showed up, also on Wednesday afternoon, and asked for the same analysis of an 11-minute recording. One of them was an acquaintance of one of the studio's sound engineers, Robin Lai.”** According to the WSJ report,⁴⁸⁷ “Mr. Lai wrote

and signed a letter saying the recording had been “edited in certain places; and one of the men later stapled a John Marshall Media business card to his letter to ‘create a very bad forgery of an official document from this employer.’” Similarly, engineers at Kaleidoscope Sound said, “two men walked into a small recording studio outside New York City, paid \$50 for a quick analysis of a recorded conversation in Turkish, then walked out.”⁴⁸⁸

Later, the founder and CEO of John Marshall Media issued a public statement claiming that “the recording was not analyzed by JMM and JMM is not a forensic audio specialist,” and they were considering legal actions against the person “who duped their employee.”⁴⁸⁹ Correspondingly, Randy

Crafton, the owner of Kaleidoscope Sound, also issued **a statement denying the report Danismaz** acquired stating, “One of our staff engineers, Kyle, was paid \$50 for 30 minutes of his time to answer the simple technical question, “Has this been edited?” The answer to that question was yes... We regret that we unknowingly got involved in this, and we hope this clarification will allow us to get

back to doing what we do best: helping artists make a piece of music sound as good as it can.”⁴⁹⁰ The third report prepared by Catalin Grigoras and Jeff Smith indicated that the recording included five different recordings edited together and was downloaded from YouTube and could not be used for forensic examinations.

However, Erdogan's media in Turkey used this forensic report to prove the recordings were fake and montaged by mistranslating the contents of the report.⁴⁹¹

Finally, Danismaz's attempts to provide false or biased reports to Turkey to discredit the phone calls, his effort to help Erdogan denies the calls he made to his son on the day of the corruption operations, his ongoing efforts to get the reports, his emails with Berat Albayrak and Bilal Erdogan at each step of the process and his providing the reports and strategy they needed to follow even though they knew and understood that the recordings were genuine show that Danismaz acted as a loyal agent of Erdogan family in the U.S.



John Marshall Cheary III

February 26, 2014 · 🌐

John Marshall Media did not issue an opinion on a Turkish language phone recording. Any reasonable analysis of the scanned document that is circulating would note that the document is signed with a company name of 'J Ou Productions' and a John Marshall Media business card stapled on the top. This is not official JMM letterhead. And the fact that the company in the signature and the business card stapled to the top are different companies make this an obvious attempt at deception.

This recording was not analyzed by JMM and JMM is not a forensic audio specialist.

Legal action is being considered against this person who duped our employee and we are reviewing company policies.

To those news agencies that reprinted this obvious forgery: Shame on you.

Sincerely,

John Marshall Cheary III
Founder and CEO
John Marshall Media, Inc.

THO AND TURKISH DIPLOMACY & BUREAUCRACY IN THE U.S.

Berat Albayrak's hacked emails point that Danismaz was able to comfortably and directly communicate with Serdar Kilic, the Turkish ambassador to the United States. **Historically, the Turkish Ambassadors, particularly the ones to the U.S., used to keep their distance from the Turks living in the countries they are assigned and delegate the tasks to their subordinates.** The ambassadors would usually busy themselves with diplomatic responsibilities involving other states. In fact, **no Ambassador would directly communicate with an officer at Danismaz's level and, if needed would communicate via their secretaries.** However, Albayrak's emails revealed that **Danismaz was regularly in touch with Ambassador Kilic.** Danismaz consulted with Ambassador Kilic via an email sent on January 20, 2015, regarding an article he was planning to get published at the Financial Times; asking the Turkish Ambassador to decide which was better, to have it published with the Ambassador's signature or with his name as the president of the THO. In return, the Turkish Ambassador stated that if the article were to be published with his signature, there needed to be revisions. **"Even with your signature, let us work on the article and do some editing",** he wrote. Eventually, Danismaz decided to publish the article with his signature due to time constraints and send Ambassador Kilic a thank you email for his inputs adding they would continue to pursue publications at the NYTimes, WaPo, and WSJ.⁴⁹² **This email chain indicates that the THO and people who are known to be working with President Erdogan's inner circle had direct access to the Turkish Ambassador,** and contrary to established Turkish diplomatic traditions and rules, they were able to work with the Ambassador without any barriers.

ANTI-SEMITISM AND HOSTILITY TOWARDS THE U.S.

Danismaz and THO activities have been inherently anti-Semitic and involved enmity towards the U.S. considering the U.S. as the puppet of the Jewish people and relating the regional problems to the Palestinian conflict and the existence of Israel/ mostly based on the political Islamist ideology Erdogan and his supporters inherited from Erbakan in the past and through their recent interactions and coordination with the Muslim Brotherhood elements around the world.

An email sent by Danismaz on June 26, 2014, to Berat Albayrak, Bilal Erdogan, and Serhat Albayrak revealed a lot of evidence.⁴⁹³ In his email, Danismaz wrote that "all the establishments we believed who were national (patriot and genuine Turkish) came out to be non-national people in different colors which will tire us extensively in the near future. Now we all know and realized that "Izzettin Dogan and Fetullah Gulen, CHP and MHP, Dogu Perincek and BDP, Hurriyet and Zaman, Ekrem Demirli and Ertugrul Ozkok, Bank Asya and Yapi Kredi, Mustafa Koc and Akin Ipek..... (this list is longer)" are the people and organizations who are working for the same "boss." Because of this, whenever Turkey secures its chances to be among the largest industrialized countries, "the American Neo-Cons, right-wing Israeli groups and the British Zionist Barons" attack us at the same time. May Allah protect our Nation, help our Reis ("chief" or "head" referring to President Erdogan), and grant us the opportunity and honor to become his companions."

As can be seen in Danismaz's email, Erdogan's problems mostly stemming from his corruption at the time are automatically tied to the American neo-conservatives and the "Zionist lobby" without any questions. Erdogan's newspapers and supporters in Turkey have adopted a similar approach, turning the Turkish population against the U.S. and trying to have the Turkish people believe that the December 17-25, 2013 anti-corruption operations were a trap by the U.S. and that the July 15, 2015 coup attempt was organized by the CIA and the neo-cons to topple President Erdogan. This argument has intensified since the opening of the Zarrab case in New York federal court.⁴⁹⁴

THE ZAKAT FOUNDATION OF AMERICA (ZF)

Zakat Foundation was founded by Halil (Khalil⁴⁹⁵) Demir in 1981⁴⁹⁶ in Chicago⁴⁹⁷ as a non-profit 501(c)(3) organization. According to its mission statement, ZF is a “trusted zakat (alms-giving) and sadaqah (voluntary charity) donations resource center for Muslim donors.” Zakat, which means charity, is the third pillar of Islam and mandatory for Muslims who have means to contribute to society. The ZF means to advance zakat donations from Muslims as a vehicle for social change by “alleviating the immediate needs of the poorest communities, as well as providing emergency relief, post-disaster rehabilitation, sustainable development, education, healthcare, orphan sponsorship, and seasonal programs” including Ramadan dinners and Qurbani (ritual animal sacrifice) distributions. ZF’s approach of utilizing zakat and sadaqah donations for its operations is unique among other humanitarian organizations.⁴⁹⁸ ZF works in over forty locations around the world⁴⁹⁹ and has offices, centers, and schools in Turkey.⁵⁰⁰



Zakat Foundation in Turkey⁵⁰¹

Zakat Foundation’s founder and executive director is Halil Demir, and Dr. Hasan Arslan is the president; both are from Turkey. The treasurer is Aidah Abdallah, and Dr. Mehmet Tarhan (also from Turkey) and Sr. Saoussen are the board members.

Both ZF and its founder Halil Demir have close relationships with Turkey and President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. In fact, Halil Demir has continuously been present at the programs held or attended by President Erdogan in the U.S. Demir even met with President Erdogan personally during the 71st Session of the UN General Assembly in New York in September 2016.⁵⁰² According to ZF, President Erdogan **“commended organizations such as ZF who have mobilized Muslims in the United States to help make a positive difference in the world” after a meeting of “engaging in a dialogue of mutual understanding and shared purpose” with Halil Demir and the Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey in Chicago at the offices of ZF.**⁵⁰³ Demir was present during President Erdogan’s address at the Marriott Marquis Hotel in New York on September 21, 2017, when fighting broke out after a group of demonstrators attempted to protest Mr. Erdogan.⁵⁰⁴ ZF was also present at the opening of the DCA Turkish mosque in Maryland with President Erdogan.⁵⁰⁵



TERRORISM CONNECTIONS: AL-QAEDA AND IHH

Halil Demir worked as the Benevolence International Foundation (BIF's) public relations officer⁵⁰⁷ before the BIF was designated as a financier of terrorism in 2012 by the U.S. Department of the Treasury⁵⁰⁸ for funding al-Qaeda.⁵⁰⁹ The Treasury Department said that as a U.S. tax-exempt not-for-profit organization, Benevolence International Foundation ("BIF") stated that its purpose was to carry out humanitarian relief projects throughout the world when it was first established in the State of Illinois on March 30, 1992. BIF operated around the world, including Bosnia, Chechnya, Pakistan, China, Ingushetia, Russia, and other countries.

According to Congressional testimony by Jonathan Schanzer, (Joint Hearing before House Foreign Affairs Committee; Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade and the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa),⁵¹⁰ **Zakat Foundation's founder and executive director Halil Demir signed the IRS 990 forms⁵¹¹ in 2000 for Benevolence International Foundation (BIF). The forms stated, "Books are in care of Halil Demir."**

On November 19, 2002, Enaam Arnaout, BIF's Chief Executive Officer and a member of the Board of Directors, was **"indicted in the United States for operating BIF as a racketeering enterprise and**

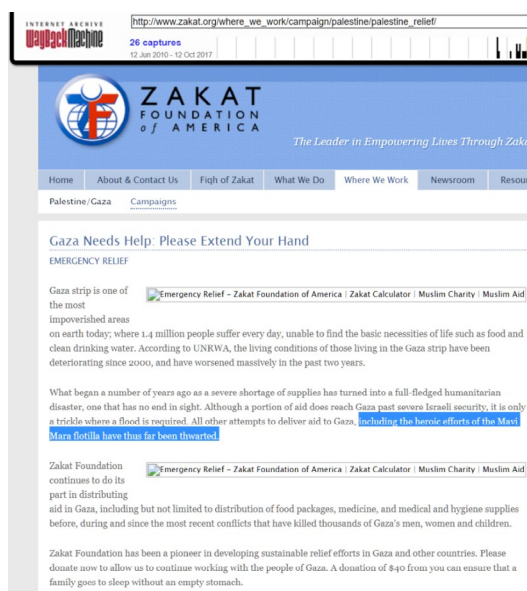
providing material support to organizations, including al Qaida, which are engaged in violent activities."⁵¹² Substantial evidence acquired by the U.S. documented the close relationship between Arnaout and Usama bin Laden, dating from the mid-1980s. In fact, among the evidence was a letter in which bin Laden indicated that "Arnaout was authorized to sign on his behalf."⁵¹³

ZF has closely worked with the Turkish Foundation for Human Rights and Freedom and Humanitarian Relief (IHH), which has close ties with al-Qaeda,⁵¹⁴ ISIS,⁵¹⁵ and HAMAS.⁵¹⁶

For example, the Caipirinha Foundation,⁵¹⁷ now renamed as "the Cultures of Resistance Network"⁵¹⁸ **employed Zakat Foundation "as a fiscal sponsor for an IHH grant" based on the records on its webpage using the Zakat Foundation to transfer funds to the IHH.**⁵¹⁹

One of the most important aspects of the IHH and Zakat Foundation relationship is the Gaza Freedom flotilla initiative, which the IHH led.⁵²⁰ On May 31, 2010, as the six-vessel IHH aid convoy approached Gaza to break

the Israeli-Egyptian blockade of the Gaza Strip, Israeli soldiers raided the Gaza Freedom Flotilla (the blue flotilla incident).⁵²¹ During the raid, the Israeli commandos killed ten people on board the Mavi Marmara causing a deep rift between Turkey and Israel. Turkey had to withdraw its ambassador from Israel.⁵²² The organizers are known to be close allies of Mr. Erdogan.



In fact, the Zakat Foundation is one of the supporters of the Free Gaza Movement. In 2012, Zakat Foundation, while soliciting donations for Gaza, described the IHH Mavi Marmara incident when citing how difficult it was to deliver aid to Gaza; “the heroic efforts of the Mavi Mara flotilla have thus far been thwarted.”⁵²³ Surprisingly, this page was removed from Zakat Foundation’s website in 2014.⁵²⁴

Moreover, the IHH and its executive director Bulent Yildirim have been known for their close ties to global jihadist elements including HAMAS and the Muslim Brotherhood.⁵²⁵ IHH and Zakat Foundation have historically worked and partnered on many projects.



According to the Summer 2003 Zakat Foundation official newsletter, Zakat Foundation had sponsored at least “two truck convoys traveling from Turkey to Mosul, Kirkuk, Afghanistan and Baghdad carrying at least \$120,000 worth supplies in coordination with IHH.” A photo on ZF’s website taken in Afghanistan⁵²⁶ clearly indicates that the aid was distributed by the IHH members on the ground with IHH marked vests.⁵²⁷

Halil Demir and ZF partnered with the “Muslim Hands” organization in the Dominican Republic⁵²⁸ in 2010. Muslim Hands is known with its affiliation of “the Union of Good” organization, which was designated by the U.S. Department of Treasury in a statement dated November 12, 2008; “the Union of Good is an organization created by Hamas leadership in late-2000 to transfer funds to the terrorist organization.”⁵²⁹ Treasury stated that the primary purpose of the Union of Good is to “strengthen Hamas’ political and military position in the West Bank and Gaza, including by: (i) diverting charitable donations to support Hamas members and the families of terrorist operatives; and (ii) dispensing social welfare and other charitable services on behalf of Hamas.”⁵³⁰

According to a 2016 Wall Street Journal report, Zakat Foundation’s U.S. bank accounts at three financial institutions were shut down. ZF, in its defense, claimed, “the banks didn’t provide a reason for the closures.”⁵³¹ However, it is a known procedure for American financial institutions, including Bank of America and Wells Fargo, in similar cases as cited in the WSJ article to shut down bank accounts due to suspicious activities as a measure to prevent money laundering, terrorist financing, and sanctions violations.⁵³²

Zakat Foundation General Counsel Beverly Perez stated that due to account closures, they were unable to fund a program supporting orphans in northern Lebanon for months adding “when our financial transfers were delayed, we lost our local representatives.”⁵³³



CLOSE TIES WITH TURKISH BUREAUCRATS AND INSTITUTIONS

Zakat Foundation maintained close relationships with Turkish representatives in the U.S. and visiting Turkish delegations. For example, Turkish Ambassador to Washington D.C. Serdar Kilic hosted a Ramadan iftar dinner at DCA. The executive director of Zakat Foundation Halil Demir,⁵³⁴ along with other Ambassadors, directors of CAIR, USCMO, MUSIAD-USA, and TASC were invited to the official dinner. Demir was hosted at the VIP table with the Turkish Ambassador and the directors of CAIR and USCMO.⁵³⁵

In January 2018, the President of Religious Affairs of Turkey (head of Diyanet) Dr. Ali Erbas carried out an official visit to Washington DC with a delegation from Turkey. While Dr. Erbas was in DC, he met with Halil Demir in addition to visiting the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), Georgetown



University, Turkish Embassy in DC, and some of the Turkish mosques and meeting with the executive directors of CAIR and MUSIAD-USA.⁵³⁶

On July 17, 2016, a group of Turkish people and American Muslims, including the Zakat Foundation of Halil Demir and the USCMO executive director Oussama Jammal protested the coup attempt in Turkey in front of Turkey's Chicago Consulate General building.⁵³⁷ During the demonstrations, both Demir and Jammal addressed the crowd to support President Erdogan.⁵³⁸ A year later, at the same place, a similar protest was carried out on the first anniversary of the coup attempt on July 17, 2017. Among many others, Halil Demir and Oussama Jammal were present during the demonstrations.⁵³⁹

Halil Demir organized and hosted an event during the 2016 MAS convention⁵⁴⁰ on December 27, 2016, at the Chicago chapter of Zakat Foundation and invited the Turkish community representatives along with Serdar Kilic, the Turkish Ambassador to Washington DC.⁵⁴¹

Turkish Consul General Umut Acar in Chicago visited Zakat Foundation in November 2015 and was given a plaque by Halil Demir.⁵⁴²



TRConsulateChicago @TRConsulChicago · 27 Dec 2016
Ambassador @serdarkilic9 met w/Turkish community reps during an event organized by Halil Ibrahim Demir of @ZakatUS Chicago chapter.



Similarly, on September 2, 2016, Turkey's Deputy Prime Minister Numan Kurtulmus visited the Zakat Foundation. Turkish Ambassador to Washington DC Serdar Kilic and Turkish Consul General of Chicago Umut Acar accompanied the Deputy Prime Minister to the Zakat Foundation. Kurtulmus addressed the participants during lunch at the Zakat Foundation, talking about the coup attempt in Turkey. After the lunch, Ambassador Kilic, Consul General Acar, Turkish Parliament members Ravza Kavakci Kan and Sena Nur Celik and Halil Demir had a meeting with Deputy PM Kurtulmus.⁵⁴³

Halil Demir and the executive director of MUSIAD-USA met with TURKEN foundation officials on September 23, 2016. TURKEN Foundation is a Turkish-American NGO led by President Erdogan's children established in the U.S.

Zakat Foundation frequently advertises in ForumUSA, a Turkish-American print and online newspaper with close ties to President Erdogan. Also, Halil Demir was interviewed for the June 2016 issue about Zakat Foundation's activities around the world.⁵⁴⁴



TIES WITH U.S. ORGANIZATIONS

Zakat Foundation maintains close ties to the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas affiliated organizations⁵⁴⁵ and often sponsors their events even though these kinds of sponsorships are against its mission. For example, ZF was the platinum sponsor for the 2014 and 2015 American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) conferences.⁵⁴⁶ Additionally, Halil Demir made a speech at the 2015 AMP conference.⁵⁴⁷

Zakat Foundation was also the main sponsor of the 13th MAS-ICNA conference in December 2014⁵⁴⁸, the first time a Turkish-American organization participated in a MAS-ICNA conference.⁵⁴⁹ Zakat Foundation representative told the audience, “we are part of the Muslim community in America. We must find common solutions to our shared problems.” ZF also opened a booth and adopted “All for Turkey” as a slogan during the conference⁵⁵⁰.

Similarly, Zakat Foundation participated at the 2015 MAS-ICNA conference with a large booth campaigning for its winter kit relief project, raising awareness of emergency relief and orphan sponsorship programs.⁵⁵¹

Zakat Foundation and Halil Demir also participated in the 2016 MAS-ICNA convention⁵⁵² along with the Turkish-American National Steering Committee (TASC), Diyanet Center of America (DCA), Serdar Kilic, the Turkish Ambassador to Washington DC and guest of honor Sumeyye Erdogan Bayraktar, one of President Erdogan’s daughters.⁵⁵³ During the convention, TASC screened a documentary about the coup attempt in Turkey, and Halil Demir was seen sitting close to President Erdogan’s other daughter Sumeyye Albayrak and the Turkish Ambassador Serdar Kilic.⁵⁵⁴ ZF and Halil Demir again opened a large booth at the 2017 MAS-ICNA conference.⁵⁵⁵



Additionally, ZF has also continuously participated in ICNA-MAS conferences. For example, ZF described its involvement with the 2015 ICNA-MAS conference “as in previous years, Zakat Foundation of America (ZF) team headed to Baltimore, MD and took part in this important event that attracts thousands of Muslim Americans in search of enlightenment, spiritual guidance, and a reconnection with their community.”⁵⁵⁶ ZF again was in Baltimore in 2017 for the annual ICNA-

Mas conference and during the conference, “ZF heavily promoted the Orphan Sponsorship Program (OSP)” in addition to its global relief programs.⁵⁵⁷ ZF participated in the MAS-Milwaukee convention in April 2015. According to ZF, “the MAS-Milwaukee convention was a great opportunity for ZF to build and strengthen ties with the Muslim community outside of the Chicago area.”⁵⁵⁸ ZF was similarly present at the 2017 Mas-Chicago conference, where Halil Demir presented Zakat Foundation with excellence awards.⁵⁵⁹



ZF was “a proud sponsor of the 53rd annual Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)” convention in Rosemont Chicago in September 2016.⁵⁶⁰ Historically, ZF participated and opened booths at other ISNA conferences as well, including the 48th Annual ISNA Convention in Rosemont, IL, on July 4th Weekend 2011⁵⁶¹ or the ISNA 2014 convention.⁵⁶²

There are twenty-nine front groups associated with the Muslim Brotherhood based on a document titled “An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group (Muslim Brotherhood) In North America circa 1991” presented by the FBI during the Holy Land Foundation trials.⁵⁶³ The Zakat Foundation has worked and cooperated with two of the groups listed in the document presented to the court. For example, the Islamic Center of North America (ISNA) openly advertises the Zakat Foundation on its webpage as a trustworthy charity for zakat donations as of May 2018.⁵⁶⁴ ISNA also endorsed the Zakat Foundation as a charitable organization with “a strong history of immediate and effective responses to national and international disasters” in addition to being featured in several of the Zakat Foundation promotional videos.⁵⁶⁵ Furthermore, in February 2013, Zakat Foundation hired Safaa Zarzour, the former Secretary-General of ISNA.⁵⁶⁶ And Zakat Foundation sponsored several events to raise money, which included an event in 2012 with the ISNA Secretary-General Safaa Zarzour and AMP chairman Hatem Bazian.⁵⁶⁷ The other organization in the list the Zakat Foundation has partnered with and cooperated with is the Muslim Students Association (MSA). For example, the Zakat Foundation published an MSA brochure titled “How to start a successful halaqa group in your Masjid,”⁵⁶⁸ on its webpage without giving its source.⁵⁶⁹ Similarly, ZF included more MSA publications such as “How to Help Neighbors in Need,”⁵⁷⁰ and “Starting a Food Pantry.”⁵⁷¹





ZF partnered with the American Relief Agency for the Horn of Africa (ARAHA) on November 9, 2013, when “one of the two deadliest tropical cyclones in Somali history hit the Puntland and Lower Shabelle regions and stayed for two devastating days” to deliver humanitarian aid supplies to the region.⁵⁷² The director of ARAHA Sheikh Abdisalam Adam is known for his ties to the Muslim Brotherhood.⁵⁷³

In 2007, the Zakat Foundation published “The Zakat Handbook: A Practical Guide for Muslims in the West.” The book is also available in a pdf format at ZF’s website. In this book, the ZF heavily referenced Yusuf al-Qaradawi’s book titled “Fiqh az-Zakât.” ZF writers introduced the book during the first (first what?) referencing as “a noted source for contemporary cases is the celebrated Dr. Yusuf al-Qardawi’s Fiqh az-Zakât.... This book relies heavily on Shaykh Yusuf’s monumental service to contemporary Muslims in Fiqh az-Zakât.”⁵⁷⁴ Al-Qardawi is known as the spiritual leader and the voice of the Muslim Brotherhood.⁵⁷⁵ He currently lives in Doha and was sentenced to life in prison in absentia in Egypt “for alleged involvement in acts of violence in 2015.”⁵⁷⁶

Gaza-based “Unlimited Friends Association for Social Development (UFA)” is an aid organization closely associated with Hamas and its senior leadership.⁵⁷⁷ UFA is known to work closely with the Zakat Foundation, as can be seen in the banner below.⁵⁷⁸



MUSLIM GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS IN THE UNITED STATES WORKING CLOSELY WITH ERDOGAN

THE UNITED STATES COUNCIL OF MUSLIM ORGANIZATIONS (USCMO)

USCMO was officially established on March 12, 2014, at an event at the National Press Club in Washington, DC,⁵⁷⁹ as an umbrella group to serve as a representative voice for Muslims. USCMO's priority was "to build on Muslim citizenship rights by conducting a census of American Muslims to create a database that will be used to enhance political participation in upcoming elections."⁵⁸⁰ The announcement was made by USCMO Secretary General Oussama Jammal, CAIR National Executive Director Nihad Awad, and the Executive Director of Muslim Legal Fund of America (MLFA), Khalil Meek. Eight American organizations participated in the initial launch include the founding members.⁵⁸¹

- American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)
- Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)
- Islamic Circle of North American (ICNA)
- Muslim Alliance in North America (MANA)
- Muslim American Society (MAS)
- Muslim Legal Fund of America (MLFA)
- Muslim Ummah of North America (MUNA)
- The Mosque Cares (Ministry of Imam W. Deen Mohammed)

Oussama Jammal is the Secretary-General of USCMO. He is also the director of the Muslim American Society - Public Affairs and Civic Engagement and the vice president of the Mosque Foundation.⁵⁸²



USCMO, its founding members, and its secretary-general are figures with known ties to the Muslim Brotherhood and HAMAS networks.⁵⁸³ **Jammal is reportedly the main figure in the U.S. working directly with Turkey and President Erdogan, according to interviews with three sources familiar with the matter. Jammal is also active and influential among American Muslim communities. He uses his position and social media to promote and endorse Erdogan and his policies, as well.**⁵⁸⁴ USCMO acts as the main support and lobbying group for Erdogan among US Muslims.

In August 2014, a USCMO delegation led by Secretary-General Oussama Jammal with Osama Abu-Irshaid (National Director of American Muslims for Palestine, AMP, a founding member of the USCMO), and Naeem Baig (President of the Islamic Center of North America, ICNA, a founding member of the USCMO) met in Ankara with President Erdogan and other AK Party leaders. Mr. Jammal also met with Erdogan during the USCMO delegation reception in New York on September 22, 2016.⁵⁸⁵





USCMO organized its first international conference, “The First International Conference of Muslim Councils in the Western Hemisphere,” on February 1-3, 2016, in Arlington, Virginia.⁵⁸⁶ The conference was described as “a major initiative for Muslims in Western nations – in Washington, D.C.” Turkish government-owned Turkish Airlines sponsored USCMO’s first conference, which has also become one of the “top sponsors” of the annual MAS-ICNA conventions.⁵⁸⁷

Mr. Jammal and USCMO have openly expressed support for Erdogan and Turkey in the United States. For example, on April 20, 2015, USCMO released a statement to support Turkey regarding 1915 Turkish-Armenian Events,⁵⁸⁸ the euphemism for the Armenian genocide. Similarly, the USCMO and Mr. Jammal spoke up strongly in support of Erdogan when the coup attempt happened in Turkey on July 15, 2016, releasing a press statement titled “USCMO stands in solidarity with the people of Turkey against the attempted military coup.”⁵⁸⁹

Similarly, Turkish Daily Sabah, run by Erdogan’s family, published an article on May 25, 2015, titled “US Muslim NGO’s praise Turkey and President Erdogan for support to Morsi,” praising both Mr. Jammal and USCMO for their stand with the Turkish President.⁵⁹⁰

The article addressed the USCMO as “one of the largest Muslim associations in the United States,” and “has strongly condemned an Egyptian court’s recent decision to impose the death penalty on Egypt’s first democratically elected President Mohamed Morsi and praised Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan for his support.” The article added that “Oussama Jammal, secretary-general of the U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations, praised Turkey for its strong support for Egypt’s first elected president.”⁵⁹¹

Mr. Jamal, on September 23, 2019, during the Turkish American National Steering Committee (TASC) meeting in New York, where Erdogan also delivered a speech, **hailed Erdogan’s leadership as;**

“You give us a sense of pride, an honor to meet a president and a leader and [...] a wonderful human-being with patience, love, worries and cares for Muslim ummah.

You set the bar so high. Many of today’s Muslim leaders will fail to attain. Mr. President, we can see how your country is hosting, supporting, and helping other Muslims in Turkey and around the world. We can also see how other Muslims countries are killing, injuring, and devastating the lives [...].”⁵⁹²

Erdogan said, addressing American Muslim community leaders in the same meeting, “I am seeing that U.S. Muslim community is becoming more organized every passing day and trying to act in cooperation.”⁵⁹³

In return, Siraj Wahhaj, an African-American imam of Al-Taqwa mosque in Brooklyn, New York, said: “We need a centralized leadership” pointing to the leadership of Erdogan, “I have a feeling that the leadership is coming from Turkey” and added, “We love you here in New York.”⁵⁹⁴

Mr. Jammal often leads meetings and demonstrations to support Erdogan. For example, on June 16, 2016, in front of the Turkish Chicago Consulate, Mr. Jammal led a press conference with twenty other academicians to condemn the coup attempt in Turkey.⁵⁹⁵ Jammal, through the USCMO organized⁵⁹⁶ a mass rally and demonstration just outside the White House on December 16, 2017, to criticize the decision of President Donald Trump to officially recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and his plan to relocate the United States Embassy from Tel Aviv.

Twenty-eight different groups participated in the rally along with Halil Mutlu, the director of the Turkish American Steering Committee (TASC), CAIR National Executive Director Nihad Awad, and the Chairman of Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), Mohsin Ansari.⁵⁹⁷ The most striking aspect of the demonstration was the fact that Turkish President Erdogan's defiance against the U.S. was praised by the speakers and the demonstrators by chanting, **“Recep Tayyip Erdogan, true leader of Ummah [Muslim believers].”⁵⁹⁸**

MUSIAD (the Independent Industrials and Businessmen's Associations), known as Erdogan's business association in Turkey, has a US branch, MUSIAD USA, that also works directly with the USCMO. For example, the MUSIAD USA spokesman Ahmed Cetin Guzel was listed as a USCMO board member and principal of the TACS (Turkish American Cultural Society).⁵⁹⁹

In fact, before this rally, on December 6, 2017, the Turkish official Anadolu Press Agency published an article on American-Muslim leaders and civil-rights groups slamming President Donald Trump's forthcoming decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Leaders from the U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO), the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), and American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) voiced concerns about plans to move Washington's embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.⁶⁰⁰



“Recep Tayyip Erdogan, true leader of Ummah [Muslim believers].”⁵⁹⁸



Another significant event that happened in the United States related to Erdogan illustrates these ties. After the boxing legend Muhammad Ali, a convert to Islam, died, Erdogan, with a delegation from Turkey, including the head of the Diyanet, the Turkish Religious authority, Mehmet Gormez, decided to attend his memorial service in Louisville, Kentucky.⁶⁰¹

According to the news reports, Erdogan wanted to address the dignitaries and those attending the funeral, lay a piece of cloth from the Ka'ba (the center of the Holy Mosque in Mecca) on Muhammed Ali's coffin⁶⁰² and to have his head of Diyanet recite verses from the Qur'an. However, all of these requests were denied. Erdogan became extremely upset and decided to leave the funeral and memorial service abruptly earlier than planned. Erdogan and the Turkish government delegation departed for Turkey without participating in the full funeral ceremony.⁶⁰³ Erdogan was clearly upset that he was not allowed to speak at the service.

Sources familiar with the matter and who were part of the decision-making process told the back-story. Speaking on the condition of anonymity, two participants said that President Erdogan's office reached out to them as they were planning to attend the funeral and memorial services and told about Erdogan's request to be present during the services. The planning committee accepted Erdogan's presence as a foreign dignity. Erdogan's office has never made any other such requests. However, when Erdogan arrived with his convoy and a large number of security details (there were also clashes with the U.S. secret service and Erdogan's security⁶⁰⁴), Erdogan demanded to take the first row for the prayer and as he moved by, disturbed many people on his way. After that,

he requested the organizer's permission to lay a piece of cloth from the Ka'ba and address the attendees, recite some verses from the Qur'an and give a check to the family in front of the cameras.



The family and organizers decided not to honor Erdogan's requests, citing "Erdogan's request was specifically to pray. When you get there, you shouldn't bait and switch." When this message was passed to Erdogan, he got extremely upset with his bodyguards, also making an abrupt move to depart. "The brothers behind Erdogan and his delegation made sure with their attitudes they were backing our decision," according to the source. At that point, the organizers were also not sure if they were causing an international incident with the ongoing conflict. However, "all brothers who were part of the family and congregation said "NO" openly, the source related. "We felt if that he shouldn't have disrespect Muhammed Ali and his family as he was not a part of his life at any point in history." While the situation was very bitter between the organizers and the Turkish delegation, the organizing committee decided to invite Erdogan to Muhammed Ali Center for an afternoon meal at 4:00 pm, where they wanted to explain the situation. During the meal, Erdogan openly expressed his frustration, and when the family addressed the issue of selling eighty percent of Muhammed Ali's marketing rights, his name and likeness⁶⁰⁵ and the fact that the company was also part of the memorial services, Erdogan said "you shouldn't have sold the rights, it was a mistake." Erdogan then left the center after giving the check to the center he intended to give during the funeral.

After Erdogan left Louisville, Kentucky earlier than planned, he was scheduled to come back to the U.S. to attend the 71st session of the UN General Assembly in New York on September 20, 2016.⁶⁰⁶ After his UN meetings, Erdogan met with representatives of the Muslim community in the US, particularly with the USCMO leadership and members who were apparently actively involved in setting up meetings with the American Muslim communities and Turkish delegations.⁶⁰⁷ Additionally, some of the high-level representatives with whom Erdogan met during Muhammed Ali's funeral were also invited to the same meeting by the Turkish President's office, and these sources were interviewed under the condition of anonymity.

Based on the Turkish Presidency announcements⁶⁰⁸, Erdogan attended the meeting with a large delegation from Turkey including the Deputy Prime Minister Veysi Kaynak, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Justice

Bekir Bozdağ, Minister of Family and Social Policies Fatma Betül Sayan Kaya, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Berat Albayrak, Turkey's Ambassador to Washington, D.C., Serdar Kılıç, Deputy Chairman of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) Yasin Aktay, AK Party Istanbul Deputy Ravza Kavakçı, Deputy Secretary-General and Spokesperson of the Presidency İbrahim Kalın.

The USCMO members and other US Muslims attending the meeting included the Secretary General of the US Council of Muslim Organizations, USCMO, Oussama Jammal, Executive Director of the Zakat Foundation Halil Demir, Executive Director of the Muslim American Society Mazen Mokhtar, theologian and Spiritual Leader of American-Albanian Bektashis Eliton Pashaj, Executive Director of the All Dulles Area Muslim Society Mohamed Magid, Moutasem Atiya of Al Madina Institute, President of the Diyanet Center of America Yaşar Çolak, Ahmed Shehata of the Egyptian American Organization

for Democracy and Human Rights, Executive Director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations Nihad Awad, Executive Director of Muslim Legal Fund of America Khalil (Eric) Meek, Mir Masoom Ali of the Brooklyn Bangladeshi Community, Zahid Bukhari of ICNA, President of the Adams Center Syed Moktadir, National Director of ISNA Sayyid Syeed, Chairman of the TURKEN Foundation Behram Turan, Chairman of the Islamic Relief Khaled Lamada, Ayman Hammous and Lana Safah of the Muslim American Society, Secretary General of ICNA Muhammad Tariq Rahman, Moviz Asad Siddiqi of ICNA Relief, Director of the New Brunswick Islamic Center Sami Catovic, President of the Center for Egyptian-American Dialogue Abdul Mawgoud Dardery, Yasir of Boston Muslim Community, Mohamed Elsanousi and Imrana Umar of the Adams Center, Coordinator for Egyptians Abroad for Democracy Worldwide Mohamed Ismail, President of Helping Hand for Relief and Development Farrukh Raza.



USCMO Secretary General Oussama Jammal shaking hands with Mr. Erdogan. The front row included USCMO Secretary General Oussama Jammal, Executive Director of the Muslim American Society (MAS), Mazen Mokhtar, CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad.

What was striking about this meeting is the fact that most of the attendees were among the founding and council members of the USCMO, and this was the reason Erdogan was greeted by Oussama Jammal, the Secretary-General of the US Council of Muslim Organizations, (USCMO).

Additionally, the sources who spoke on the condition of anonymity stated that Erdogan was greeted and treated “like a Sultan,” which struck some as very un-American. The scene was described by the source as: “Erdogan sat on the chair very comfortably in a way I have never seen before from a head of state, including my interactions with Mr. Obama. Most strikingly, Erdogan kept talking very bitterly about the coup in Turkey and his support to the Palestinian Muslims by constantly criticizing Israel and never mentioning anything about universal justice or human rights or universal Islamic values.”

After his short address, Erdogan openly asked for the support of American Muslim communities to further his objectives in the United States. He asked them to lobby on behalf of Turkey whenever possible and to reflect his stand against his enemies in the U.S., particularly regarding Fethullah Gulen. The person present at the meeting said he was struck by the fact that **“no one in the meeting questioned what Erdogan was asking and basically by staying silent after his demands, I could easily see that everyone agreed what he was asking or didn’t dare to confront him.”**

Erdogan then asked the attendees if they wanted anything from him. Several people took their turns “thanking Erdogan and telling him that they would support his agendas here in the U.S.” and many people also **“to me strikingly, openly asked for financial support from Erdogan.” In return, Erdogan replied back; “We have been very generous and provided you financial means**

through different mediums, and we will keep financing. Please see this brother for your needs. Erdogan pointed to someone whom I didn’t know personally,” the source attending the meeting said.

“While there was no money exchange in the room, it was very much striking to talk about the finances and rallying for Erdogan,” said the source who was present at the meeting.

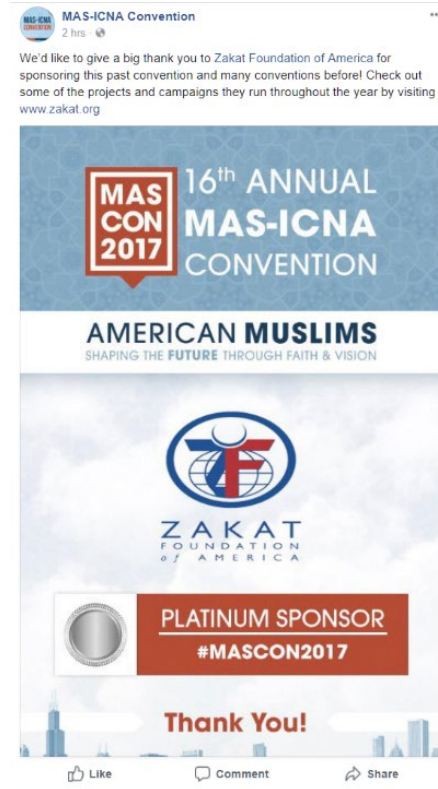
The USCMO, its Secretary-General Jammal, and the members of the USCMO are directly involved in supporting Erdogan and his policies in the United States without a FARA registration. Erdogan and his Turkish American establishments have been closely interacting and supporting the USCMO activities by either directly becoming the financial supporters of the USCMO or related establishments events as discussed in this report but at the same time obviously providing finances through different and indirect means.

“no one in the meeting questioned what Erdogan was asking and basically by staying silent after his demands, I could easily see that everyone agreed what he was asking or didn’t dare to confront him.”

ANNUAL MAS-ICNA CONVENTIONS (THE MUSLIM AMERICAN SOCIETY (MAS) AND THE ISLAMIC CIRCLE OF NORTH AMERICA (ICNA))

MAS-ICNA Convention is one of the largest and most diverse Islamic conventions in North America. Both MAS and ICNA, organizers of the conference, and several speakers and some of the attendees have been known for their ties to extremist Islamist organizations, including the Muslim Brotherhood, HAMAS, and others. For example, the leader of the Islamic Center of Passaic County, Imam Mohammad Qatanani, claimed to be currently fighting a deportation order due to his previous conviction in Israel for his membership in Hamas.⁶⁰⁹ And Jamal Badawi, a founding member of MAS, was listed as an unindicted co-conspirator in the 2008 Holy Land Foundation terrorism finance case.⁶¹⁰ There were many others.⁶¹¹ Annual MAS-ICNA conventions are important due to the support of Turkey and pro-Erdogan organizations, particularly after 2014. For example, the President of the Presidency of Religious Affairs (Turkish Diyanet), Mehmet Gormez, addressed the 13th Annual MAS-ICNA Conference via a recorded video message on December 29, 2014, declaring the construction of Turkish Diyanet Center of America as “a gift for all Muslims.”⁶¹² The main sponsor of the 13th MAS-ICNA conference was the Turkish backed American Zakat Foundation, founded by Halil Ibrahim Demir.⁶¹³ 2014 was the first time a Turkish-American organization participated in a MAS-ICNA conference. Zakat Foundation representative told the audience, “we are part of the Muslim community in America. We must find common solutions to our shared problems. Here many of the Muslims were unaware of the Turkish-

Armenian dispute, and we have distributed brochures for them to be informed,” and continued with the slogan “All for Turkey” which was adopted by the Zakat Foundation.⁶¹⁴



As the Turkish government-backed organizations increased their support and relationships with the MAS-ICNA convention and other American Muslim organizations, in December 2016, the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) announced through its website that “Turkey will have a large presence at the annual Islamic convention in Chicago.” ICNA stated that President Erdogan’s daughter and the Vice-Chair of the Women and Democracy Association (KADEM) Sumeyye Erdogan Bayraktar will attend and address the summit as the guest of honor to give a talk titled “Overcoming the problems that ummah face: Turkish model.” ICNA’s announcement also specified that the Turkish

presidency, several Turkish agencies, NGOs, Turkish state-media TRT World, and Daily Sabah would organize events during the summit in Chicago.⁶¹⁵



The following Turkish government agencies and organizations participated in the 15th MAS-ICNA convention.⁶¹⁶

- Diyanet Center of America (DCA)
- Anadolu Agency (AA)
- the Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD)
- Turkish International Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA)
- Women and Democracy Association (KADEM)
- the Foundation for Political, Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (MÜSİAD)
- Economic and Social Research (SETA)
- The Turkish-American National Steering Committee (TASC)
- Turkish Airlines (THY)

In fact, Turkey significantly increased its support not only for the MAS-ICNA convention but also to its founding members as well. The Turkish Zakat Foundation and its executive director Halil Demir⁶¹⁷ and Turkish Airlines generously financed several MAS-ICNA

conventions beginning in 2014. Several Turkish NGOs and Government organizations listed above-opened booths and displays.



MAS-ICNA Convention

November 30, 2015 · 🌐

We wanted to take a few moments this week to thank our sponsors and recognize them for their contributions. MashAllah, our sponsors contribute so much to allowing the convention to function at its capacity. Jazakum Allah khair for your support.

One of our top sponsors is Turkish Airlines. Check them out for your next trip.

<http://www.turkishairlines.com/>

Likewise, Erdogan's representation by his daughter Sumeyye Erdogan Bayraktar at the 2016 MAS-ICNA convention allowed MAS-ICNA supporters to extend their outreach to Turkey and was at the same time a great opportunity for Erdogan to reach out to the American Muslim communities to seek for recognition and support. Both the Diyanet Center in Maryland and other Turkish NGOs close to Erdogan eagerly advertised Ms. Erdogan's attendance at the conference. For example, the Turkish-American National

Steering Committee (TASC) announced on Twitter, "Our President's daughter Sumeyye Erdogan Bayraktar will be speaking at the convention at 2:30 on Monday 26th December. Please join us."⁶¹⁸

Ms. Erdogan was introduced by the controversial Imam Suhaib Webb before she addressed the crowd. Suhaib Webb is the former imam of the Islamic Society of Boston Cultural

Center⁶¹⁹ and a resident scholar and educator of the Bay Area chapter of the Muslim American Society (MAS).⁶²⁰ Mr. Webb tweeted the same day that

"he was honored to introduce Ms. Erdogan and thankful to the Turkish Presidency for their concern towards justice and tolerance." Mr. Webb, while openly condemning terrorism, was based on FBI documents, a close companion of al-Qaeda operative Anwar Awlaki.⁶²¹ In fact, the two together successfully participated in a fundraiser in California in 2001, raising \$100,000 just two days before 9/11 to pay for the defense of H. Rap Brown (known as Jamil al Amin), who murdered a sheriff's deputy and wounded another deputy in Georgia. Brown was found guilty of the murder⁶²². The Islamic Society of Boston Cultural Center (ISBCC) confirmed that Imam Webb had, in fact, worked with Anwar Awlaki; however, it claimed it didn't know his ties to the terrorist organization.⁶²³



The Turkish Daily Sabah, owned by Erdogan's family, wrote an article describing the scene. Ms. Erdogan's arrival at the hotel was supposed to be discreet according to Sabah; however, she was greeted by a crowd of 200, most of whom were not Turkish. Sabah reported that those "people were American Muslims whose families had come from Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and Somalia. They were there to welcome a person whom they perceived to be representing their hero, Turkey."⁶²⁴

Ms. Erdogan talked to the 7,000 plus audience about the coup in Turkey. According to her, "Turkey has had a long journey through incredible oppression and unfair practices, through marginalization of the majority, through the skimming off of resources, to reach where it is today." Ms. Erdogan claimed that "the coup was terrifying and dreadful, and the aftermath is, to say the least, complicated, [yet] democracy and justice rules in Turkey." Finally, she concluded her address by expressing the following "as American Muslims you live in a country founded on principles of religious freedom. While occasionally America may stray from these founding principles, Inshallah, it will continue to honor these principles for all of its citizens."⁶²⁵

Furthermore, Salah Sarsour, a former fundraiser for Hamas⁶²⁶, was spotted in a video shared by the MAS-ICNA Facebook account, apparently as head of security for Ms. Erdogan. Mr. Sarsour, apparently, started to provide his services as soon as Ms. Erdogan arrived at the convention site. In the video, Mr. Sarsour is seen directing other security details while closely following Ms. Erdogan and interacting with people who are approaching Ms. Erdogan at the presence of the Turkish Ambassador to the U.S. ⁶²⁷



Mr. Sarsour is an American Muslims for Palestine National board member.⁶²⁸ An FBI memo⁶²⁹ dated November 5, 2001, addressed to the Department of Treasury Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), stated that Mr. Sarsour's brother Jamil Sarsour confessed after his arrest, due to his involvement with HAMAS (providing financial and other assistance to HAMAS fugitives and military activists) on October 23, 1998, his brother Salah Sarsour has been involved in "fundraising activities of HLFDR (Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development⁶³⁰) in Richardson, Texas on behalf of HAMAS⁶³¹" Mr. Sarsour was arrested and spent eight months in Israeli prisons for supporting Hamas in 1995.⁶³² His brother Jamil

Sarsour stated that Mr. Sarsour became a close associate of Adel Awadallah⁶³³, Hamas's Izzedeen al-Qassam Brigade's West Bank commander, the armed military wing of Hamas.⁶³⁴

Matthew Levitt, the director of the Stein Program on Counterterrorism & Intelligence at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and a former FBI and U.S. Treasury official, wrote in his book titled "Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of

Jihad" that Jamil Sarsour, Mr. Sarsour's brother, told Israeli authorities that he and Mr. Sarsour used their Milwaukee furniture store's bank account to transfer money to Adel Awadallah.⁶³⁵ After Israeli agents killed Adel Awadallah in 1998⁶³⁶, Jamil Sarsour said during that interview⁶³⁷ that my brother Salah Sansour "was very sad because they were good friends" with Adel Awadallah. "He decided he wanted to vindicate their deaths and decided to plan an attack against Israel."⁶³⁸ Mr. Sarsour also told Al-Jazeera TV during an interview that

the 2015 AMP conference he was chairing "aims to keep up with and support the Palestinian people's continuous intifada."⁶³⁹



President Erdogan's 16th annual MAS-ICNA Convention address. The top caption in Turkish reads: Erdogan warned the U.S. and Israel about Jerusalem at his MAS-ICNA address.

Turkey also had a very heavy presence at the 16th annual MAS-ICNA Convention in Chicago beginning December 28, 2017. Turkey was represented by Mehdi Eker, the deputy chair of Turkey's ruling Justice and Development (AK) Party, who also spoke during the convention.⁶⁴⁰ Throughout the convention venue, President Erdogan's pictures with an excerpt from his speech "the World is Bigger than Five" and "Quds is our Red Line" were showcased. Erdogan said "the World is bigger than five, much bigger than one", when addressing the United Nations General Assembly on December 21, 2017, rejecting a U.S. decision to recognize Jerusalem as the Israeli capital and the U.S. veto to cancel out the Security Council (the "five" being U.S., Russia, China, the U.K., and France) resolution



President Erdogan's address during the 16th annual MAS-ICNA Convention. Picture by Anadolu Agency.⁶⁴⁶

to condemn Mr. Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Jerusalem.⁶⁴¹ Additionally, Erdogan sent a video message to the 16th annual MAS-ICNA Convention⁶⁴² cautioning Muslims about the rising Islamophobia and Racism in the West and warning the U.S. President Mr. Trump and Israel not to increase tensions in the region by moving the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem.⁶⁴³ The "Rabia sign" representing the Muslim Brotherhood solidarity in Turkey adopted by President Erdogan and his party⁶⁴⁴, the AKP, was also placed as a statute on the left side of the table as Erdogan's remarks for the 16th annual MAS-ICNA Convention were recorded.⁶⁴⁵



Turkish Minister Mehdi Eker with Mahmud Nur, an Egyptian conference attendee holding a sign 'We Love Erdogan' and both making the "Rabia" sign.

Mr. Eker, the deputy chair of the Justice and Development (AK) Party, spoke at a panel titled: "What Does Jerusalem Mean to Me?" with the following abstract "Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa mosque hold a special place in the hearts of all Muslims. Join us as we learn why this issue transcends racial and ethnic boundaries and why Muslims love Jerusalem."⁶⁴⁷

Turkey was also represented at the convention by the Turkish Ambassador to the United States and the booths of Turkey's international television platform TRT World, Turkish Disaster and Emergency Management Agency (AFAD), and the Turkish American National Steering Committee (TASC).⁶⁴⁸ Mr. Eker and his delegation visited the booths, talked with the visitors, and distributed baklava to the guests.



*Mr. Eker accompanied by the USCMO Secretary General Oussama Jammal visiting the Turkish booths.*⁶⁴⁹

COUNCIL ON AMERICAN-ISLAMIC RELATIONS (CAIR)

The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) is a tax-exempt charity and a “grassroots civil rights and advocacy group.”⁶⁵⁰ According to CAIR’s website, CAIR is America’s largest Muslim civil liberties organization with regional offices nationwide. CAIR’s vision is described as “to be a leading advocate for justice and mutual understanding.” CAIR’s mission is “to enhance understanding of Islam, encourage dialogue, protect civil liberties, empower American Muslims, and build coalitions that promote justice and mutual understanding.”⁶⁵¹ CAIR’s executive director is Nihad Awad.

CAIR and its executive director Nihad Awad have been among the leading figures aggressively supporting Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his policies in the United States. CAIR is also among the founding members of the United States Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO). Mr. Awad is among the members of the USCMO board. Both CAIR and Mr Awad have attracted controversy in the U.S.

Nihad Awad, Palestinian by descent, supports HAMAS based on his own statement during a panel at Barry University in Florida, in March 1984. “I used to support the PLO, and I used to be the President of the General Union of Palestinian Students which is part of the PLO here in the United States, but after I researched the situation inside Palestine and outside, I am in support of the Hamas movement more than the PLO.”⁶⁵² Awad also asked Moammar Gaddafi for funding in 2011.⁶⁵³

CAIR’s links to HAMAS, a specially designated terrorist organization and its associations, were uncovered based on the evidence presented during the 2007 trial of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, in which “**CAIR was designated as an unindicted co-conspirator,**” according to a September 2013 report by the US Department of Justice’s Office of the Inspector General.⁶⁵⁴

In a Federal court filed in December 2007, the prosecutors described CAIR as “having conspired with other affiliates of the Muslim Brotherhood to support terrorists,” and “from its founding by Muslim Brotherhood leaders, CAIR conspired with other affiliates of the Muslim Brotherhood to support terrorists.”⁶⁵⁵ Similarly, the FBI explained to the U.S. Congress in an April 2009 letter signed by Richard C. Powers, Assistant Director, Office of Congressional Affairs addressed to the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology, and Homeland Security, that “in light of that evidence, the FBI suspended all formal contacts between CAIR and the FBI” due to the evidence presented during the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) trial demonstrating CAIR and its founders were part of a group set up by the Muslim Brotherhood to support Hamas.⁶⁵⁶



Nihad Awad's SalamWorld speech

165 views

Like 1 Comment 1 Share ...



salamworldvid

Published on Feb 23, 2012

SUBSCRIBE 359

Executive Director of Council on American-Islamic relations Nihad Awad's speech in SalamWorld summit.

SHOW MORE

Turkish Political Islamists' connections and interactions with the Muslim Brotherhood go back as early as 1996 through Necmettin Erbakan, Erdogan's teacher and mentor.⁶⁵⁷ However, Turkey, predominantly President Erdogan and AKP circles, warmed up and became friendlier with the Muslim Brotherhood domains⁶⁵⁸ during Egypt's President Mohamed Morsi's tenure from June 2012 to July 2013 and specifically after President Morsi was removed from office during the 2013 Egyptian coup d'état by General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. Similarly, HAMAS and its supporters started to consider President Erdogan as one of their chief supporters among world leaders after the Mavi Marmara (the blue flotilla) incident involving six ships were carrying humanitarian aid and other materials to break the Israeli blockade of the Gaza Strip.⁶⁵⁹ Consequently, throughout these two incidents, the coup in Egypt and the attempt to break the Israeli blockade, Erdogan and his representatives easily approached the Muslim Brotherhood and HAMAS affiliated groups or individuals to further their connections, by establishing worldwide networks and providing safe havens and logistical support⁶⁶⁰ to the Muslim Brotherhood and HAMAS affiliates.

Additionally, there are several people in the inner circle of Erdogan, who often interact with CAIR and support its activities. Among them is Ibrahim Kalin, a special adviser to President Erdogan and the presidential spokesperson⁶⁶¹. Additionally, Erdogan's close friend and supporter Texas-based Imam Yusuf Ziya Kavakci and his daughter, Merve Kavakci, a former Turkish politician, an avid devotee of Erdogan and Turkish

15, 2013, when Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan placed a ceremonial stone on the 15-acre construction site in Maryland, and this was featured on CAIR social media accounts.⁶⁶³

Mr. Awad's first appearance in the Turkish sphere happened in February 2012 during the launch ceremony of the "Salamworld," an Islamic version of Facebook, in Istanbul, Turkey. Salamworld was described to attract Muslims

from around the world to have a 'halal' online space where they can communicate with each other.⁶⁶⁴ Mr. Awad was one of the keynote speakers addressing the attendees. According to a DW report,⁶⁶⁵ he said that he hoped a social media by and for Muslims could facilitate activism. "Now I hope Salamworld will take social media to a higher level, what's needed here



Ambassador to Malaysia,⁶⁶² are both members of CAIR. CAIR and its representatives also have started to establish close connections with the Turkish government and Erdogan. The initial public connections started with the promotion of the Diyanet Mosque construction ceremony on May

is for Muslims to present a vision for the world."⁶⁶⁶ He continued in describing his vision as to be "based on dignity, peaceful coexistence and a zone free of haram, or that which is forbidden in Islam is being created here, at Salamworld's shiny new headquarters on the top of a hill overlooking the Bosphorus."⁶⁶⁷

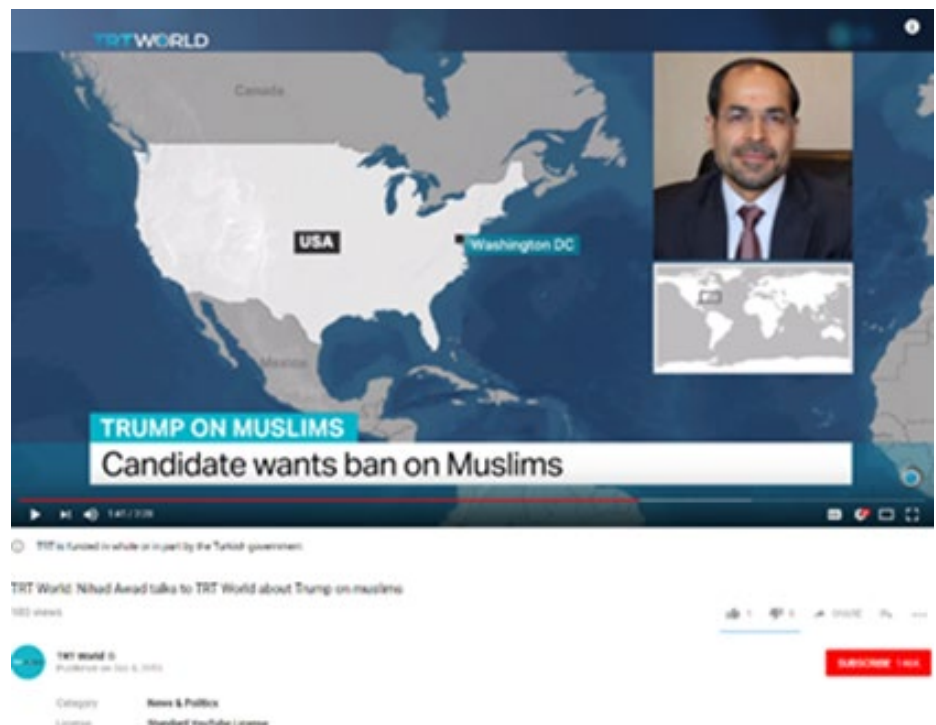
Mr. Awad also said during his address that the Arab Spring movements in the region should follow the Turkish example and praised the Turkish leader's progressive activities in their countries as constituting an example for the other leaders in the region as an influential model.⁶⁶⁸

On December 6, 2013, Mr. Awad attended and spoke at the 4th International Young Businessmen Congress in Istanbul, Turkey. The Congress was organized by the Young Turkish Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (Young-MUSIAD).⁶⁶⁹ MUSIAD is known for its pro-AKP and Erdogan stance and led by Erdogan's close associates.⁶⁷⁰

Similarly, on November 6, 2014, a Turkish delegation representing MUSIAD visited CAIR headquarters to invite CAIR members and U.S. Muslims to MUSIAD's upcoming International Fair and International Business Forum Congress, between November 26-30 in Istanbul.⁶⁷¹ CAIR announced this visit through its website and social media accounts, "the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), the nation's largest Muslim civil rights and advocacy organization, recently hosted a delegation of Turkish business leaders at its Washington, D.C., headquarters."

CAIR National Executive Director Nihad Awad hosted the Turkish delegation and stated: "We welcome the invitation for American Muslims to strengthen business ties with Turkey and to share our nation's economic potential with a strategic

partner in the region and worldwide."⁶⁷² CAIR also indicated in its statement that the "events would be held in conjunction with a meeting of the Standing Committee for Economic and Commercial Cooperation of the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation (COMCEC), the main multilateral economic and commercial cooperation platform of the Islamic world."⁶⁷³



Mr. Awad worked with the Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu directly to craft a 10-year action plan for the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). OIC is considered the 2nd largest inter-governmental organization after the UN with 57 member states and credibility as the voice of the Muslim world.⁶⁷⁴



Nihad Awad نهاد عوض @NihadAwad · 27 Aug 2014

I was honored to work w/ @A_Davutoglu_eng Turkey's PM at @OIC_OCI to craft a 10yr action plan. He's a great intellectual statesman .



In November 2014, Turkey officially hosted the “First Latin American Muslim Leaders Religious Summit,” including 76 religious leaders from more than 40 countries in Istanbul. The summit was financed and hosted by the Turkish Department of Religious Affairs (Diyanet) with the working title of “Building Our Tradition and Future.”

Muslim representatives from Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Venezuela, Peru, and Colombia attended and discussed issues regarding the Muslim minorities in South America.⁶⁷⁵ Mr. Awad was also invited to represent CAIR, and he addressed the summit as the Executive Director of CAIR.

As CAIR’s Turkish connection started to become stronger, and the interactions between the two increased, CAIR decided to present its Humanitarian Award to the Republic of Turkey in 2015. The award was presented to the Turkish Ambassador to the U.S. Serdar Kilic during an annual ceremony on October 17, 2015. The Turkish Ambassador speaking to accept the award thanked CAIR “for its efforts to stand in solidarity with Muslims throughout its 21 years of existence,” and added that “the brotherly feelings of CAIR for Turkey and its people made the award much more valuable.”⁶⁸¹

to his actions after the coup attempt. Mr. Awad continued to his speech by claiming that “Erdogan is the only world leader that supports and advocates for the American Muslims at the highest level possible when compared to the other leaders.” The report also stated that U.S. Muslim leaders who were present at the dinner have decided to start to lobby against the Gulen Movement in the U.S. in the coming days. The Turkish Minister of Defense, Ismet Yilmaz, was also reported to say that he was extremely pleased with the support and cooperation of the American Muslim communities for the Turkish Government.⁶⁸³



CAIR National @CAIRNational · 17 Nov 2014
PHOTO: #CAIR National Executive Director Nihad Awad Speaking at Conference on Latin American Muslims in Turkey fb.me/7cSplBxCh

🗨️ 2 🍏 📧

Mr. Awad was invited to a private dinner by the Turkish Minister of Defense, Ismet

Turkish media and CAIR relationships also improved during this period. For example, the government TV station TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) and AA⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ (Anadolu News Agency) started to invite Mr. Awad to appear on its programs. They often cited him or CAIR. On December 8, 2015, Mr. Awad talked about a then- U.S. presidential candidate’s proposed Muslim ban on TRT WORLD⁶⁷⁸.

Additionally, media groups, including the Turkuvaz Media⁶⁷⁹ owned by the Erdogan family and other Turkish media outlets under the influence of Erdogan⁶⁸⁰ have started to cover CAIR activities in an increasing phase.

Yilmaz, at Ambassador Serdar Kilic’s residence along with Oussama Jammal, the Secretary-General of USCMO, and the executive director of the Islamic Circle of North American (ICNA), Naim Baig, on February 20, 2015⁶⁸². Mr. Awad, according to the Turkish Daily Yurt, addressed the guests during the dinner:

“Fethullah Gulen and his group are more dangerous than the terrorist group Islamic State,” and he also praised Erdogan very highly due

In support of the Turkish Government, CAIR, publicly issued a statement to “call for proper study of 1915 events, denying genocide claims along with the USCMO stating that they are “aware of the painful history of over 30 nations fighting for over 4 years and the loss of over 37 million lives in World War I, including those of the Armenians.”⁶⁸⁴



cair_national · Follow

cair_national CAIR presents the 2015 Humanitarian Award to the Republic of Turkey. “We should not forget that the people of Syria are our brothers and sisters...The people of Syria are in need of our help and let's not fail them. -His Excellency Serdar Kilic #Champs4Justice

🍏 🗨️

nilcanalbayrak, sanauansari, apdpkashmir, hamzahraza, hijabionhilltop, sabri.med, ahmadharidy, linaabarham, abujesus and yourtruli.harfateh like this

OCTOBER 17, 2015



CAIR and its executive director Mr. Awad have continuously been supporting official Turkish venues in the U.S. For example, the Turkish American Community Center (TACC), after its initial establishment in Maryland launched its inaugural exhibit, labeled as “Dervishes and Their Belongings,” on September 21, 2015. Many members of Muslim communities, diplomats, and Turkish people were invited to the opening reception. Mr. Awad, representing CAIR, took his place by Tugay Tunçer, the deputy chief of mission at the Turkish Embassy, during the opening remarks and later addressed the attendees.⁶⁸⁵ The event was also publicized by the Diyanet Center America over different social media as Mr. Awad spoke.

On April 3, 2016, CAIR hosted Dr. Mehmet Gormez, the President of Religious Affairs in Turkey, who was in the U.S. for the inauguration of the Diyanet Center in Maryland. Both Mr. Gormez and Mr. Awad spoke to the press and the people at CAIR headquarters. Mr. Gormez expressed the importance of CAIR in the fight against Islamophobia in the world. Mr. Awad expressed his gratitude to Mr. Gormez and congratulated the Head of the Turkish Religious Affairs by giving him a plaque. He also added that the new Diyanet Center and Mosque in Maryland would serve as a cultural and civilization center, particularly at times of increasing Islamophobia. Mr. Awad stated that Turkey had become a “hope” not only for the Muslims but all humanity. He added that **“I am from Palestine and Turkey has a special place for the Palestinians and all the Muslims. We are thankful for Turkey’s assistance. I know that my Egyptian and Syrian friends feel the same way, this feeling is commonly shared among the ‘Ummah.”**⁶⁸⁶ CAIR has posted a video of Mr. Gormez’s visit and interactions at its headquarters.⁶⁸⁷



Follow

Video: #CAIR Hosts Reception for Dr. Mehmet Görmez, Head of Religious Affairs in Turkey
fb.me/10K0VSdvK

6:27 PM - 3 Apr 2016

2 Retweets 1 Like



1



2



1





CAIR

April 4, 2016 · 🌐

PHOTO: #CAIR Board Chair Roula Allouch and Executive Director Nihad Awad Meet Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan at Opening of Diyanet Center of America Mosque in Lanham, Md., on Saturday



CAIR has also become an important tool to announce and advertise Erdogan's U.S. programs and agendas. For example, immediately after Muhammad Ali's death, as Erdogan announced that he would go to his funeral, CAIR's main twitter handle @CAIRNational tweeted that the Turkish President Erdogan would attend the funeral.⁶⁸⁸

Meanwhile, CAIR has started to become one of the main ways in the U.S. to reach out to other Muslim communities and organizations. For example, on April 3, 2016, CAIR invited members of the Georgetown University Muslim Students Association to a Q&A session with President Erdogan at the TURKEN foundation.⁶⁸⁹

One of the most important positions CAIR and Mr. Awad assumed was the promotion of the opening ceremony of the Turkish Cultural Center, the Diyanet Mosque, in Lanham, Maryland. The Diyanet Center of America was funded by the Diyanet. It was inaugurated on April 2, 2016, by President Erdogan.⁶⁹⁰ Mr. Awad was actively involved with the opening ceremony and publicizing

the event. He also met with Erdogan during the opening ceremony. As the Diyanet Mosque was opened, it became an attraction for American Muslims, and the USCMO and CAIR like organizations and their representatives actively promoted the mosque and participated in the activities related to the center.



CAIR National @CAIRNational · 8 Jun 2016

#CAIR: Turkish president **Erdogan** to attend Muhammad Ali funeral

The Council on American-Islamic Relations and... fb.me/1ksJBi0rC



On 15 July 2016, a coup d'état was attempted in Turkey against the incumbent government and President Erdogan. The coup carried out by a faction within the Turkish armed forces under the name of the Peace at Home Council. However, the coup failed to confiscate the state institutions and was eventually countered by the Turkish people and Erdogan.⁶⁹¹ As the coup started around 7:30 pm,⁶⁹² Mr. Awad immediately began to tweet against the coup, while many in the world were trying to understand at the very early stages of the coup. Mr. Awad wrote through his Twitter account: "Any coup in Turkey is a blatant coup against democracy and the will of the Turkish people. Praying for Turkey," and he continued, "the US government should denounce the coup attempt in Turkey and demand the Turkish army to stand down in support of democracy." Eventually, he organized a rally to support President Erdogan by announcing that "there will be a rally in DC tonight at 7:30 in front of the White House to denounce the Coup attempt in #Turkey. Please share and join." The event was also posted on CAIR social media accounts.⁶⁹³ All these activities happened so fast, and moments later the coup attempt was on the news media, even before the U.S. Turkish organizations in line with President Erdogan in the U.S. had the opportunity to say or post any comments in solidarity with what was going on in Turkey.





Zahra Billoo
@ZahraBilloo

Follow

Do you think the US would exercise restraint against coup organizers against itself?
[#TurkeyCoupAttempt](#)

9:11 AM - 18 Jul 2016

Two days after the attempt, on July 17, 2016, many Turks and U.S. Muslims supporting Erdogan gathered outside of the White House to rally against the coup attempt in Turkey. During the demonstrations, Mr. Awad addressed the rally and said, “Why are we here today? Because we respect the will of the people.”⁶⁹⁴

He also said, “this military coup is an affront, not only to the Turkish people but to everyone who believes in democracy and the free will of the people.”⁶⁹⁵ Similarly, Secretary-General of the USCMO, Mr. Jamal, said that ‘the coup attempt was the beginning of turning the entire region into chaos and thanks to the Turkish people, to the honorable men and women who went out to the streets to protect the Turkish democracy.’⁶⁹⁶

In solidarity with his executive director Mr. Awad, CAIR’s Los Angeles office director Hussam Ayloush⁶⁹⁷ posted a video of a July 17 rally on his Facebook account⁶⁹⁸ showing

Ahmed Bedier, the founder and past executive director of the Tampa chapter of CAIR⁶⁹⁹, leading the crowd in a call-and-response chant:

Bedier: What do we want?

Crowd: Democracy!

Bedier: When do we want it?

Crowd: Now!

Crowd: “Turkey’s what democracy looks like!”⁷⁰⁰

It wasn’t only Mr. Awad, but other CAIR representatives who, without knowing the outcome during the very early minutes of the coup attempt, started to post pro-Erdogan and anti-American tweets. For example, Zahra Billoo, San Francisco

CAIR’s chapter director, tweeted “I will always support democracy over military coups. #Turkey⁷⁰¹” Three days later, she also posted, “Do you think the US would exercise restraint against coup organizers against itself?”⁷⁰² She continued to post in support of Erdogan’s purges and arrests in Turkey by asking “Would the US or Europe do any different?” in her tweet by sharing a Reuters article on the mass purges and arrests of people in Turkey.⁷⁰³ At this point, several CAIR members including Nihad Awad, CAIR-LA Director Hussam Ayloush, and many others started social media campaigns to support Erdogan.⁷⁰⁴



Nihad Awad نهاد عوض
@NihadAwad

Follow

I'll be meeting with the Turkish President Erdogan in NY at [#UNGA71](#).
Suggestions are welcome.

8:16 PM - 21 Sep 2016

3 Retweets 10 Likes



17

3

10



Two weeks after the coup attempt, Mr. Awad traveled to Turkey. He posted a tweet, “Now in Turkey, Taksim Square. People are out at weeknight

guarding democracy. Supporting rule of law” on August 1, 2016, from Istanbul, Turkey. He also posted a picture from the Bosphorus Bridge in Istanbul citing “In Istanbul. Here over Martyrs

Bridge where the army surrendered to the will of the people.”⁷⁰⁵ Again, a day later, on August 2, 2016, Mr. Awad tweeted, “In support of Turkey’s democracy and economy, I urge people around the world to visit #Turkey. Please share this hashtag. #VisitTurkeyNow.”⁷⁰⁶

Mr. Awad met with President Erdogan, who was in New York to attend the 71st session of the UN General Assembly, along with some other representatives of Muslim communities in the U.S.⁷⁰⁷ After meeting with Erdogan, Mr. Awad talked to the Turkish press to evaluate the meeting with the Turkish President. The newspaper Yeni Safak, owned by Erdogan's family, published an interview with Mr. Awad titled **"Erdogan is the leader of the Islamic World and the Ummah"** on September 23, 2016.⁷⁰⁸ In this interview, Mr. Awad claimed that **"Erdogan is not only the President of Turkey but also the leader of the Islamic World and the Ummah."** Mr. Awad also praised the Turkish people in their efforts to counter the military coup attempt. He added that in his address to Erdogan during the meeting, he expressed his support to the Turkish people and democracy.⁷⁰⁹

Similarly, Mr. Awad, when he was interviewed by the Turkish Daily Sabah on December 11, 2014, claimed that "the American Muslims admire Erdogan."⁷¹⁰ According to the interview, Mr. Awad said that "Turkey has been a model for the Islamic World and all Muslims, including the American Muslims, hold high esteem for Turkey and President Erdogan." Mr. Awad also praised Turkish people and the Turkish Government in their efforts to support the Arab Spring movements and the support they have been providing to the people who are being oppressed in the region.⁷¹¹

In September 2016, a Turkish Parliamentary delegation has arrived to Washington DC "to exchange ideas with American-based NGOs and meet with media representatives as well as members of the U.S. Congress to discuss the extradition of Fetullah Gulen and strengthen the friendship between Turkey and the U.S."⁷¹² According to the Daily Sabah, owned by Erdogan's family, a delegation led by AK Party Deputy Chairman for Foreign Relations Mehdi Eker, included Turkish-American Inter-Parliamentary Friendship Group chair Ali Sarikaya, Turkey-EU Parliament Commission co-Chair Ahmet Berat Conkar and parliament member Ravza Kavakci Kan (whose father Yusuf Ziya Kavakci is a Texas-based imam and a member of CAIR and whose older sister Merve Kavakci is the Turkish Ambassador to Malaysia and a member of CAIR.)

ABD'li Müslümanlar Erdoğan hayranı

ABD'de Müslümanları temsil eden en büyük sivil toplum ve lobi kuruluşu Amerikan İslami İlişkiler Konseyi (CAIR) Başkanı Nihad Awad, Cumhurbaşkanı Tayyip Erdoğan ve Türkiye'nin Müslüman dünyası için bir model olmayı sürdürdüğünü söyledi.



RAGİP SOYLU | Dünya Haberleri

Giriş Tarihi: 11.11.2014 09:35 Güncelleme Tarihi: 11.11.2014 13:46



Nihad Awad نهاد عوض @NihadAwad · 1 Aug 2016

Now in #Turkey #Taksim Square. People are out at weeknight guarding democracy. Supporting rule of law. #TurkeyCoup



3 88 131



According to Daily Sabah, the delegation visited “the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), the biggest Muslim NGO in the U.S., and talked to CAIR President Nihad Awad.” Serdar Kilic, the Turkish Ambassador to Washington, was also present at the meeting. It was reported that the Turkish delegation discussed the role of Mr. Gulen in the coup attempt and his extradition process.⁷¹³

On June 8, 2017, Ambassador Kilic hosted an iftar dinner at the Diyanet Center of America in Maryland. Mr. Awad was invited along with officials from Pakistan, Yemen, Tunisia, Palestine, Afghanistan, Somalia, and Kazakhstan.⁷¹⁴

Similarly, Turkish Independent Industrialists’ and Businessmen’s Association USA (MUSIAD-USA) hosted an iftar dinner on Jun 13, 2017. Mr. Awad, as the executive director of CAIR, was invited to this dinner along with the Turkish Ambassador Serdar Kilic. Ambassador Kilic and Mr. Awad sat side-by-side at this iftar dinner at the main table with the representatives of MUSIAD-USA, a clear sign of being a highly esteemed guest.⁷¹⁵

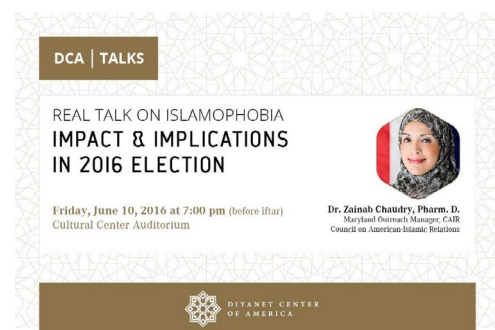


President of Religious Affairs of Turkey Professor Ali Erbas and his President Selim Argun visited the U.S. for official interactions between January 9 and January 14, 2018. During his visit, Professor Erbas accepted the CAIR Executive Director, Mr. Awad, at the Diyanet Center of America in Maryland.⁷¹⁶

The meeting was publicized via Diyanet social media accounts.⁷¹⁷ During the meeting, Mr. Awad expressed his pleasure at President Erbas’s visit and added that American Muslims are very excited about the success stories of Turkey. Mr. Awad also stated his desire as the executive director of the CAIR to work with Diyanet of Turkey closely, particularly in the areas of culture and science.⁷¹⁸

Other CAIR associates have also started to frequent the Diyanet Center of America (DCA) programs. For example, Dr. Zainab Chaudry, CAIR Maryland Outreach Manager, gave a speech on June 10, 2016, titled “Real talk on

Islamophobia: Impact and Implications in 2016 Elections” at the DCA Cultural Center Auditorium.



Similarly, on February 18, 2017, the Diyanet Center of America (DCA) hosted a panel titled “Muslim Immigration Ban: Know Your Rights” featured Zainab Chaudry of CAIR and Naima Said of AILA.



#Muslim #Immigration #Ban: Know Your Rights! Feb 18, 7:30pm, Auditorium, Cultural Center, DCA Speakers; Efe Poturoglu, @zainabnc, Naima Said



2/9/17, 11:14 AM

President Erdogan attended an iftar dinner while he was in Louisville, Kentucky on June 9, 2016, for the funeral of Muhammed Ali at Ahiska Turks Community Center of Kentucky in the U.S.⁷¹⁹ During the dinner, Erdogan was accompanied by the Head of Turkish Religious Authority, the Diyanet and Nihad Awad (CAIR) and Oussama Jamal (USCMO), who sat just across from Erdogan at the V.I.P table (as the guests of honor according to Turkish custom), Islamic Circle of North American (ICNA) Executive Director Naim Beig and Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) President Azhar Azeez.⁷²⁰ The program and pictures of the iftar dinner were later posted via the Turkish Chicago Consulate.⁷²¹



TRConsulateChicago
@TRConsulChicago

Follow

Pres. Erdogan attended iftar dinner at Louisville Ahiska Turkish Community Center w/ Ahiska Turks, Muslim leaders.



6:16 AM - 10 Jun 2016



ISLAMIC CIRCLE OF NORTH AMERICAN (ICNA)

ICNA describes itself as an Islamic North American grassroots umbrella organization that was established on September 1, 1968, as a response to the “growing need for a supportive Muslim community in North America.”⁷²² ICNA was initially established as an offshoot of the Muslim Students’ Association (MSA) and founded by Indian immigrants from South Asia⁷²³. ICNA describes its main objective as “an Islamic Jama’ah, an organization struggling towards Iqamat-ad-Deen” in Northern America⁷²⁴ (Da’wa activity;⁷²⁵ establishment of the Islamic system of life). ICNA headquarters are in Jamaica, New York.⁷²⁶ Javaid Siddiqi was elected as the new President of ICNA on January 1, 2017, succeeding Naeem Baig, who served as the President ICNA between 2013-2016.⁷²⁷

ICNA has, over the years, promoted or associated itself with several extremist organizations. In October 1997, ICNA featured an interview⁷²⁸ by Jamadi Al-Awad in it’s the Message magazine⁷²⁹ titled “Islam Behind Bars,” promoting the Supreme Commander of Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, Syed Salahuddin Ahmed, the Kashmir Chairman of United Jihad Council.⁷³⁰ Syed Salahuddin was designated as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist by the US Department of State on June 26, 2017, described as the senior leader of the militant group Hizb-ul Mujahideen (HM) responsible for several attacks, including the April 2014 bombing in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, which injured 17 people⁷³¹. ICNA had also openly honored and promoted the Muslim Brotherhood⁷³² and Jamaat-e Islami⁷³³ as the “Great Movements of the 20th Century” through its website and “the Message” journal.

In November 2009, five young American Muslim men who had ties to ICNA’s Virginia Mosque were arrested in Pakistan, allegedly seeking to join Jaish-e-Muhammad, a Pakistani militant group

banned in that country. ICNA and families denied any ties to Jaish-e-Muhammad or any extremism⁷³⁴, and the FBI was tipped off by the family members after their children went missing.⁷³⁵

ICNA is among the founding members⁷³⁶ of the United States Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO), one of the main organizations that actively works with Erdogan in the U.S. In August 2014, a USCMO delegation led by Secretary-General Oussama Jammal with Naeem Baig (the President of ICNA and a founding member of USCMO) and

Osama Abu-Irshaid (National Director of American Muslims for Palestine, AMP, a founding member of USCMO) went to Turkey to meet with President Erdogan and other AK Party leaders in Ankara.⁷³⁷

Several ICNA representatives including the Secretary-General of ICNA Muhammad

Tariq Rahman, Moviz Asad Siddiqi of ICNA Relief and Zahid Bukhari along with the Secretary-General of the US Council of Muslim Organizations, USCMO, Oussama Jammal, Director of CAIR Nihad Awad, Executive Director of Muslim Legal Fund of America Khalil (Eric) Meek and National Director of ISNA Sayyid Syeed were hosted for a meeting and dinner by the President Recep Tayyip Erdogan with a large delegation from Turkey in New York on September 23, 2016.⁷³⁸





ICNA announced the meeting and dinner with President Erdogan through its Facebook account with the picture above and the following remarks: “ICNA was invited at a dinner hosted by President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey in New York during his visit for the U.N. General Assembly. Below he is with Executive Director of ICNA Council for Social Justice Dr. Zahid Bukhari.”



According to a September 15, 2017, ICNA press release,⁷⁴² ICNA members, along with the US Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO) visited the Turkish Embassy and the Ambassador Serdar Kilic to express their “gratitude to the Turkish people in standing up for the Rohingya” (Persecuted Burmese Muslims). The delegation said that they “want the Turkish people to know that American

Muslims have taken note of their president’s witness on behalf of the Rohingya, that we seek to cooperate in upholding the Rohingya’s human rights and in helping them recover their lives, rights, and future. Whatever their religion, it is for the greater good of all.”⁷⁴³

ICNA is the founding partner of the annual MAS-ICNA conventions, which is described as the “the largest and most diverse Islamic conventions in North America” by its founders.⁷³⁹ The same report notes a heavy Turkish presence at the MAS-ICNA conferences and the support and backing the Turkish Government provides to MAS-ICNA, including the hosting of Erdogan’s daughter, Sumeyye Erdogan Bayraktar⁷⁴⁰, as the keynote speaker at the 15th MAS-ICNA convention on December 26, 2016.⁷⁴¹





Mohsin Ansari, Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA); Nihad Awad, CAIR; Halil Mutlu, Turkish American Steering Committee (TASC)

USCMO organized⁷⁴⁴ a mass demonstration on the south of the White House on December 16, 2017, to denounce the decision of President Donald Trump to officially recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and his plan to relocate the United States Embassy from Tel Aviv. ICNA was among the organization committee of the rally named “Jerusalem: Forever Capital of Palestine.”⁷⁴⁵ Twenty-eight different groups participated in the rally along with Halil Mutlu, the director of the Turkish American Steering Committee (TASC), CAIR National Executive Director Nihad Awad and the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) of Mohsin Ansari.⁷⁴⁶ The most striking aspect of the demonstration was the fact that Turkish President Erdogan’s defiance against the U.S. was praised by the speakers and the demonstrators by chanting, **“Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the true leader of Ummah [Muslim believers].”**⁷⁴⁷

Turkish Government agencies continued to interact with ICNA organized events and panels. On April 14, 2017, the Diyanet Center of America (DCA) organized a panel titled “Establishing a Mosque in America: Charting a Meaningful Future” and opened a booth during the 42nd annual ICNA-MAS Convention in Baltimore, Maryland. According to the DCA announcement, the panel speakers were the Imam of ADAMS Center, Imam Mohamed Magid; the President of Prince George’s County Muslim

Council, Br. Jameel W. Aalim-Johnson; a board member of KAGEM and founder of Young Leaders Institute, Sr. Nadia Hassan; Spokeswoman and Outreach Manager for CAIR-MD Director, Dr. Zainab Chaudry and board member at DCA and a Professor at University of Maryland, College Park Dr. Ahmet Aydilek.⁷⁴⁸

ICNA was among the signatories of the US Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO) Statement on 1915 Turkish-Armenian Events on April 19, 2015, based on the ICNA web announcement on the same date expressing support for Turkey by declaring “as Americans, we are

concerned about alienating a key ally, Turkey, through one-sided declarations that political and religious leaders have made on this subject. Muslim Americans expect our leaders to act accordingly to ensure that American-Turkish strategic relations are not damaged by a one-sided interpretation of the 1915 events.”⁷⁴⁹

ICNA was also among the American Muslim organizations to support President Erdogan during the coup in 2016. ICNA, immediately after the coup attempt, released a press release titled “ICNA commends Turks for standing up to the coup.” The ICNA statement said that “ICNA highly commends the Turkish people for standing up for democracy and It was heartwarming to see that in response to the appeal of their elected president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, thousands of Turkish citizens came out on the streets in the middle of the night against the military tanks.” The press release also included the speech of ICNA President, Naeem Baig, in front of the White House, where he said, “Our government should avoid repeating the mistake we made in 2013 when we failed to take a principled stand against the brutal military coup in Egypt and silently witnessed the overthrowing of a democratically elected government of President Morsi.” Mr.

Baig also demanded that “President Obama should take an unambiguous position in support of the Turkish democracy.”⁷⁵⁰



ICNA @icna · 16 Jul 2016
New post on [ICNA.org](https://www.icna.org) ICNA Commends Turkish People for Standing Up to the Coup



ICNA commends Turks for standing up to the coup
—FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE— NEW YORK, NY
(July 16, 2016) – Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) highly commends the Turkish people for standing up for
[icna.org](https://www.icna.org)

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT (IIIT)

International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) was established in the United States in 1981 as a non-profit, academic, educational, and cultural institution based in Herndon, Virginia.⁷⁵¹ IIIT has branches and affiliates worldwide, including in France, Egypt, Jordan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Bosnia, Lebanon, Indonesia, Morocco, Nigeria, India, Bangladesh, Brunei, and the United Kingdom.⁷⁵² IIIT also runs a school, the Fairfax Institute (TFI), connecting IIIT's "global networks of scholars and ideas to the community" by providing scholarships for practical courses and training programs to promote enhancement of spiritual and religious understanding.⁷⁵³

The IIIT was originally founded in Lugano, Switzerland, in 1977⁷⁵⁴ during an international conference of major Muslim Brotherhood figures, including Yusuf Al Qaradawi,⁷⁵⁵ Muslim Brotherhood leading figure and one of the chief spiritual leaders.⁷⁵⁶ The conference was planned and supported by the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS), an extension of the Muslim Student's Association⁷⁵⁷ (MSA National) based in the U.S. and Canada, which is the first Muslim Brotherhood organization in the United States.⁷⁵⁸

All five IIIT founders and the first members of the board, Dr. Taha Jabir Al-Alwani, Dr. Jamal al-Barzinji, Ismail Raji Al-Faruqi, Abdul Hamid Abu-Sulayman, and Anwar Ibrahim, had connections with the MSA (the Muslim Students' Association), AMSS the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS), and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY).⁷⁵⁹ Also, a U.S. government exhibit (exhibit # 003-0085⁷⁶⁰) from the US v. Holy Land Foundation trial confirmed that the International Institute of Islamic Thought was one of the Muslim Brotherhood organizations.

The sister organization of the IIIT, the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS) in the United Kingdom, awarded to Prime Minister Erdogan its 2006 Building Bridges award along with the Prime

Minister of Spain, J.L. Rodriguez Zapatero, at the 1st Alliance of Civilizations Forum in Madrid on 15th January 2008⁷⁶¹ for their "distinguished efforts to unify communities separated by race, culture and religion, for promoting a climate of respect, and peaceful co-existence through launching the Alliance of Civilizations project."⁷⁶²



On September 22, 2008, Turkish President Abdullah Gul invited IIIT representatives to New York for a courtesy visit while he was attending the UN General Assembly meeting. Vice President of the IIIT, Dr. Jamal Barzinji, Director Dr. Hisham Altalib, and the President of SMG (Sterling Management Group), Dr. Yaqub Mirza, met with President Gul in New York at his hotel.⁷⁶³

On February 3, 2009, seven Turkish Imams met with leaders of American Muslim organizations and the members of Interfaith communities in the Washington D.C. area. Dr. Abubaker al Shingeiti, Regional Director of IIIT, met with the Turkish Imams and briefed them on IIIT, its mission, history, research, publication, and its support for interfaith activities.⁷⁶⁴



A Turkish delegation from @DiyanetAmerica headed by @DIBAliErbas visited IIIT last week. They presented IIIT with a special gift, a calligraphy on ebru artwork.



11:24 AM - 18 Jan 2018

On November 11, 2009, Al Hiwar Center organized a panel titled “The New Turkish Policy Toward the Middle East: Temporary Change or Reviving History?” on Turkey’s new policy toward the Middle East at its offices in Vienna, Virginia. The panel was led by Dr. Jamal Barzinji, Vice President of IIIT and Professor Cemil Aydin, IIIT Professor of Islamic Studies and Associate Professor of History at George Mason University. The discussion focused on the “continuities and changes in Turkish foreign policy in general and toward the Arab world in particular, its emphasis on the interests of the Turkish people, and the successes of the new policy in the economic field, politically and socially.”⁷⁶⁵ Similarly, in 2009, the 2009 Lifetime Achievement Award of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS) in the United Kingdom was presented by Ibrahim Kalin, who was the Chief Advisor to the Prime Minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan then.⁷⁶⁶



IIIT held a panel on the “Struggle for Democracy in Egypt” on January 31, 2014. Prof. Emad Shahin, Professor of Public Policy at the American University in Cairo, gave a lecture on the state of different Islamic movements in Egypt, with special focus and emphasis on the Muslim Brothers. She argued that ‘for the Muslim Brotherhood, most influential was the Turkish model – pluralist, somewhat democratic, and neoliberal in terms of economy.’⁷⁶⁷



We visited Dr Hisham AlTalib, Dr Abubaker Al-Shingieti and Dr Ermin Sinanovic of the International Institute of Islamic Thought @IIITFriends

HE @DIBAliErbas and VP Selim Argun shared the Diyanet and Turkey’s perspective about religious services to the muslim communities.



8:23 AM - 17 Jan 2018

The President of Religious Affairs of Turkey, Prof. Ali Erbas, along with his wife Seher Erbas, and Vice President of Religious Affairs of Turkey Assoc. Prof. Selim Argun visited the U.S. and Diyanet Center of America in January 2018.⁷⁶⁸ Mr. Erbas was hosted by the IIIT on January 12 while he was in Washington, D.C.⁷⁶⁹ The Turkish delegation met with the President of IIIT, Dr. Hisham al-Talib, and Dr. Ermin Sinanovic, the director of the International Institute of Islamic Thought.

On March 30, 2016, the Turkish President of Religious Affairs (Diyanet), Dr. Mehmet Gormez, visited IIIT to pay his tribute to the late Dr. Taha Jabir Al-Alwani. The Vice President of IIIT, Dr. Hisham Altalib, hosted the delegation at IIIT headquarters along with Dr. Zainab

Al-Alwani and Dr. Ahmad Taha Al-Alwani⁷⁷⁰ and exchanged gifts with the Turkish delegation.⁷⁷¹

The IIIT and the Diyanet Center in America (DCA) have become closer to each other, particularly with the increased activities of the DCA. Both institutions started to invite each other to all their programs and promote their respective programs through their social media, apart from the activities of the IIIT held in Turkey. For example, IIIT shared an event via its Twitter feed and asked its followers to attend the International Conference on the Muslim Ummah in which Turkish President's Senior Advisor and Spokesman Ibrahim Kalin was a speaker.

The Diyanet Center included the Twitter handle of IIIT, @IIITFriends, in its Jum'a Mubarak! Tweets and invited IIIT associates to give Friday sermons at the DCA Mosque in Maryland, including Ermin Sinanovic, the Director of Research and Academic Programs at the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) and the Director of The Fairfax Institute.⁷⁷²

Correspondingly, when the Diyanet Islamic Research Institute organized its first Graduate Student Colloquium on Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies on April 8th-9th, 2017, at the Diyanet Center of America in Maryland, Dr. Ermin Sinanovic of the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) was invited to chair a panel titled "The Changing Dynamics of Coexistence."⁷⁷³



Diyanet America
@DiyanetAmerica

Khutbah by Ermin Sinanovic - Jum'a Prayer - 11/24/17 -
Diyanet Center of America: [@YouTube](#) aracılığıyla

Translate from Romanian

YouTube



Khutbah by Ermin Sinanovic - Jum'a Prayer - 11/24/17 - Diyanet Center...

Diyanet Center of America Jum'a Khutbah on November 24, 2017
Khutbah delivered by Ermin Sinanovic, IIIT

On Friday, July 14, 2017, Turkish Ibn Haldun University opened was American division on the campus of the Diyanet Center of America in Lanham, Maryland. Ibn Haldun University was established in 2015 as a private university focusing on social sciences by the foundation of the Turkish Youth and Education Service Foundation (TURGEV).⁷⁷⁴ TURGEV was initially established by Erdogan when he was the mayor of Istanbul as Istanbul Youth and Education Service Foundation (ISEGEV) and changed its name to TURGEV in 2012 to provide services all over Turkey by broadening its focus.⁷⁷⁵ TURGEV is led by Erdogan's family members including his daughter Esra Albayrak.⁷⁷⁶ The U.S. branch at the DCA was opened by the President of Ibn Haldun Univerity, Dr. Recep Senturk along with the President of DCA, Dr. Yasar Colak, Executive Director of the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), Dr. Abubaker Al-Shingieti, and the Research Director at IIIT, Dr. Ermin Sinanovic.⁷⁷⁷ Dr. Senturk explained the purpose of the Ibn Haldun Univerity as "to lead countries exploited and oppressed by the Western world in the process of regaining their intellectual independence. For instance, today, Turkey tries to break its chains and gain its political, economic and technological independence. Turkey is managing this by staying



all by itself without any outside support. It produces its goods and even exports them. When it comes to ideas, however, the country still imports all the theories from the outside world defined as intellectual dependence. Calling on Turkey to export ideas to the whole world, Dr. Şenturk highlighted that "the Ibn Haldun University aims to fill such a gap."⁷⁷⁸ The ribbon-cutting ceremony was officiated by Dr. Senturk, the President of Ibn Haldun Univerity, Dr. Colak, the President of the Diyanet Center of America and Dr. Al-Shingieti, the Executive Director of IIIT.⁷⁷⁹ Later on, a delegation from Ibn Haldun Univerity visited the IIIT Headquarters and met with the Executive Director and other officials on January 26, 2018.⁷⁸⁰

On January 24, 2017, the Diyanet Center of America (DCA) signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT).⁷⁸¹ The MoU was designed to "enhance, enrich, and broaden the academic and educational works and projects carried out by both organizations" based on the press release of the IIIT. The MoU was signed by Dr. Abubaker Al-Shingieti, Executive Director of IIIT, and Dr. Yasar Colak, President of DCA.⁷⁸²



On March 18, 2017, Ermin Sinanovic, Director of IIIT Research and Academic Programs, hosted a group of Imams and female chaplains from the Diyanet Center of America (DCA)⁷⁸³ who serve the Turkish-American and broader Muslim communities in the United States in more than twenty-five Diyanet centers and mosques.⁷⁸⁴ The visiting imams and chaplains were briefed about the IIIT history and work focusing on the education and professional development of imams and Muslim chaplains along with the Graduate Certificate in Imam, and Muslim Community Leadership (GCIMCL) IIIT leads in cooperation with Hartford Seminary in Hartford, CT.⁷⁸⁵



as “Kur’an Yasalari,”⁷⁸⁶ Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law by Jasser Auda as “İslam Hukuk Felsefesi,”⁷⁸⁷ Apostasy in Islam: A Historical & Scriptural Analysis by Taha Jabir Al-Alwani as “İrtidat,” Inviting to Islam: Ethics of Engagement by Hisham Altalib,⁷⁸⁸ Al

Tawhid by Ismail Raji Al Faruqi as “Tevhid”⁷⁸⁹ and several other titles.⁷⁹⁰ Also, the Turkish IIIT affiliate IIIT- MAHYA⁷⁹¹ translated six IIIT titles into Turkish including Crisis in the Muslim Mind by AbdulHamid AbuSulayman, The Muslim Contribution to the Renaissance by Ahmed Essa, The Quranic Worldview by AbdulHamid AbuSulayman, Where East Meets West by Mona Abul Fadl, Contemplation: An Islamic Psychospiritual Study by Malik Badri and Epistemological Bias in the Physical and Social Sciences by Abdelwahab Elmessiri⁷⁹² as early as 2013.

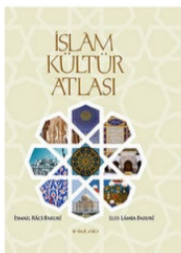
In March 2016, IIIT presented and displayed its Turkish titles Istanbul Book Fair.⁷⁹³

IIIT started its Turkish education programs in 2014. The first IIIT school took place on 6-20 September 2014 in Istanbul as IIIT Istanbul Summer School 2014. The School was advertised “for Turkish and Central Asian graduate students majoring in Islamic studies, humanities and the social sciences with speakers including Turkish academics as well as scholars from across the world.”⁷⁹⁴ IIIT has continued its Turkish programs since 2014.⁷⁹⁵ In 2016, IIIT held another training program in Turkey in coordination with MAHYA, a Turkish institution (part of Mahya publication), on Twitter as IIIT- MAHYA Türkiye⁷⁹⁶ through its affiliate the Fairfax Institute.⁷⁹⁷ IIIT- MAHYA provided training and seminars in Turkey and hosted both Turkish and other scholars representing the IIIT for its training activities. The program was advertised to be “designed for graduate students from Turkey and neighboring countries who are majoring in Islamic studies, humanities or the social sciences and who are interested in developing their knowledge and expertise.”⁷⁹⁸

IIIT had two winter training programs in 2018 so far in cooperation with the Turkish MAHYA Institute and Istanbul University.⁷⁹⁹

Turkish Translations of IIIT Books

5/28/2014



Cultural Atlas of Islam
Ismail al Faruqi and Lois Lamya al Faruqi



Sunnan al Qur'an
Muhammed Heyshur

IIIT started to translate its books to Turkish including Cultural Atlas of Islam by Ismail al Faruqi and Lois Lamya al Faruqi as “İslam Kultur Atlasi,” Sunnan al Qur’an by Muhammed Heyshur



IIIT and MAHYA in #Turkey conducted the Winter Student School for BA, MA, and PhD Students. Check for details: iiit.org



6:33 AM - 8 Mar 2018

IIIT has also started to accept an increased number of Turkish students. For example, in 2017, four out of eighteen students were from Turkey.⁸⁰⁰ Also, IIIT scholars started to have more presence at Turkish conferences and panels. IIIT Europe Executive Director, Dr. Anas Al-Shaikh-Ali, attended the International Silk Road Congress and 10th Ankara Centre for Thought and Research (ACTR) Conference in Istanbul on 27-29th October 2013 organized by the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Ankara Centre for Thought and Research (ADAM), Yildirim Beyazit University, Istanbul Commercial University, and Istanbul Medeniyet University. Dr. Al-Shaikh-Ali's presentations included "Rethinking Education: Multicultural Education, Peace Building and Sustained Cooperation along the Silk Road and Beyond."⁸⁰¹ IIIT also started to have more presence in Turkey with its organizations and ceremonies. For example, on March 7, 2014, IIIT held its Presents Emeritus Awards ceremony in Istanbul to present its Emeritus Awards to four of its distinguished members to celebrate the outstanding lifetime contributions of each member in his own field including Dr. Jamal Barzinji, Dr. Taha Al Alwani, Dr. Hisham Altalib, and Dr. Ahmad Totonji.⁸⁰² Similarly, IIIT organized a conference with Istanbul University in Istanbul in 2016 on the State of Education in Muslim Societies.⁸⁰³



IIIT SUMMER
SCHOOL TURKEY 2017

In 2014, the Fairfax Institute, School of the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), held a course composed of three classes titled "From Ataturk to Erdogan: The Transformation of Turkey" taught by Dr. Mustafa Gökçek who was an IIIT Resident Fellow and Associate Professor of History at Niagara University.⁸⁰⁴ On April 29, 2017, IIIT-UK and KURAMER (Qur'anic Research Center at Istanbul 29 May University) organized a symposium with participants including the last four presidents of Diyanet (Turkey's Religious Affairs Directorate) including Prof. Mehmet Gormez, incumbent director of Diyanet, along with several other Islamic scholars.⁸⁰⁵

MUSLIM LEGAL FUND OF AMERICA (MLFA)

Muslim Legal Fund of America describes itself as “a charity that funds legal work and programs to defend Muslims against injustice in American courtrooms, prisons, and communities.”⁸⁰⁶ MLFA has close relationships with the Muslim Brotherhood and HAMAS establishments in the U.S. Both the MLFA and the Executive Director of Muslim Legal Fund of America (MLFA), Khalil Meek,⁸⁰⁷ were among the founding members of the United States Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO) in 2014.

MLFA has never been shy of its support to HAMAS or MB related organizations cases. For example, the MLFA lists the Holy Land Foundation Five case among its current cases, in which five suspects, the leaders of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, were convicted for their support to HAMAS, including support of terrorism, money laundering, and tax fraud.⁸⁰⁸ Similarly, the MLFA backed and supported Aafia Siddiqui openly, the so-called “Lady al-Qaeda”⁸⁰⁹ and “the World’s Most Wanted Woman” on the FBI’s most-wanted terrorist list before she was captured. She had been linked to the 9/11 ringleader Khalid Sheikh Mohammed.⁸¹⁰ Siddiqui was sentenced to 86 years in prison by a federal judge for the attempted murder and assault of U.S. nationals and U.S. officers in Afghanistan and planning a “mass casualty attack” in New York against the Empire State Building and other locations.⁸¹¹ Yet, the MLFA issued a statement proclaiming the innocence of Siddiqui and claiming that she was illegally kidnapped.⁸¹²

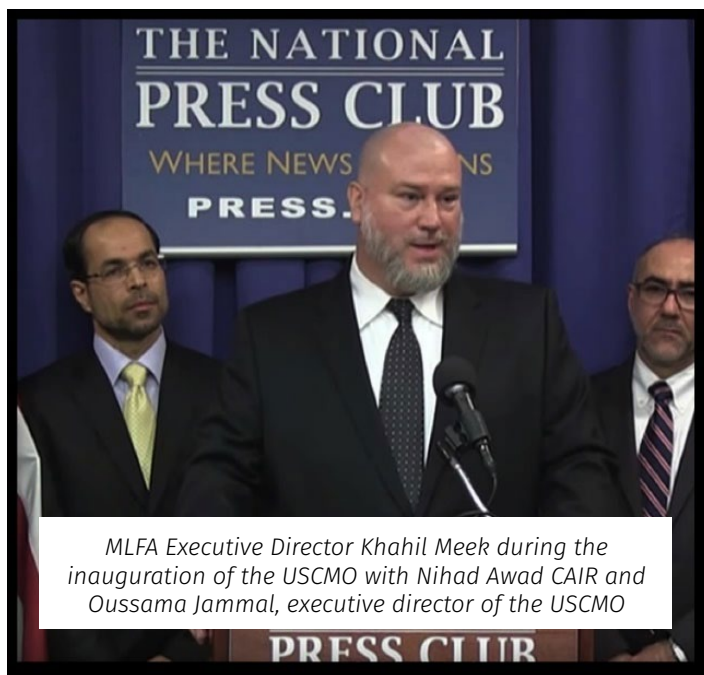
The MLFA and Mr. Meek has also been supporting Turkish President Erdogan and his supporters’

activities in the U.S. For example, Mr. Meek met with Erdogan along with other representatives of the Muslim community in the U.S. after the 71st session of the UN General Assembly on September 20, 2016, in a meeting organized by USCMO in New York.⁸¹³

Mr. Meek and the MLFA has also established close connections with the Diyanet Center in Maryland. On March 18, 2017, Mr. Meek was part of

a meeting to establish and analyze the Diyanet Center of America’s management policy and its legal infrastructure.⁸¹⁴ The MLFA also kept series of events at the DCA including the Muslim Nonprofit Leadership Conference on “practical information about laws impacting mosques and other Muslim nonprofit organizations as well as the imams, board members, staff and attorneys who serve them” on May 13, 2017, where Mr. Meek and other speakers addressed the attendees at the DCA.⁸¹⁵ Similarly, the MLFA hosted an iftar dinner at the DCA featuring Sheikh Muhammad Jebril from

Egypt on June 4, 2017.⁸¹⁶ Recently, on December 15, 2018, the MLFA held a special event at the DCA featuring former NBA superstar Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf.⁸¹⁷



MLFA Executive Director Khalil Meek during the inauguration of the USCMO with Nihad Awad CAIR and Oussama Jammal, executive director of the USCMO



MUSLIM AMERICAN SOCIETY (MAS)

The Muslim American Society (MAS) describes itself as “a dynamic charitable, religious, social, cultural, and educational, non-profit organization” established in 1993. MAS has over 50 chapters in the U.S., according to its website. MAS states its mission as “to move people to strive for God-consciousness, liberty, and justice, and to convey Islam with utmost clarity.”⁸¹⁸ Mukhtar Hadi Kabuka is the current Chairman of MAS, and Mazen Mokhtar is the Executive Director of the MAS National Executive Council.⁸¹⁹

Former secretary-general of MAS, Shaker Elsayed, stated in a 2004⁸²⁰ speech that MAS was founded by the members of the Muslim Brotherhood: “Ikhwan [Brotherhood] members founded MAS, but MAS went way beyond that point of conception.”⁸²¹

Former U.S. Muslim Brotherhood member Mustafa Saied told the story of how the MAS was established through a gathering of 40 Muslim Brotherhood members at a Days Inn on the Alabama-Tennessee border and eventually voting to call themselves “the Muslim American Society, or MAS, according to documents and interviews.”⁸²²

Mohamad Adam El-Sheikh was also among the founders of the MAS.⁸²³ El-Sheikh is known for his remarks approving suicide bombings in 2004 when, in speaking of Palestinian suicide bombers, he said “if certain Muslims are to be cornered where they cannot defend themselves, except through these kinds of means, and their local religious leaders issued fatwas to permit that, then it becomes accepted as an exceptional rule, but should not be taken as a principle.”⁸²⁴ El-Sheikh was also an imam for the Islamic Society of Baltimore and a regional director for the Islamic American Relief Agency (IARA),⁸²⁵ which was later on shut down by the U.S. Department of the Treasury in 2004 due to IARA’s ties and support to Usama bin Laden (UBL), al Qaida and the Taliban.⁸²⁶

MAS’s connections to the Muslim Brotherhood and HAMAS were also confirmed through the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) trials. Lara Burns, an FBI agent worked on the HLF case, testified that a phonebook⁸²⁷ found at the home of Ismail Elbarrasse, who is an unindicted co-conspirator and former assistant to HAMAS leader Musa Abu Marzook “listed the names and numbers of the Muslim Brotherhood leadership in the United States.” In fact, “on the first page of the phonebook under the title ‘Members of the Board of Directors,’ there were fifteen names, including Ahmad Elkadi, Jamal Badawi, and Omar Soubani, who were among the founding members of the Muslim American Society (MAS).”⁸²⁸

Finally, Dr. Matthew Levitt of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy stated during his expert testimony on the Holy Land Foundation that “MAS is the representative of the Muslim Brotherhood in the United States.”⁸²⁹ This representation was also confirmed by the Chicago Tribune article that based on the vote of 40 members of the Muslim Brotherhood in 2004 at a Days Inn, “it was decided that Brotherhood members would call themselves the Muslim American Society, or MAS.”⁸³⁰

MAS was among the founding members of the United States Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO) in 2014, along with many other U.S. based Islamic organizations with close ties to Turkey and the Turkish President.⁸³¹ MAS is also the co-organizer of annual MAS-ICNA Conventions with the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA).⁸³² MAS board member Ayman Hammous⁸³³ and

Muslim American Society was also among the signatories of USCMO Statement on 1915 Turkish-Armenian Events⁸³⁹ released on April 20, 2015, to express support for Erdogan and Turkey in the United States.⁸⁴⁰

Turkish Consulate in Chicago tweeted about the inauguration of the Diyanet Center of America by including the MAS in the post, “Pres Erdoğan

opened Diyanet Center of America DC @DiyanetAmerica @mas_national @CAIRNational @ZakatUS @icna @ISNAHQ”⁸⁴¹

In 2017, the Diyanet Center of America published a report titled “Islam and Muslims in the United States” sponsored by the Turkish Government under the coordination of Dr. Yasar Celik, the Turkish

Counselor of Religion and Social Services in Washington D.C. The report also provided insights from different Muslim American institutions, including MSA, ISNA, ICNA, and MAS. MAS’s connections to the

Muslim Brotherhood was discussed in the report. As a conclusion, the report praised the MAS and its activities as an essential tool for the American Muslims in the education of their youth and the teachings of the Qur’an.⁸⁴²

MAS National Executive Council marketing and communications director Lana Safah⁸³⁴ met with Erdogan along with other representatives of the Muslim community in the U.S. in New York, on September 20, 2016, after the 71st session of the UN General Assembly.⁸³⁵

Ahmed Shehata, who worked for the Islamic Relief and the Muslim American Society,⁸³⁶ was among the organizers⁸³⁷ of the Turkish American National Steering Committee (TASC) event in New York City with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan on September 21, 2017. Mr. Shehata posted the flyer of the event and invited his followers via his social media accounts by posting, “please join us welcoming Recep Tayyip Erdogan in NY.”⁸³⁸



TÜRKİYE VE DÜNYA'DA SIĞINMACI KADINLAR PANELİ

ONUR KONUĞU



Dr. Fatma Betül SAYAN KAYA

TASC (Türk Amerikan Ulusal İdari Komitesi)
KADEM – MAS NY (Müslüman Amerikan Toplumu)

Sezer Katırcıoğlu
Prof. Dr. Gülnur Aybet
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sare Aydın Yılmaz
Fartun Wali
Noor Rowe

Tarih: 15 Mart, 2018 | Saat: 7pm

4W 43 Building 4 West 43rd Street, New York, NY 10036 SOCIAL HALL



– RAPOR –



On April 14, 2017, the Diyanet Center of America organized a panel titled “Establishing a Mosque in America: Charting a Meaningful Future” during the 42nd Annual ICNA-MAS Convention in Baltimore, Maryland.⁸⁴³ Similarly, on March 15, 2018, the Turkish American National Steering Committee (TASC) and MAS New York organized a panel titled “Refugee Women in Turkey and the World” in New York. Turkish Minister of Family and Social Policies Dr. Betül Sayan Kaya was invited to the panel as the honorary speaker by the TASC and MAS. Minister Kaya tweeted the following after her remarks “during the panel “Refugee Women in Turkey and the World” organized by the Turkish American National Steering Committee, KADEM, and Muslim American Society; we gave information about our education and support programs for refugee women. #csw62 @ourtasc @kademorgtr @mas_nationalanel thanking the MAS and other organizers.”⁸⁴⁴

İÇİNDEKİLER

7	GİRİŞ
9	I. AMERİKA'DA İSLAMIN GENEL BİR RESMİ
13	II. AMERİKA'DA DİNİ GRUPLARIN TARİHİ
13	PROTESTAN/PÜRİTEN KÖKLER
15	KATOLİK VE MUSEVİ TOPLUMLARIN TARİHİ TECRÜBESİ
19	III. AMERİKA'DA İSLAMIN KISA TARİHİ GEÇMİŞİ
31	IV. KURUMSAL PERSPEKTİF: MSA, ISNA, ICNA ve MAS
39	V. KİMLİK SORUNLARI VE YERLİLEŞME TARTIŞMALARI
47	VI. 11 EYLÜL VE SONRASI: KRİZ VE DÖNÜŞÜM SÜRECİ
53	VII. AMERİKA'DA CAMİLER, İMAMLAR VE DİN HİZMETLERİ
57	VIII. AMERİKA'DA TÜRKLER: ENTEGRASYON VE DİNSEL ORGANİZASYON SÜREÇLERİ
61	IX. AMERİKAN MÜSLÜMANLARI VE EĞİTİM

AMERICAN MUSLIMS FOR PALESTINE (AMP)

The American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) is a Palestinian advocacy group founded in 2006 in Illinois. The group describes its objective on its website as “our sole purpose is to educate the American public and media about issues related to Palestine and its rich cultural and historical heritage” and claims to be “an independent, American organization and not affiliated with any foreign entities or organizations.”⁸⁴⁵ Funding of the AMP is channeled through the “Americans for Justice in Palestine Educational Foundation (AJP).” Both the AMP and AJP are located at the same address, and the AJP appears to be not sponsoring any activities other than the AMP.⁸⁴⁶

Hatem Bazian is the Chairman of the AMP National board, and Munjad Ahmad is the vice-chairman.⁸⁴⁷ Mr. Bazian is also AJP Educational Foundation’s principal officer and co-founder of Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP).⁸⁴⁸ AMP and its members have strong ties to both the HAMAS and Muslim Brotherhood infrastructures both in the U.S. and globally. For example, AMP was among the founding members of the United States Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO)⁸⁴⁹ along with CAIR, ICNA, MAS, and MLFA. Additionally, AMP has taken a strong position to support HAMAS terrorist activities,

including the justification and backing of HAMAS rockets aimed at Israeli civilians. For example, Associate Director of Outreach & Grassroots Organizing of AMP, Taher Herzallah,⁸⁵⁰ argued that “Hamass’ rockets are effective even though they don’t kill anyone. Hamass’ rockets are an oppressed people’s audible cry for help.”⁸⁵¹ Similarly, Osama Abu Irshaid, the National Policy Director of AMP, and Salah Sarsour, National Board member of AMP,⁸⁵² were associated with the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) and had ties to HAMAS.⁸⁵³

During the Holy Land Foundation investigation, Salah Sarsour’s involvement with HAMAS and fund-raising activities by the HLF, in Richardson, Texas on behalf of HAMAS was recorded as “raising money in the name of HLF

that is actually for HAMAS.”⁸⁵⁴ AMP is among the founding members of USCMO,⁸⁵⁵ an umbrella group to serve as a representative voice for American Muslims with close ties to Turkey.⁸⁵⁶ In fact, on December 5, 2017, AMP held a press conference at the National Press Club in Washington DC along with the leaders and representatives of CAIR and USCMO, including Nihad Awad and Oussama Jammal. This event was highly publicized by the Turkish media through the state-run Anadolu News Agency⁸⁵⁷ and Erdogan affiliated media.⁸⁵⁸ Mr. Jammal told Anadolu Agency that “the U.S. Council of Muslim organization believes that any move on the status of Jerusalem will jeopardize peace and stability of the Middle East”.



USCMO Secretary General Oussama Jammal, Osama Abu Irshaid (National Director, AMP), and Nihad Awad (Executive Director, CAIR National) at the National Press Club in Washington, the U.S. on December 5, 2017, via Anadolu Agency.⁸⁵⁹

AMP National Policy Director Osama Abu Irshaid during his speech told that “AMP believes that declaring Jerusalem as Israel’s capital or moving the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem threaten not only the Palestinians who are being ethnically cleansed but also U.S. security and interest and its credibility as a broker in the Middle East.” A day after these statements, Erdogan announced that the recognition of Jerusalem as Israeli Capital would be the red line for Turkey in its relationship with the U.S. and Israel⁸⁶⁰ and calling the OIC (the Organization of Islamic Cooperation) members to an extraordinary session in Istanbul on December 13, 2017,⁸⁶¹ where Erdogan called Israel a ‘terror state’ during his opening remarks of the summit.⁸⁶²

Additionally, on December 16, 2017, through the umbrella group USCMO, the AMP and 27 other sister organizations gathered outside the White House for a mass rally and demonstration to denounce the decision of official recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and the plan of relocating the United States Embassy in Jerusalem. During the demonstrations, the crowd chanted as **“Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the true leader of Ummah [Muslim believers]”** to show solidarity and support to Erdogan’s stance regarding the matter.⁸⁶³ The demonstration was widely publicized by the Turkish media.⁸⁶⁴



Turkish Zakat Foundation and executive director Halil Demir who has direct and close ties with Erdogan and who was always with Erdogan during his U.S. visits,⁸⁶⁵ were a platinum sponsor for the 2014 and 2015 conferences of the AMP.⁸⁶⁶ Mr Demir was also among the speakers at the 2015 AMP conference.⁸⁶⁷ Mr. Demir signed the IRS 990 forms for the Benevolence International Foundation (BIF),⁸⁶⁸ a group that Department of Treasury designated as a financier of terrorism for funding al-Qaeda in 2002.⁸⁶⁹

Hatem Bazian, the Chairman of the AMP National board, is a weekly columnist for the Turkish Daily Sabah,⁸⁷⁰ a newspaper owned and run by the Erdogan family.

DAILY SABAH COLUMNS

Thursday, March 29, 2018

  Today's Paper

OP-ED

COLUMNS

EDITORIAL

READER

Daily Sabah > Columnists > Hatem Bazian



Hatem Bazian

All Columnists

On November 22-25, 2012, AMP had its annual conference for Palestine in the U.S. at the Oak Brook Hills Marriott Resort in Illinois.⁸⁷¹ State-owned and operated Turkish Airlines, THY, was claimed to be a platinum supporter for the conference.⁸⁷² On September 24, 2012, the American Enterprise Institute resident scholar Michael Rubin wrote, “Turkey’s state carrier and a member of the Star Alliance—is getting in on the action. While American Muslims for Palestine’s list of sponsors is not online, according to literature at the group’s booth at the recent Islamic Society for North America conference, Turkish Airlines is a major corporate sponsor of American Muslims for Palestine’s forthcoming conference. In addition, it is encouraging attendance by announcing that the “first 200 Registrants will be entered into a raffle to win an international airline ticket from Turkish Airlines.”⁸⁷³ In support of the Turkish Government’s foreign

policy, AMP joined USCMO to publicly issue a statement to “call for proper study of 1915 events,” denying Armenian genocide claims. The statement concluded that they were “aware of the painful history of over 30 nations fighting for over four years and the loss of over 37 million lives in World War I, including those of the Armenians.”⁸⁷⁴

On May 31, 2010, Israeli soldiers raided the Gaza Freedom Flotilla (the blue flotilla incident, Mavi Marmara), a six-vessel aid convoy heading towards Gaza to protest and break the Israeli-Egyptian blockade of the Gaza Strip. As the fleet approached Israel, the Israeli commandos raided the ships and killed ten people on board during the operations, causing a deep rift between Turkey and Israel.

Turkey had to withdraw its ambassador from Israel.⁸⁷⁵ The organizers, the Turkish Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief (IHH),⁸⁷⁶ and the Free Gaza Movement are known to be close allies of Erdogan.⁸⁷⁷ Moreover, the IHH and its executive director Bulent Yildirim have been known with their close ties to global jihadist elements including the HAMAS and Muslim Brotherhood.⁸⁷⁸

IHH is the main Turkish aid agency used by the Turkish Government to covertly in arming the opposition and terrorist organizations in Syria,⁸⁷⁹ which was investigated by the Turkish National Police having links to al-Qaeda.⁸⁸⁰ Erdogan later both fired the judiciary and the police involved with this operation, sending several the officers to prison due to their involvement in the operations against the IHH.⁸⁸¹



Furkan Dogan, a Turkish American born to Turkish parents in New York,⁸⁸² was among the ten people killed during the Israeli raid. On February 21, 2011, the AMP, American Muslims for Palestine, awarded Furkan Dogan⁸⁸³ with the annual “Al-Quds award.”⁸⁸⁴ Furkan’s father Ahmet Dogan was given the award on behalf of his son.⁸⁸⁵ The head of the AMP, Hatem Bazian, during his opening remarks, said that “AMP was trying to solve the problems of Muslims currently living in America,” adding “the presence of the Dogan family upon the invitation of the AMP was an honor.”⁸⁸⁶ Turkish media also reported that Erdogan, then Prime Minister Erdogan, was also awarded by AMP’s annual “Al-Quds award” in 2009.⁸⁸⁷

“Support Turkey by buying Turkish products.” Through an action alert, the AMP followers were urged “IT IS IMPERATIVE SUPPORT TURKEY BY PURCHASING TURKISH PRODUCTS OR BY INCLUDING TURKEY AS A DESTINATION IN OUR VACATION PLANS.”

On June 22, 2010, AMP started a campaign titled **“Support Turkey by buying Turkish products.” Through an action alert, the AMP followers were urged “IT IS IMPERATIVE SUPPORT TURKEY BY PURCHASING TURKISH PRODUCTS OR BY INCLUDING TURKEY AS A DESTINATION IN OUR VACATION PLANS.”** AMP stated that “Turkey has consistently thrown its support behind Palestine by publicly denouncing Israel’s illegal occupation, by trying to break the siege on Gaza, and simply by speaking out about Israel’s illegal, unjust and inhumane treatment of the occupied Palestinians.”⁸⁸⁸ Additionally, the following information was provided as guidance to assist people in reaching Turkish products.

TAKE ACTION

- If you are planning on taking a vacation, seriously consider traveling to Turkey, which is reeling under massive cancelations from Israeli tourists.
- Make a concerted effort to buy Turkish products.
- Turkish products are sold mainly in Indo-Pakistani, Greek, Arab, and other ethnic grocery stores.
- Brand names include: Ulker, Eti, Saray, Marco Polo, Kirlangic, Koska, Hazer Baba, Tukas and Tat.
- The Halk brand is widely sold in stores as petit beurre biscuits, cheese, and confectionary.
- A majority of the imports to the U.S. of hazelnut, apricot, and a large portion of figs are from Turkey. For a list of more Turkish products, go to <http://www.tulumba.com/> or <http://www.bestturkishfood.com>
- For a list of Turkish businesses and industry, go to www.turkishtradechicago.org⁸⁸⁹

A Turkish monthly magazine, Lacivert,⁸⁹⁰ published an interview⁸⁹¹ with Hatem Bazian, the Chairman of the AMP National board, titled “the U.S.: Like an elephant lost its way kicking and crushing anything it encounters.” The article starts with the interviewer’s remarks stating that she asked Mr. Bazani about global Islamophobia, the West’s allergy towards Erdogan, and the future of Muslim democracies. Among the questions and Mr. Bazian’s answers: How do you see the war the West started against President Erdogan?

Mr. Bazian: **Erdogan represents Islam in his personality as being at the epicenter of the West’s Islamophobia**, and this is the reason there is a lot of negative news about him. Erdogan represents a successful Islamic leader elected through a democratic process and the change of power through peaceful means in today’s Islamic world. The hypocrisy of the West through Islamophobia made Erdogan and his representation of the Muslims a problem.

AMP held a Palestine De-Colonial Summer school in Istanbul, Turkey, between August 1st and 12th, 2016, at Sehir University. Mr. Bazian was among the faculty teaching at Istanbul Sehir University during the summer school.



AMP @AMPalestine · 11 May 2016
Deepen your understanding of Palestine, colonialism and Imperialism in Turkey this summer bit.ly/1QZ1CRa

AMP @AMPalestine · 26 Feb 2016
Registration is open for Palestine De-Colonial Summer School to be held in Istanbul, Turkey. The program is led... fb.me/V2so3KKd



Dosya · Söyleşi · Gündem · Portre · Gezi · Kültür · İyi Şeyler · Ajanda

ABD: Yönünü kaybetmiş bir şekilde ortalıkta tepinen dev bir fil

Dr. Hatem Bazian ile Ferguson olayları merkezinde fiziksel ve zihinsel şiddeti, beyazların üstünlüğünü, küresel bir proje olarak İslamofobi’yi, Batı’nın Erdoğan alerjisinin temelinde yatan nedenleri ve Müslüman demokrasilerin geleceğini konuştuk. En güçlüünün ayakta kaldığı bu düzenin ve Batılı paradigmalardan artık çöküşe geçtiğini anlatan Bazian, hak arama mücadelesinde azınlıkların ve dışlanan kesimlerin birleşmeye başladığını, belki de uyuyan bir devin uzun bir aradan sonra uyanışına tanık olduğumuzu söylüyor.

Merem İlayda Atlas

SAYI:09 / Ocak 2015



On November 24, 2017, the Diyanet Center of America (DCA) invited AMP National Policy Director Osama Abu Irshaid to deliver the Friday sermon (Juma’a Khutbah) and publicized the khutbah and the video over its social media and YouTube accounts.⁸⁹²



Khutbah by Osama Abu Irshaid - Jum’a Prayer - 12/1/17
- Diyanet Center of America: [@YouTube](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=...) aracılığıyla

Translate from Turkish

YouTube



Khutbah by Osama Abu Irshaid - Jum’a Prayer - 12/1/17 - Diyanet...

Diyanet Center of America Jum’a Khutbah on November 24, 2017
Khutbah delivered by Dr. Osama Abu Irshaid. Follow us on
[Facebook.com/DiyanetAmerica](https://www.facebook.com/DiyanetAmerica) [Twitter.com...](https://twitter.com/DiyanetAmerica)

Get the YouTube: Watch, Listen, Stream app

12/1/17, 6:49 PM

ZAYTUNA COLLEGE

Zaytuna College is the first Muslim liberal arts college in the United States. It was first established as Zaytuna Institute in Hayward, California, in 1996.⁸⁹³ Zaytuna College was founded by Hamza Yusuf, Zaid Shakir, and Hatem Bazian. Hamza Yusuf Hanson is the president, co-founder, and senior faculty member of Zaytuna College. Hatem Bazian is the Provost, co-founder and a professor at Zaytuna College. Imam Zaid Shakir is also one of the co-founders of Zaytuna College and serves on its board of trustees.⁸⁹⁴

On August 8, 2016, the president of Zaytuna College, Hamza Yusuf, published an article titled “When Evil Fails, and Goodness Prevails: Regarding the Recent Coup Attempt in Turkey” in which he praises Erdogan. Following along with the Turkish government’s propaganda, he wrote that people in Turkey feel freer now than they used to during the rule of previous governments. He wrote, “President Erdogan, by all measures, is a devout Muslim attempting to navigate modernity and live his faith in the context of secularity. His party has helped Turkey move away from French laicism toward a more American model of secularism that allows for public display of religion and guarantees the right of a politician to say that, indeed, faith does inform his decisions. Most people, especially the previously persecuted devout Muslims, feel freer now in Turkey than they did under the laicism of previous governments when even wearing a headscarf was banned.”⁸⁹⁵

On June 9, 2016, during Muhammed Ali’s funeral, Zaytuna College’s official tweeter account posted an Anadolu Agency article about Muhammed

Ali and stated that “Attendees included the Ali family, world and religious leaders such as Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan.”⁸⁹⁶

On February 19, 2011, Hamza Yusuf, speaking on the Gaza Freedom Flotilla incident, praised Furkan Dogan, who was killed by the Israeli commandos aboard the IHH vessel claiming, “Allah wanted Shahadah [martyrdom] for him, an amazing thing in and of itself.” Mr. Yusuf added that “he would never forget as long as he lives,” the sacrifice made by Furkan Dogan.⁸⁹⁷

Turkish State Anadolu Agency (AA) ran favorable articles praising Zaytuna College. On March 17, 2015, AA ran an article titled “First US Muslim college aims to stand against Islamophobia,” adding “We believe that Islam calls us to knowledge, learning, and understanding which are the opposite of ignorance and narrow-mindedness that produces violence and terrorism.”⁸⁹⁸



Hamza Yusuf gave a speech published on YouTube on December 29, 2014, stating, “we have all these people attacking Turkey, but the reality is Turkey has recently paid off its IMF debt. Turkey is the only debt-free country on the planet, and why is that on the news? Why is Erdogan being demonized as a tyrant when he has shown incredible physical responsibility with immense growth? And now we are going to see constraints put on Turkey. You will see from

outside, and Turkey will get hit economically. Why? Because there are entities on this planet, who do not want to see a successful Muslim model.”⁸⁹⁹

ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA (ISNA)

The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) is based in Plainfield, Indiana, and was established in 1981⁹⁰⁰ as a Muslim umbrella organization. ISNA claims to be “the largest and oldest Islamic umbrella organization in North America.” ISNA’s objectives in its mission statement include fostering “the development of the Muslim community, interfaith relations, civic engagement, and better understanding of Islam.”⁹⁰¹ ISNA states its vision as “to be an exemplary and unifying Islamic organization in North America that contributes to the betterment of the Muslim community and society at large.”⁹⁰² ISNA claims to have more than 100,000 members and 300 affiliated organizations, which include mosques, student, and professional associations.⁹⁰³ Azhar Azeez is the president of ISNA, and Altaf Husain is the vice president.

ISNA holds annual national conventions. The 55th annual ISNA convention was held in Houston between August 31 – September 3, 2018.⁹⁰⁴ Typically, ISNA gathers thousands of people for its conventions with several panels and keynote speakers who are announced at its website, facilitating different entertainment activities, commercial advertisement booths, film festivals, and a bazaar.⁹⁰⁵

ISNA annual conferences have become regular venues for the Turks, particularly representing the AKP and Erdogan. During the 51st ISNA annual conference in Detroit themed “Generations Rise: Elevating Muslim American Culture” between August 29 and September 1, 2014, the deputy undersecretary of the state and senior adviser to Erdogan, Ibrahim Kalin, spoke at a panel titled “Turkey at the

Crossroads.” Mr. Kalin discussed rather Turkish domestic matters embarrassing Erdogan with corruption allegations involving himself and his family members. On January 2, 2018, U.S. federal jury found Turkish banker Hakan Atilla guilty of helping Iran dodge sanctions. Testimony showed that the corruption scheme was carried out

with the blessing of current President Tayyip Erdogan,⁹⁰⁶ through series of titles including the leaked audio tapes (some of which involved Erdogan ordering his son Bilal Erdogan to hide over a billion-dollar cash stock at this Istanbul villa), 17-25 December 2013 anti-corruption operations represented by the AKP as a political coup against Erdogan, “the spill-over effect of the violence-stricken Middle

East into Turkey and the situation of Kurds affected by the recent violence in the region.”⁹⁰⁷

On May 21, 2013, Dr. Mohamed Elsanousi, ISNA Director of Community Outreach, met with the Prime Minister of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdogan. According to an ISNA report, Dr. Elsanousi spoke about ISNA’s efforts to assist religious minorities living in Muslim-majority communities around the world and “asked for Turkey’s support.” Erdogan, in return, urged American Muslims to “present an accurate and positive image of Islam and Muslims to the rest of American society,” claiming “unfortunately, this image has thus far been distorted by the actions of a few groups that claim to represent Muslims.”⁹⁰⁸



I delivered a speech and conveyed the message of President Erdoğan at the 52th ISNA Convention @ISNAHQ #ISNA52Chicago



8:35 AM - 5 Sep 2015

6:30 – 7:45 PM



SESSION 9K

Turkey at a Crossroads

This session will take a closer look to recent developments in Turkey, a nation going through a very fragile period. Though issues in Turkey may appear domestic, the results will affect the entire region. Speakers will share their perspectives and listen to attendees’ perspectives during the Q & A part at the end.

Speakers: Ibrahim Kalin, Erol Cebeci, Kilic Bugra Kanat

Moderator: Murat Kose



The Turkish Ambassador to the U.S., Serdar Kilic, read a special message from Turkish President Erdogan to the 52nd ISNA Annual Convention at Donald E. Stephens Convention Center in Chicago on September 5, 2015. The presence of Turkish Ambassador and reading of the message from President Erdogan was welcomed by the audience at the 52nd ISNA convention where other known names like Linda Sarsour (an American political activist and co-chair of the 2017 Women's March) and Imam Zaid Shakir also addressed the attendees.⁹⁰⁹

ISNA announced on July 28, 2016, that President Erdogan's wife Emine Erdogan would be the featured speaker at the 53rd ISNA convention.⁹¹⁰ However, Mrs. Erdogan did not attend the convention. Instead, Turkey had a large

presence at the convention.⁹¹¹ Turkey was represented by the Deputy Prime Minister Numan Kurtulmus,⁹¹² AK Party Istanbul Deputy Ravza Kavakci, and Sena Nur Celik.⁹¹³ Additionally, Turkish state Anadolu Agency and Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) opened booths at the convention.⁹¹⁴

Deputy Prime Minister Numan Kurtulmus delivered a keynote speech during the conference. Mr. Kurtulmus stated that the Gulen organization "is no different from PKK or Daesh terror groups,"⁹¹⁵ and expressed the group is "not only a threat for Turkey but also a threat to many countries." Kurtulmus added that the Turkish government was "clearing the state of Gulen-linked terrorists, noting that all post-coup investigations were conducted within the scope of constitutional authority, underlining that Turkey was a country governed by the rule

ISNA @ISNAHQ · Sep 2, 2016
Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey Mr. Numan Kurtulmuş speaking at #ISNA53



of law."⁹¹⁶ Mr. Kurtulmus also claimed that the leaders of "the July coup plotters were not only to overthrow the democratically elected government but also to drag the country into a civil war and make it vulnerable to foreign intervention."⁹¹⁷ Mr. Kurtulmus also visited the Anadolu Agency stand at the convention center.⁹¹⁸ Mr. Kurtulmus was presented to the audience by Azhar Azeez, the President of ISNA.

ISNA @ISNAHQ · Jul 28, 2016
#ISNA53 Featured Speaker: Emine Erdogan, First Lady of Turkey
Register: isna.net/annual-convent...

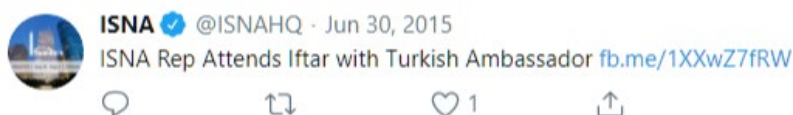


The Turkish delegation held a panel titled “A Conversation with the Turkish Delegation” on September 4, 2016, at the ISNA panel. The panel was moderated by Ahmet Selim Tekelioglu, Washington D.C. representative of the SETA Foundation. Speakers included Ahmet Selim Tekelioglu, Turkish Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research⁹¹⁹ (SETA) Washington D.C. representative, Kilic Bugra Kanat, Research Director of the SETA Foundation, Tuba Nur Donmez, President Erdogan’s official advisor and Ali Osman Ozturk, Turkish Prime Ministry Diplomacy Coordinator,⁹²⁰ Hussam Ayloush, Executive Director of Council on American Relations (CAIR) Los Angeles and National Chair of the Syrian American Council, and Meryem Ilayda Atlas, journalist from the Daily Sabah newspaper. SETA brief specified that Mr. Kanat “discussed regional dynamics in Turkey’s neighborhood as well as Turkish-American relations in the context of the failed July 15 coup attempt.”⁹²¹

On June 30, 2015, ISNA Office of Interfaith & Community Alliances National Director Dr. Sayyid Syeed was invited to an iftar dinner held at the Turkish Embassy in Washington, D.C., organized by the Turkish



Ambassador Serdar Kilic.⁹²² Dr. Syeed addressed the attendees during the dinner and congratulated Erdogan on winning the elections, stating “news of a fair and clean election from Turkey provides us an opportunity to celebrate. This is the victory of a democracy in Turkey that has provided a model of stability and prosperity in a volatile region.” Dr. Syeed also mentioned his conversation with President Erdogan a few years ago, where they discussed establishing platforms for iftar dinners during the holy month of Ramadan in the U.S. to “provide for outreach to the White House, federal departments and governor and mayor offices.” Dr. Syeed also stated that President Erdogan took his advice and hosted various leaders of Christian and Jewish communities for interfaith iftar dinners. Dr. Syeed also invited President Erdogan to ISNA’s 52nd annual convention as a keynote speaker.⁹²³



A week later, on July 7, 2015, ISNA Secretary-General Hazem Bata hosted a special iftar event with about 800 attendees at the newly opened Turkish American Community Center (TACC) in Lanham, MD. Before the dinner time, ISNA also held a public forum for interfaith and government partners in TACC's conference center. The event was the first gathering at the TACC's brand new conference center. The forum was moderated by Nadia Hassan, ISNA's Program Coordinator. Speakers talked about the necessity and importance of Muslims living in the communities connecting with their neighbors, families, and friends of other faiths. Dr. Sayyid Syeed, the director of ISNA's Office of Interfaith & Community Alliances (IOICA), addressed the attendees indicating that "President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan stating that the center and mosque will be a gift from the Turkish nation to the American Muslim community was groundbreaking." Dr. Syeed also "reaffirmed ISNA's intention to continue to build bridges between the Turkish nation and the American community." ISNA Secretary-General Hazem Bata added that "ISNA and TACC brought together Muslims of every stripe to celebrate Ramadan and our mutual faith. We also opened our arms and hearts to our brothers and sisters of other faiths to share a meal and a common word."⁹²⁴



President Erdogan held an iftar dinner at Ahiska Turks Community Center of Kentucky in the U.S. while he was in Louisville, Kentucky, on June 9, 2016, for the funeral of Muhammed Ali.⁹²⁵ The president of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) Azhar Azeez was invited to the dinner along with the Head of Turkish Religious Authority, Nihad Awad (CAIR), Oussama Jamal (USCMO), and the Islamic Circle of North American (ICNA) Executive Director Naim Beig who sat with the Turkish President at the same table as the guests of honor.⁹²⁶

Beginning in 2009, Turks close to Erdogan has started to have increased interest and presence at Annual ISNA conventions. Ibrahim Kalin, the special adviser to Turkish President and the presidential spokesperson of Turkish President and the director of the SETA Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research in 2009, was among presidents of the convention and spoke at the inaugural session of the 46th Annual ISNA Convention in Washington D.C. on July 3, 2009.

 ISNA MAIN PROGRAM		
46th Annual ISNA Convention Washington DC Convention Center July 3 – 6, 2009		
<i>Theme: Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness</i>		
And seek by means of what Allah has given you the future abode, and do not neglect your portion of this world, and do good (to others) as Allah has done good to you, and do not seek to make mischief in the land, surely Allah does not love the mischief-makers. Qur'an: Al-Qasas (28:77)		
Friday, July 3rd		
Registration begins at 8:30 AM in the East Registration Lobby		
TIME	EVENT/SPEAKERS	ROOM
12:00 – 1:00 PM	INAUGURAL SESSION PRESIDENTS: ISNA – Ingrid Mattson, MSA – Suhail Dar, ICNA – Zahid Hussain Bukhari, MYNA – Omer Uddin, AMSE – Mohammad S. Alam, IMANA – Hafizur Rehman, CISNA – Safaa Zarzour, Turkish Guest – Ibrahim Kalin CHAIRS: Convention Program Co-Chairs – Sami Catovic and Aisha Aladawiya Convention Chair – Abdul Wahab, Steering Committee Chair – Rizwan Jaka MODERATOR: Azhar Azeez	HALL D

There were four sessions under the title of the “Turkish Symposium” at the 46th Annual ISNA Convention. The first Turkish Symposium panel was titled “Educational and Social Problems of Turkish-American-Muslims in the USA: A Collection of Issues Reported by Community Leaders” with a subtitle of “Community leaders including imams, teachers, and directors will share their observations and experiences regarding the problems facing the Turkish-American-Muslims from different perspectives and regions.” Murat Kose, East Coast director of Zakat Foundation of America, moderated the panel. Mehmet Aktas, Ozcan Gungor, Yavuz Silay, Kadir Gunduz, Cahit Kara, and Kemal Ozdemir were among the speakers.⁹²⁷

The second Turkish Symposium was titled “Integration Issues of the Turkish American Community in particular and the American Society, in general, will be discussed by representatives from various Turkish communities around the country.” Mehmet Demiroglu was the moderator of this panel. Kasim Kopuz, Mesut Hazar, Cemal Demir, Halil Demir, Kemal Bozkurt, and Ihsan Isik spoke were among the speakers.⁹²⁸

The third Turkish Symposium at the 46th Annual ISNA Convention was on “Organizational Needs for Healthy Integration and Representation of the Turkish American Community.” At this panel, “community leaders, thinkers, and academicians will discuss organizational needs and alternatives to support and integrate the community, especially the youth, spiritually, socially, financially and politically.” The panel was moderated by Muammer Koc. At this panel, Prime Minister Erdogan’s Chief advisor Ibrahim Kalin, Turkish Washington D.C. Embassy’s Diyanet Counselor Dr. Mehmet Pacaci,⁹²⁹ Imam of the Islamic Association of North Texas (IANT) Dr. Yusuf Ziya Kavakci,⁹³⁰ Dr. Erdogan Gurmen and Gazi Erdem spoke at this panel.⁹³¹

The fourth Turkish Symposium was on “Strategies for Enhancement of Inner Strength of the Muslim Youth in the USA,” presenting “fundamental, yet basic, guidelines for youth to enrich and strengthen their spiritual standing against the adversarial currents taking place within their larger society.” Tuncay Bayrak moderated the

panel. Dr. Yusuf Ziya Kavakci, Dr. Erdogan Gurmen, Kasim Kopuz, and Mehmet Demiroglu were among the speakers.⁹³²

47th Annual
ISNA Convention

was held in Chicago, IL, between July 2 - 4, 2010, with the theme “Nurturing Compassionate Communities: Connecting Faith and Service.” During the Annual convention, Turkey had four panels under the umbrella title of “the 2nd Annual Turkish Symposium.”⁹³³ Initially, Yusuf Ziya Kavakci and Muammer Koc spoke at the “2nd Annual Turkish Symposium: Opening Session” moderated by Murat Kose.⁹³⁴

5:00 – 6:30 PM	SESSION 2D 2nd Annual Turkish Symposium: Opening Session SPEAKERS: Yusuf Ziya Kavakci, Muammer Koc MODERATOR: Murat Kose
----------------	--

The first panel was titled: “Characteristics of Ottoman Society: Lessons from the Past to Form a Compassionate Society.” This session covered “a brief history of the Ottoman state, community organizations and their functions in the Ottoman society, the status of non-Muslims in Ottoman society, and models that can be adopted by the American Society.” Yusuf Ziya Kavakci, Erdogan Gurmen, Shayk Kasim Kopuz, and Muhammed Atcil were among the speakers, and Tuncay Bayrak moderated the panel.⁹³⁵

The 2nd Turkish panel was titled “Youth and Family Issues: Practical Projects to Raise Righteous Children for Immigrant Families in the USA.” Turkish youth in the United States: Where do they live,

improve the quality of education for immigrant youth and talk about the challenges of raising righteous children in American society. Participants were Mehmet Pacaci, Sulayman Duman, Belgizar Ozbek, Nevca Ozturk, and Halil Demir, and the panel was moderated by Murat Kose.

The 3rd Turkish panel was titled “Relationship of Turkish Americans with other Muslim and Non-Muslim Communities: Strategies to Improve this Relationship. (in Turkish with English summary)” This session examined the “language and cultural barriers of Turkish Americans to integrate with the larger Muslim community. Speakers will discuss case studies of various Turkish communities in the United States and the political involvement of Turkish Americans, with examples from Europe and Australia. This session will cover how to develop unique and effective projects to integrate Turkish Americans into the general Muslim community.”⁹³⁶

Kemal Bozkurt moderated the panel, and the participants included Bekir Aksoy, Cemal Demir, Mehmet Aktas, Abdusselam Gecmez, and Bilgin Erdogan.

and what do they do? The panel focused on the following questions: What are the duties of parents? What do youth expect from parents? Youth Examples from Ottoman society and the relationship of Muslim youth with other communities. The panel explored strategies to

48 th ANNUAL ISNA CONVENTION CHICAGO, IL JULY 1 – 4, 2011		
THEME: <i>Loving God, Loving Neighbor, Living in Harmony</i>		
1:00 – 2:00 PM	Jumu'ah Prayer & Lunch <i>Khatib:</i> Imam Mohamed Magid	Hall A
2:00 – 3:00 PM	Lunch	Hall A
3:00 – 4:30 PM	Opening Session-Inaugural Welcome address from Imam Mohamed Magid, ISNA President <i>Speakers:</i> Safaa Zarour, Secretary General Zonal Officers: Sami Catovic, Monem Salam, Kashif Siddiqi Steering Committee Chair: Zahir Sahloul Abdul Wahab, Convention Chair, Members of the Steering Committee and Volunteers Representatives of Constituent Organizations will be recognized: Iman Sedige, MSA; Gaddoor Saidi, NAIT; Mohammad Alam, AMSE; Ali Mazrui, AMSS; Abida Haque, IMANA; MYNA Rep; Kem Hussain, CISNA <i>Moderator:</i> Ahsan Ahsan	Room 14
3:00 – 4:30 PM	3 rd Annual Turkish Symposium: Opening Session <i>Speakers:</i> Mahinur Ozdemir, Yusuf Kavakci <i>Moderator:</i> Murat Kose	Room 33

By 2011, annual Turkish Symposiums at ISNA conventions became systematic, and Turkey started to have a full presence at ISNA conventions. Mahinur Ozdemir and Yusuf Kavakci spoke at the 3rd Annual Turkish Symposium: Opening Session moderated by Murat Kose.⁹³⁷

The second Turkish panel at the 3rd Annual Turkish Symposium was titled: “Turkey’s Zero Problem Foreign Policy under the Leadership of Recep Tayyip and Its Impact on World Politics.” Participants included Fatih Yildiz, Mahinur Ozdemir, Kemal Bozkurt, and Cemal Demir. Mehmet Kemal Ozdemir moderated the panel. Panelists discussed Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s “Zero Problems with Neighbors” policy, and how people can “embrace each other with the removal of visas while not fearing uncivil relations.” They sought answers to how “Erdogan, son of a middle-class family, become one of the most popular leaders in the Middle East from his days in jail to the president of Turkey? And how his vision would continue to change the Middle East?” Finally, how Erdogan’s leadership was affecting politics in the region and around the world?⁹³⁸

10:00 – 11:15 AM

SESSION 5J

2nd Annual Turkish Symposium:

Characteristics of Ottoman Society: Lessons from the Past to Form a Compassionate Society

This session will cover a brief History of the Ottoman state, community organizations and their functions in the Ottoman society, the status of non-Muslims in Ottoman society, and models that can be adapted by the American Society.

SPEAKERS:

Yusuf Ziya Kavakci, Erdogan Gurmen, Shayk Kasim Kopuz, Muhammed Atcil

MODERATOR:

Tuncay Bayrak

Room 32

PARALLEL SESSIONS

11:30 AM – 12:45 PM Session 6B

Room 30

3rd Annual Turkish Symposium: Turkey's Zero Problem Foreign Policy under the Leadership of Recep Tayyip and Its Impact on World Politics.

Due to Recep Tayyip Erdogan's "Zero Problems with Neighbors" policy, people can now embrace each other with the removal of visas while not fearing uncivil relations.. How did Erdogan, son of a middle class family, become one of the most popular leaders in Middle East from his days in jail to the president of Turkey? How will his vision continue to change Middle East? How is his leadership affecting the politics in this region and around the world?

Speakers: Fatih Yildiz, Mahinur Ozdemir, Kemal Bozkurt, Cemal Demir

Moderator: Mehmet Kemal Ozdemir

The third panel was titled "Youth Panel: Issues related to Youth." This session focused on the Turkish origin university students in the U.S., including:

- *Students studying in the US with the sponsorship of the Turkish Government*
- *Students studying in the US by their own means*
- *Students born and/or raised in the U.S.*

Speakers included Ibrahim Demirer, Omer Yazaci, Amina Demir, Fatima G. Abushanab, Bayram Eryilmaz, and Hanif Rauf Soysal. Muhsin Zaid Ugur moderated the panel.

The fourth Turkish panel was on the "Art of Management: How did the Ottomans keep Multicultural and Multi-Religious Nations of the Middle East, North Africa, and Europe in Peace and Harmony for centuries?" Speakers were Yusuf Kavakci, Kemal Karpat, Erol Ozvar, Ozcan Gungor, and Abdurrahman Atcil. The panel was moderated by Ahmet Tan.

The fifth panel was titled "20th Century Scholars who influenced the formation of Current Turkish Society." This panel discussed the importance and contributions of the scholars with an emphasis on the following prominent scholars in Turkey: Mehmet Zahid Kotku, Bediuzzaman Said Nursi, Muhammed Rasid Erol, Ahiskali and Ali Haydar Efendi. Suleyman Duman, Mehmet Demiroglu, Mehmet Aktas, Bilgin Erdogan, Abdurrahman Mihcioglu, and Fazli Polat spoke at the panel and moderated by Murat Kose.



Zakat Foundation of America Participates in the ISNA Convention

Zakat Foundation of America Participates in the ISNA Convention

Zakat Foundation of America (ZF) attended the 48th Annual ISNA Convention in Rosemont, IL on July 4th Weekend. The ZF booth was visited heavily by donors, friends, and long-time supporters, including ISNA Board Members and Minnesota Congressman Keith Ellison. We thank ISNA for hosting another successful convention and look forward to the 49th Annual ISNA Convention. God Willing!

Zakat Foundation of America (ZF) advertised the 48th Annual ISNA Convention on its webpage. The ZF opened a booth during the convention. The ZF thanked ISNA for “hosting another successful convention and look forward to the 49th Annual ISNA Convention.”

Annual Turkish Symposiums continued in 2012 during the 49th Annual ISNA Convention held in Washington, D.C. The first session was titled: “Economic Power and Policies of Multinational Ottomans: A Quest for Solutions to the Current Worldwide Economic

Crisis.” Presenters included Kemal Karpat, Ihsan Sureyya Sima, and Abdurrahman Atcil and was moderated by Kemal Ozdemir.

The second session was on “Serving the Community with the Methodologies of Turkish Scholars in America.” The head of the Diyanet Center of America, Yasar Colak, Mehmet Demiroglu, Mucahit Bilici, Sakir Yucel, and Ahmet Yuceturk presented at the panel. Murat Kose moderated the panel.

The third session was titled “Turkey’s Achievements under the Rule of AK Party with its Leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan: Dissecting the Preeminent Factors.” This panel discussed the following titles:

1. *Why have people of many factions repeatedly voted for the AK Party?*
2. *Foreign and Middle Eastern policies of the AK Party.*
3. *What can the new regimes in the Middle East take from the AK Party’s experience?*

The speakers included Erol Cebeci, Kilic Kanat, and Abdullah Karatas. The moderator was Suleyman Yildirim.⁹³⁹

The 50th Annual ISNA Convention was held in Washington, D.C., between August 30 and September 2, 2013. As it became a custom, during the 50th ISNA convention, the 5th Annual Turkish Symposium was held. The title of the Turkish symposium was “The Middle East at a crossroads.” The panel was meant to offer “a closer look at recent developments in Turkey, Egypt, and Syria and the speakers analyzed the latest developments, put some existing and possible problems on the table, and try to advise on possible solutions to those problems.” Mehmet Demiroglu, Ibrahim Kalin, Ahmet

Berat Conkar, Hali Demir, and Kilic Bugra Kanat spoke at the panel, and the panel was moderated by Mehmet Demiroglu.⁹⁴⁰

49TH ANNUAL ISNA CONVENTION		
TIME	EVENT/SPEAKERS/MODERATES	ROOM
4:30 – 6:00 PM	SESSION 13L Turkish Symposium: Turkey’s Achievements under the Rule of AK Party with its Leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan: Dissecting the Preeminent Factors 1. Why people of many factions have repeatedly voted for the AK Party? 2. Foreign and Middle Eastern policies of AK Party 3. What can the new regimes in the Middle East take from the AK Party’s experience? <i>Speakers:</i> Erol Cebeci, Kilic Kanat ,Abdullah Karatas <i>Moderator:</i> Suleyman Yildirim	Room 201

The 51st Annual ISNA Convention was held in Detroit, MI, between August 29 – Sept 1, 2014. In addition to the panel “Turkey at a Crossroads” which was listed at the beginning of this section, the Turkish panel included a session on “Influence of Turkish-American NGOs into American Culture and Daily Life” focusing on the “importance and influence of NGOs are undeniable all over the world. This session will bring an overview of the influences of Turkish NGOs on American daily life. Speakers will try to address those questions: How organized they are? Is their contribution to the American Society adequate? What are the drawbacks they are faced in their activities? What are their short, mid, and long-term plans?” The speakers were Mehmet Demiroglu, Mehmet Aktas, Bilgin Erdogan, and Sakir Yucel. The moderator was Murat Kose.⁹⁴¹

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Erdogan clearly understood the significance of his relationships and the stance of the U.S. for a long-term political career since 2001. While he has always been very skeptical about the U.S. based on his ideology and probably has never trusted any of the American governments and politicians, he has usually been quiet about his feelings until the December 2013 anti-corruption operations. Since the anti-corruption operations and increasingly after the coup attempt in July 2016, Erdogan has become quite outspoken about his feelings toward the U.S., often publicly demonizing American public servants, institutions including the CIA, the U.S. military and President Obama. (He has excepted President Trump.)

Based on the findings of this report, Erdogan intensified his influence and intelligence operations in the U.S. beginning in 2010, with an increasing pace after 2013. His activity peaked between 2016 and 2018.

Erdogan's game plan in the U.S. was not a short one. In fact, he aimed for a long-term political and influence game, all the while domestically portraying the U.S. as one of Turkey's and his archenemies, constantly increasing anti-Americanism under his rule.

The turning point for Erdogan was 2010 when he successfully consolidated his hold on the MIT through the appointment of Hakan Fidan. With Fidan becoming his right-hand man, confidant and the director of the Turkish National Intelligence, Erdogan had become more assured about his future, particularly any threats that would come from the hardline secularist military generals.

Secondly, Washington and American public opinion meant a great deal for Erdogan; therefore, he had to have favorable bureaucrats including the ambassador, embassy and consulate personnel, and other officials representing Turkey in the U.S. which led Erdogan to assign both friendly and ideologically close people to those posts as much as possible.

The next steps were put into practice simultaneously through a well-crafted plan. Erdogan started to work with different lobbying firms, pouring millions of dollars both through the Turkish government but also state-owned companies to affect the U.S. administration, Congress and the American public.

Next, he started to reach out to American Muslim communities to facilitate their lobbying power to boost his policies and objectives in the U.S., not only by getting close to them with two-way visits but also by funding them directly or indirectly.

More importantly, Erdogan started to establish new Turkish-backed institutions as long-term policy investments, both to affect the American administration, public opinion, and more importantly, the Turkish diaspora and American Muslims. Erdogan's new institutions included think tanks and associations like the Turkish Heritage Organization, The Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Associations, Islamic centers like the Diyanet Center or educational institutions, and foundations like the TURKEN Foundation providing lodging and food to students in at least twelve different locations in the U.S.

Finally, immediately after the inauguration of President Trump, Erdogan started to hire prominent people close to President Trump in an effort to change the negative perspective against him among the American establishment – a reputation mostly due to his corruption, his relationships with Salafi Jihadist terrorist organizations including ISIS and al-Qaeda affiliates, and his anti-Americanism. Meanwhile Erdogan was intensifying intelligence operations to collect information against his opposition living in the U.S.

CONCLUSIONS:

***Erdogan has been using previously politically neutral state resources to mobilize support in the U.S. for himself and his party.** As presented in this report, Erdogan is using Turkish government agencies, officials, and Turkish affiliates in the U.S., which are, like the religious affairs bureau or Diyanet, supposed to be politically neutral, to spy on overseas Turks he views as opponents and to influence American policy. Furthermore, Erdogan and his supporters may arbitrarily deny the use of religious and other Turkish or Muslim affiliated institutions, including the mosques and centers to Turks living in the U.S. This happened in 2019 with the Turkish NBA basketball player Enes Kanter when he and his teammate Tacko Fall were harassed outside of the Islamic Society of Boston Cultural Center. Kanter stated that he and his teammate “were surrounded by several men he believed to be supporters of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan outside of a Boston mosque on Friday.” Later, in a video posted on his Twitter account, an Erdogan supporter named Kemal Bozkurt complains about Enes praying at the mosque adding **“people are lined to see Kanter, youngsters, elders, kids, girls, and this drives me crazy.”** Later on, in a video recorded on September 22, 2019, in New York while the Turkish delegation for the UN General Assembly meeting, including Berat Albayrak, son-in-law of Erdogan and also Minister of Finance and Treasury, were having a gathering with Turkish Americans, Halil Demir, the executive director of Zakat Foundation said that **“we are actually calling the mosques to cancel Kanter’s events,” claiming “all mosque meetings to which Enes Kanter was invited were canceled due to the efforts of our friends – brothers at Diyanet, imams, heads of foundations, associations -, I thank my brothers for this nice work!”**

***Erdogan has engaged in adroit manipulation of Islam for his personal aggrandizement. For example, he invested \$110 million in the Diyanet Center (DCA), building a massive mosque and center in Maryland to boost his influence and reach among American Muslims and to represent himself as the leader of the Muslim community or ummah in the U.S.** Erdogan has aimed to solidify the Diyanet Center of America (DCA) and other affiliated institutions as **a substantial soft power** tool to have himself recognized as the leader of Ummah who built a giant mosque in the heart of the U.S. and who takes care of American Muslims and Muslims around the world.

****Erdogan has been using previously politically neutral state resources to mobilize support in the U.S. for himself and his party.***

***A portion of the Turkish-American diaspora loyal to Erdogan has worked with Turkish government agents and affiliates in the U.S. and like-minded American Muslims to carry out influence operations favorable to Erdogan.** Pro-Erdogan establishments listed in this report like the Diyanet Center of America, Turkish Heritage Organization, MUSIAD, TURKEN Foundation, Zakat Foundation, ForumUSA newspaper, the Turkish-American National Steering Committee and Turkish American Religious Foundation along with the American Muslim organizations listed in this report remain the key connection points not only with the Turks, but also American Muslims and other Americans.

***While not formally part of the government like Diyanet, MUSIAD, TASC, and other groups are staffed by individuals with deep connections to the Turkish government, the AKP, and Mr. Erdogan himself, and view their mission as advancing the cause of the Turkish government through outreach in the United States.** Most of these institutions are directly funded, staffed, and supported by the Turkish state, and the majority of the personnel are Turkish officers or businessmen who have direct personal and business ties to Erdogan.

***Erdogan's American supporters have sometimes gone as far as committing illegal acts, as when Erdogan supporters joined Turkish security officials attacking civilians protesting Erdogan outside the home of the Turkish ambassador in Washington, DC, on May 16, 2016.** The cultish establishment of the AKP's and Erdogan's base in the U.S. and other countries make followers believe in the necessity of protecting their leader in the name of Islam.

***Turkish officials, journalists close to Erdogan, Turkish-Americans who support Erdogan, and Turkish-owned businesses in the U.S. may be engaging or open to engage in espionage activities on behalf of the Turkish Intelligence Agency (MIT) willingly or unwillingly, voluntarily or without being asked due to their enthusiastic support of Erdogan or due to fear of reprisals to their family members in Turkey.** Records of sample espionage activities are presented in this report, for example, how THO like organizations and their members facilitated intelligence collection activities and were subject to an FBI counterintelligence investigation based on Beral Albayrak's hacked emails. Also, the past director of the THO, Halil Ibrahim Danismaz, was denied re-entry into the U.S. as a result of those investigations. As it is seen in the video Enes Kanter shared in his Twitter account, many Turks loyal to Erdogan are apparently collecting information about their perceived enemies, mostly the people associated with the Gulen movement or Erdogan's opposition, and openly passing it to the ministers of the Republic of Turkey.

***Erdogan has been using Turkish government institutions, private and state-owned businesses, and Turkish-Americans to finance and support American Muslim organizations, their events, conferences, and other activities directly and indirectly, often by Erdogan himself speaking at some of those events. In return, American Muslim organizations may have failed to document the financial support they receive from Turkey, some of which have been paid in cash.** As presented in this report, there is ample physical evidence where Turkey and Erdogan, directly and indirectly, supported American Muslim organizations not only through Turkish state institutions and businesses but also through private Turkish companies. In fact, based on the interviews the author conducted on the condition of anonymity, some American Muslim leaders reportedly solicited the support of Erdogan in a 2016 meeting in New York and in return Erdogan said **"we have been very generous and provided you financial means through different mediums and we will keep financing."**

***Turkish government affiliates or NGOs listed in this report may be disguising different lobbying activities and the sources of their funds and other financial activities through charities and American Muslim organizations without registering as required under FARA as foreign agents.** Based on the investigations conducted by the author of this report, none of the federal tax reports of the Turkish or American Muslim organizations included any records of Turkish state funds. Furthermore, none of the groups listed in this report, Turkish or American, have been registered under FARA as foreign agents, all the while furthering the policies of Erdogan openly in most cases. Clearly, several of the American Muslim organizations listed in this report became extremely biased toward Erdogan and Erdogan's Turkey due to the factors in this report.

EXHIBIT

Oussama Jammal tweets on Turkey



December 16, 2017, White House Demonstration

Mohsin Ansari, Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA); Nihad Awad, CAIR; Halil Mutlu, Turkish American Steering Committee (TASC)



Oussama Jammal, June 16, 2016, in front of the Turkish Chicago Consulate



TASC
@ourtas



Our President's daughter Sümeyye Erdoğan Bayraktar will be speaking at the convention at 2.30 on Monday 26th December. Please Join Us 🇺🇸🇹🇷 pic.twitter.com/Yp6yWln1di

5:04 AM - Dec 26, 2016 · Chicago, IL



CAIR National
@CAIRNational

Follow

Turkish Delegation Visits #CAIR, Invites U.S. Muslims to Business Fair in Turkey

(WASHINGTON, D.C., 11/6/14) ---
fb.me/3h8lhliqG

11:01 AM - 6 Nov 2014



CAIR National
@CAIRNational

Follow

Turkish PM Lays Stone for \$100M Masjid Complex In Maryland...



'A Symbol of Friendship': Turkish PM Lays Stone for \$100...
muslimlinkpaper.com

3:45 AM - 19 May 2013



Diyanet America liked



CAIR National @CAIRNational · 31 Mar 2016

MD: Turkish Cultural Center to open in Lanham amid tensions over Islam



Turkish Cultural Center to open in Lanham amid te...
Turkish Americans started purchasing 16.5 acre track in 1993.
washingtonpost.com

EXHIBIT 2



EXHIBIT 3

Hussam Ayloush Tweets about the coup attempt in Turkey

Hussam Ayloush @HussamA · 16 Jul 2016
Turkey coup attempt captured in dramatic images fb.me/4Mdr3b4fK

Hussam Ayloush @HussamA · 16 Jul 2016
The people have spoken. No repression stands against the will of the people. [#Turkey](https://fb.me/7ObBP2qsC) fb.me/7ObBP2qsC

Hussam Ayloush @HussamA · 16 Jul 2016
Fajr prayer today in **Turkey**. The people spoke. fb.me/WHWPT87p

Hussam Ayloush @HussamA · 15 Jul 2016
Turks flood the streets of **Turkey** chanting: Ya Allah, Bismillah, Allahu Akbar! fb.me/7F5RW7DCi
Translate from Indonesian

Hussam Ayloush @HussamA · 15 Jul 2016
Tanks trying to take over **Turkey** overwhelmed by citizens fb.me/32xM3jszq

Hussam Ayloush @HussamA · 15 Jul 2016
Alhamdulillah. All praises are due to Allah for sparing **Turkey** and its people the ugly and repressive situation of Egypt and its people.

Hussam Ayloush @HussamA · 15 Jul 2016
The power of **Turkey**'s people will defeat any military coup. Turkish people take to streets to protest coup attempt.

Turkish people take to streets to protest coup attempt
Citizens gather in public squares and streets in Ankara, Istanbul, Diyarbakir and several other provinces to protest the attempted military coup - Anadolu Agency aa.com.tr

Hussam Ayloush @HussamA · 15 Jul 2016
Sisi, Assad, UAE, Israel, Russia, & much of the West are cheering for a military coup against democracy in **Turkey**. Why?

Hussam Ayloush @HussamA · 15 Jul 2016
Apparent attempted military coup ongoing in **Turkey**

Turkey's attempt to oust Erdogan fails, leaving scores dead and roilin...
Turkey's acting military chief said on Saturday that an attempted military coup had been crushed by forces loyal to the government in clashes in cnbc.com

EXHIBIT 4



Nihad Awad نهاد عوض
@NihadAwad

Follow

In support of Turkey's democracy and economy, I urge people around the world to visit [#Turkey](https://fb.me/4Mdr3b4fK) .

Please share this hashtag.

[#VisitTurkeyNow](https://fb.me/4Mdr3b4fK)

7:39 AM - 2 Aug 2016

EXHIBIT 5



TRConsulateChicago
@TRConsulChicago

Follow

Pres Erdoğan opened Diyanet Center of America DC [@DiyanetAmerica](https://fb.me/4Mdr3b4fK)
[@mas_national](https://fb.me/4Mdr3b4fK) [@CAIRNational](https://fb.me/4Mdr3b4fK) [@ZakatUS](https://fb.me/4Mdr3b4fK)
[@icna](https://fb.me/4Mdr3b4fK) [@ISNAHQ](https://fb.me/4Mdr3b4fK)



EXHIBIT 6



Hussam Ayloush
@HussamA

Follow

With CAIR leaders @ Diyanet Center of America instagram.com/p/BeL44TwFqsl/

1:06 PM - 20 Jan 2018

1 Like

1

EXHIBIT 7

53rd Annual Convention
September 2-5, 2016
isna.net

Friday Night Session
Overcoming Adversity: Turning the Tides of Faith

Speakers:
Naman Kurtulmus, Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey
Blase Cupich, Archbishop of Chicago
Yasir Fahmy
Jamillah Karim
Tariq Ramadan
Abdul Nasir Jungda
Safiah Choudhury, Moderator

Register Online:
isna.net/annual-convention [#ISNA53](https://fb.me/4Mdr3b4fK)



AHMET S.YAYLA

AHMET S. YAYLA is the Director of the Center for Homeland Security at DeSales University and an Assistant Professor of Homeland Security.

Dr. Yayla is also a member of the faculty at Georgetown University's School of Continuing Studies Program in Master's in Applied Intelligence. Additionally, Dr. Yayla is a research fellow at the George Washington University Program on Extremism.

Dr. Yayla is a 20-year veteran of the counterterrorism and operations department in the Turkish National Police and served as the chief of counterterrorism in Sanliurfa, Turkey between 2010 and 2013. He earned his Master's Degree and Ph.D. in the United States.

Dr. Yayla has published both scholarly works and written or co-written numerous articles related to counterterrorism and homeland security. Yayla is the co-author of the recent book *ISIS Defectors: Inside Stories of the Terrorist Caliphate*.

REFERENCES

1. Ahmet S Yayla, The so-called Islamic State and the (Slow but steady) radicalization of Turkey." Orient Deutsches Orient-Institut, III/2017, pp. 39-51. Germany, July 2017.
2. Blight, Pulham and Torpey, Arab spring: an interactive timeline of Middle East protests, 2012.
3. Idiz, Will Islamic world accept Turkey's leadership?, 2016.
4. Al-Jazeera Turk, Erdoğan'ın 'Arap Baharı' turu başladı, 2011.
5. <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Erdogan-Hamas-is-not-a-terrorist-organization>
6. Önkibar, Ankara bakın Mursi'ye ne demiş?, 2015.
7. Kirkpatrick, Premier of Turkey Takes Role in Region, 2011.
8. Haberturk, Erdoğan'ın gezisi yazılı basının manşetlerinde, 2011.
9. <https://www.welt.de/debatte/the-world-in-words/article13676397/Erdogan-as-the-new-Saladin.html>
10. <https://web.archive.org/web/20121025180323/http://english.sabah.com.tr/national/2012/10/01/meshaal-erdogan-is-not-only-turkeys-leader-he-is-also-the-leader-of-the-muslim-world>
11. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/30/world/europe/30clash.html>
12. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/video/video_haber/394395/Abdurrahman_Dilipak__Baskanlik_gelirse__Erdogan_Halife.html
13. SHaber, Erdoğan'ın hocası Kadir Mısıroğlu'dan şok sözler, 2017.
14. <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/turkey-and-egypts-great-game-in-the-middle-east>
15. Islam and Democracy: Perspectives on the Arab Spring Hardcover – Unabridged, May 1, 2013 by Aylin Unver Noi Publisher: Cambridge Scholars Publishing; Unabridged edition edition (May 1, 2013) ISBN-13: 978-1443847148 https://books.google.com/books?id=-TJQBwAAQBAJ&pg=PA22&lpg=PA22&dq=%22MUSIAD%22+%2B+%22Muslim+Brotherhood%22&source=bl&ots=V2r0tQb_Z1&sig=WgYrn5tGJnHGo4dT_OwDEbHmHQY&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjNpI-SxLnNAhVCOj4KHYS PD-44ChDoAQgdMAA#v=onepage&q=%22MUSIAD%22%20%2B%20%22Muslim%20Brotherhood%22&f=false
16. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/receptayyip Erdogan/biyografi/>
17. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2014/08/140828_erdogan_12_yil
18. <http://www.egemenbagis.com/>
19. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-turkey-zarrab/turkish-gold-trader-details-money-laundering-scheme-for-iran-idUSKBN1DT2DL>
20. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/monserlerden-erdogana-yanit-15063889>
21. <https://www.propublica.org/article/adding-it-up-the-top-players-in-foreign-agent-lobbying-718>

REFERENCES

22. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/witness-says-turkey-s-erdogan-ordered-movement-iranian-cash-n825271>
23. <https://www.opensecrets.org/fara/countries/22?cycle=2017>
24. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/turkey/2019-01-10/turkeys-bid-religious-leadership>
25. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/07/erdogans-long-arm-in-europe-germany-netherlands-milli-gorus-muslim-brotherhood-turkey-akp/>
26. <https://www.thecairoreview.com/essays/turkeys-pan-islamist-foreign-policy/>
27. <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/03/lessons-from-the-flynn-turkey-trump-saga.html>
28. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/10/us/politics/michael-flynn-turkey.html>
29. <https://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/foreign-policy/305021-our-ally-turkey-is-in-crisis-and-needs-our-support>
30. ibid
31. <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-41943157>
32. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/mueller-probes-flynn-s-role-in-alleged-plan-to-deliver-cleric-to-turkey-1510309982>
33. <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/12/18/judge-tells-michael-flynn-you-sold-your-country-out-at-hearing.html>
34. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-turkey-giuliani/giuliani-says-u-s-open-to-deal-on-turkish-gold-trader-case-idUSKBN17M1XQ>
35. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/20/nyregion/rudy-giuliani-reza-zarrab-iran-sanctions-case.html>
36. <https://www.courthousenews.com/on-the-bench-in-the-age-of-trump/>
37. ibid
38. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/15/us/giuliani-subpoena-ukraine.html>
39. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/turkey-will-conduct-operations-against-erdogan-s-enemies-u-s-n912996>
40. <https://www.newsweek.com/michael-rubin-why-turkey-spying-us-521986>
41. ibid
42. ibid
43. <https://www.diyanet.gov.tr/tr-TR/Anasayfa/Indeks/>
44. Article 136: https://global.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/constitution_en.pdf
45. <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2185>
46. <https://www.diyanet.gov.tr/tr-TR/Kurumsal/Detay//1/diyanet-isleri-baskanligi-kurulus-ve-tarihcesi>

REFERENCES

47. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/turkey/2015-05-17/turkey-casts-diyamet>
48. <https://www.kamupersoneli.net/kamu-personelleri/diyamet-isleri-baskanliginin-personel-sayisi-belli-oldu-h41670.html>
49. <https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/diyamet-102-ulkede-islam-icin-hizmet-veriyor-267897.html>
50. Article 136: https://global.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/constitution_en.pdf
51. <https://journals.openedition.org/ejts/5953>
52. Hertzke, A.(Ed.), The Future of Religious Freedom: Global Challenges.: Oxford University Press. 2012 Pg. 276
53. <http://disiliskiler.diyamet.gov.tr/sayfa/53/tanitim>
54. <https://www.diyamet.tv/-diyamet-102-ulkede>
55. <https://web.archive.org/web/20111219234720/http://www.diyamet.gov.tr/english/tanitim.asp?id=13>
56. <https://www.diyamet.gov.tr/tr-TR/Kurumsal/Detay//3/diyamet-isleri-baskanligi-temel-ilke-ve-hedefleri>
57. <https://www.diyamet.gov.tr/tr-TR/Kurumsal/TeskilatSemasi/4>
58. <https://tdv.org/tr-TR/kurumsal/#hakkimizda>
59. <https://tdvmedia.blob.core.windows.net/tdv/MedyaOdas%C4%B1/Raporlar/TDV%20-%20Faaliyet%20Raporu%20-%202016.pdf>
60. <https://tdv.org/tr-TR/>
61. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/turkey/2015-05-17/turkey-casts-diyamet>
62. <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2017/ekonomi/diyamet-butceyi-alt-ust-ediyor-2063795/>
63. <https://tdvmedia.blob.core.windows.net/tdv/MedyaOdas%C4%B1/Raporlar/TDV%20-%20Faaliyet%20Raporu%20-%202016.pdf>
64. <http://www.diken.com.tr/diyamet-in-yuzde-13-artan-butcesi-en-buyuk-pay-ahlaki-yozlasmayla-mucadelenin/>
65. <https://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/2017-butcesi-erdogan-ve-diyamet-e-yaradi-140878.html>
66. <https://www.turkeyanalyst.org/publications/turkey-analyst-articles/item/463-the-rise-of-diyamet-the-politicization-of-turkey%E2%80%99s-directorate-of-religious-affairs.html>
67. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-basortusu-ozgurluk-sorunu--siyaset-1301775/>
68. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/diger/195110/Bardakoglu_nun_veda_konusmasi.html
69. https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2010/10/18/basortusu_muslumanligin_on_sarti_degil & http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/diger/193510/_Ataturk_un_gosterdigi_onemi_kimseden_gormedik_.html

REFERENCES

70. <http://blog.milliyet.com.tr/prof--ali-bardakoglu-niye-gorevden-alindi-/Blog/?BlogNo=274204>
71. <https://odativ.com/bardakoglu-gorevinden-alindi-1111101200.html>
72. <https://odativ.com/bardakoglu-gorevinden-alindi-1111101200.html>
73. https://www.academia.edu/16948284/Kemalizmden_Erdoganizme_Turkiyede_Din_Devlet_ve_Makbul_Vatandas
74. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/diyanet-isleri-hizaya-16046809>
75. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/baskomutan-a-askerden-turban-tavri-siyaset-1307968/>
76. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/mehmet-gormez-kimdir-16271560>
77. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/turkey/turkey-s-top-cleric-retires-from-his-post/873444>
78. <https://www.diyanet.gov.tr/tr-TR/Kurumsal/Detay//1/diyanet-isleri-baskanligi-kurulus-ve-tarihcesi>
79. <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2010/07/20100713-2.htm>
80. <https://www.diyanet.gov.tr/tr-TR/Kurumsal/Detay//1/diyanet-isleri-baskanligi-kurulus-ve-tarihcesi>
81. <http://www2.diyanet.gov.tr/DinHizmetleriGenelMudurlugu/sayfalar/hutbelerlistesi.aspx>
82. http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2014/12/141212_17_25_aralik_operasyonu_neler_oldu_10_soruda
83. <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2014/gundem/cuma-hutbesinde-rusvet-sansuru-487747/>
84. <https://www.turkeyanalyst.org/publications/turkey-analyst-articles/item/463-the-rise-of-diyanet-the-politicization-of-turkey%E2%80%99s-directorate-of-religious-affairs.html>
85. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/turkey/2015-05-17/turkey-casts-diyanet>
86. <https://www.turkeyanalyst.org/publications/turkey-analyst-articles/item/463-the-rise-of-diyanet-the-politicization-of-turkey%E2%80%99s-directorate-of-religious-affairs.html>
87. <https://aa.com.tr/tr/15-temmuz-darbe-girisimi/15-temmuz-darbe-girisimi-ve-diyanet-in-tarihi-rolu/660288>
88. <http://t24.com.tr/haber/diyanetten-halka-cagri-siddete-basvurmadan-darbeye-karsi-koyun,350318>
89. <https://aa.com.tr/tr/15-temmuz-darbe-girisimi/15-temmuz-darbe-girisimi-ve-diyanet-in-tarihi-rolu/660288>
90. <http://www.dinihaberler.com/hutbe/21-temmuz-2016-tarihli-diyanet-hutbesi-h96391.html>
91. <http://www.haber7.com/guncel/haber/2059760-cuma-hutbesinde-carpici-15-temmuz-mesaji>
92. <https://www.economist.com/news/europe/21735032-diyanet-thinks-bitcoin-immoral-divorce-text-message-fine-turkeys-religious>

REFERENCES

93. <https://www.economist.com/news/europe/21735032-diyamet-thinks-bitcoin-immoral-divorce-text-message-fine-turkeys-religious>
94. <http://www.haberdar.com/gundem/imam-hatip-akp-nin-de-arka-bahcesi-oldu-h30173.html>
95. <https://odativ.com/3-dakikada-hap-gibi-imam-hatip-gercegi-08041847.html>
96. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/191-ilcede-tek-secenek-imam-hatip-siyaset-2518321/>
97. <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2012/04/25/erdogan-imam-hatip-akp-goz-bebegi-olacak>
98. http://web.archive.org/web/20170704232738/https://www.diyamet.gov.tr/UserFiles/CKUpload/Upload/istatistik_2016/2_1_cami_sayisi.xls
99. http://web.archive.org/web/20170705003020/http://diyamet.gov.tr/UserFiles/CKUpload/Upload/istatistik_2016/3_1_yerlesim_yerine_gore_Kuran_kursu_sayisi.xls
100. https://stratejigelistirme.diyamet.gov.tr/_layouts/download.aspx?SourceUrl=/Documents/3_1_yerlesim_yerine_gore_Kuran_kursu_sayisi.xls
101. <http://tdvcamiler.com/category/yurt-disi/> & https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/turkeys-influence-network-in-europe-is-leading-to_us_593571dae4b062a6ac0ad1c9
102. <https://yonetimhizmetleri.diyamet.gov.tr/Documents/Yurt%20D%C4%B1%C5%9F%C4%B1%20Camilerimiz.pdf>
103. <https://www.diyamet.tv/turkiye-diyamet-vakfindan-yurt-disi-egitim-atagi>
104. <http://disiliskiler.diyamet.gov.tr/Detay/224/din-hizmetleri-m%C3%BC%C5%9Favirli%C4%9Fi>
105. <http://disiliskiler.diyamet.gov.tr/Detay/223/din-hizmetleri-ata%C5%9Feli%C4%9Fi>
106. <http://www.myndighetenst.se/download/18.409379a2147cba3563a9c700/1408092148056/A+study+of+Diyamet.pdf>
107. <http://www.ditib.de/>
108. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/turkeys-influence-network-in-europe-is-leading-to_us_593571dae4b062a6ac0ad1c9
109. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/turkey/2015-05-17/turkey-casts-diyamet>
110. <https://globalriskinsights.com/2017/06/turkey-influence-network-europe/>
111. <http://diyamet.se/inc.php?p=camiiler>
112. <http://www.diyamet.be/Kurumsal/CamilerveDernekler.aspx>
113. <https://www.ditib.fr/>
114. <http://tdvcamiler.com/category/yurt-disi/>
115. <https://diyametamerica.org/dca-brochure/>

REFERENCES

116. <https://diyanetamerica.org/about-us/what-is-dca/>
117. <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-germany-turkey-spying/germany-raids-apartments-of-four-turkish-imams-suspected-of-spying-idUSKBN15U0XF>
118. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/197359-Belgium-to-cancel-license-of-Turkey-linked-mosque-on-espionage-charges>
119. <https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/03/09/turkish-spying-in-austria-the-austrian-government-orders-auditing-the-main-turkish-association-in-the-country/>
120. <https://nltimes.nl/2016/12/14/turkish-dutch-mosque-leader-accused-spying-erdogan>
121. <http://www.dw.com/en/turkish-imam-spy-affair-in-germany-extends-across-europe/a-37590672>
122. <https://turkeypurge.com/turkey-spying-imams-active-also-in-norway>
123. <https://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2054&artikel=6661315>
124. <http://www.dw.com/en/turkish-imam-spy-affair-in-germany-extends-across-europe/a-37590672>
125. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/03/27/erdogans-international-network-of-muslim-cleric-spies-turkey-germany-gulen-coup/>
126. <http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2017-02/ditib-islam-unterricht-tuerkei-universitaeten>
127. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/diyanet-gathers-intelligence-on-suspected-gulenists-via-imams-in-38-countries-107028>
128. Ibid
129. Diyanet does not report the number of the mosques abroad. However, there are reports for individual countries like 970 mosques controlled by Diyanet in Germany alone.
130. <http://www.baroturk.com/gazi-baskomiseri-tutuklamayan-hakim-sulh-cezadan-alindi-18022h.htm>
131. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/99209/Esrarengiz_kacis...Hakim__ismail_kac__diye_bagirdi_.html
132. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/egitim/859245/Egitim_Bir_Sen_den_ilginc_rapor___Yandas_bile_liyakat_dedi.html
133. <https://www.ft.com/content/1caf61e6-f397-11e6-8758-6876151821a6>
134. <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-germany-turkey-spying/germany-raids-apartments-of-four-turkish-imams-suspected-of-spying-idUSKBN15U0XF>
135. <https://stockholmcf.org/report-10-pro-erdogan-imams-accused-of-spying-fled-germany/#prettyPhoto/0/>
136. <http://www.dw.com/en/report-german-authorities-investigate-high-turkish-religious-official/a-38248062?maca=en-tco-dw>

REFERENCES

137. <http://www.dw.com/en/turkish-imam-spy-affair-in-germany-extends-across-europe/a-37590672>
138. <http://www.dw.com/en/report-turkeys-mit-agency-menacing-german-turks/a-19490657>
139. <https://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2054&artikel=6661315>
140. <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/flemish-minister-turkish-sponosred-mosque-is-nest-of-spies/>
141. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/197359-Belgium-to-cancel-license-of-Turkey-linked-mosque-on-espionage-charges>
142. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/belgium-rejects-visa-applications-of-turkish-imams--110875>
143. <https://nltimes.nl/2016/12/14/turkish-dutch-mosque-leader-accused-spying-erdogan>
144. Imams zijn geheim agenten van Erdoğan', Ahmet Taşkan, Algemene Dagblad, 19.08.2016
<http://www.ad.nl/dossier-nieuws/imams-zijn-geheim-agenten-van-Erdoğan~aa6b76e8/>
145. https://stockholmcf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Erdogan%E2%80%99s_long_arm_in_Europa_The_case_of_the_Netherlands_27.02.2017.pdf
146. <http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-38332738>
147. <http://www.dw.com/tr/t%C3%BCrkiye-casusluk-iddialar%C4%B1-%C3%BCzerine-laheydeki-ata%C5%9Fesini-geri-%C3%A7a%C4%9F%C4%B1rd%C4%B1/a-36864648>
148. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/imamlarla-ilgili-iddialar-hollandayi-karistirdi-40308476>
149. <https://www.turkinfo.nl/news-detail.php?id=18001>
150. <https://nltimes.nl/2017/03/15/polling-place-turkish-mosque-amsterdam-accused-pressuring-voters>
151. Ibid
152. Ibid
153. <https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/03/09/turkish-spying-in-austria-the-austrian-government-orders-auditing-the-main-turkish-association-in-the-country/>
154. <https://sofiaglobe.com/2017/03/17/bulgaria-to-return-its-ambassador-to-ankara-within-days-caretaker-pm/>
155. <https://stockholmcf.org/scandal-over-turkish-spy-imams-in-europe-reaches-to-norway/>
156. <https://m.theblacksea.eu/index.php?idT=88&idC=88&idRec=1302&recType=story>
157. <https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2017/06/29/turkeys-religious-head-calls-for-unity-warns-muslims-against-feto>
158. <https://stockholmcf.org/turkish-imam-in-australia-mobilizes-worshippers-to-spy-on-gulen-movement/>

REFERENCES

159. <http://www.newsweek.com/michael-rubin-why-turkey-spying-us-521986>
160. <https://diyanetamerica.org/about-us/>
161. https://web.archive.org/web/20091202091746/http://www.taccenter.org:80/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&layout=blog&id=7&Itemid=57
162. <https://diyanetamerica.org/about-us/what-is-dca/>
163. https://web.archive.org/web/20131209002618/http://taccenter.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=85&Itemid=287&lang=en
164. <https://web.archive.org/web/20080529054436/http://www.taccenter.org:80/aboutus.html>
165. <https://web.archive.org/web/20091201051543/http://www.taccenter.org/>
166. https://web.archive.org/web/20091202091746/http://www.taccenter.org:80/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&layout=blog&id=7&Itemid=57
167. <https://diyanetamerica.org/about-us/divine-ground-between-us/>
168. <https://web.archive.org/web/20080527085812/http://www.taccenter.org:80/ccproject.html>
169. <https://www.ntv.com.tr/dunya/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-abd-de-cami-acilisi-yapti,HmHuOgLLl0K6memhAIdKWw>
170. <https://diyanetamerica.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/diyanetcenterofamerica.pdf>
171. <https://diyanetamerica.org/about-us/what-is-dca/>
172. <http://www.muslimlinkpaper.com/community-news/community-news/3358-a-symbol-of-friendship.html>
173. https://web.archive.org/web/20131208235731/http://taccenter.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=86&Itemid=288&lang=en
174. <http://www.muslimlinkpaper.com/community-news/community-news/3358-a-symbol-of-friendship.html>
175. <https://diyanetamerica.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/diyanetcenterofamerica.pdf>
176. <https://web.archive.org/web/20150406143830/http://www.taccenter.org/>
177. <https://www.ntv.com.tr/dunya/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-abd-de-cami-acilisi-yapti,HmHuOgLLl0K6memhAIdKWw>
178. <https://www.dailysabah.com/turkey/2016/04/02/erdogan-opens-maryland-social-complex-and-mosque-in-us-with-message-of-peace-and-faith>
179. <http://www.muslimlinkpaper.com/community-news/community-news/3358-a-symbol-of-friendship.html>
180. <https://www.dailysabah.com/turkey/2016/04/02/erdogan-opens-maryland-social-complex-and-mosque-in-us-with-message-of-peace-and-faith>

REFERENCES

181. <https://diyanetamerica.org/about-us/divine-ground-between-us/>
182. <https://diyanetamerica.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/diyanetcenterofamerica.pdf>
183. <https://diyanetamerica.org/about-us/mission/>
184. <https://diyanetamerica.org/about-us/mission/>
185. <https://www.facebook.com/diyanetamerica/videos/1193660410764020/>
186. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/yasar-colak-aa23ba34/>
187. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/fatih-kanca-38b10a63/>
188. <https://diyanetamerica.org/about-us/departments/>
189. <https://diyanetamerica.org/mosques/bergen-diyane-mosque/>
190. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/ikinci-cami-dernek-baskanlari-toplantisi-sonra-erdi/>
191. <https://www.dailysabah.com/turkey/2016/04/02/erdogan-opens-maryland-social-complex-and-mosque-in-us-with-message-of-peace-and-faith>
192. <https://diyanetamerica.org/about-us/what-is-dca/>
193. <https://www.diyane.gov.tr/en-US>
194. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/fatih-kanca-38b10a63/>
195. <http://vasington.be.mfa.gov.tr/Mission/About>
196. <https://diyanetamerica.org/about-us/departments/>
197. <https://diyanetamerica.org/facility-rentals/>
198. <https://mariharsan.com/diyanet-center-america-turkish-mosque-engagement/>
199. <http://ayashaahmadphotography.com/blog/2017/10/zakiyya-isa-diyane-center-wedding-photography/>
200. <https://diyanetamerica.org/services/religious-services/nikah/>
201. <https://sarahandomarnikkah.zankyou.com/us/your-web>
202. <https://www.yelp.com/biz/diyanet-center-of-america-lanham-2>
203. <https://diyanetamerica.org/rentals/residential-houses/>
204. [https://www.yelp.com/biz/diyanet-center-of-america-lanham-2?hrid=6o2vp2d6FLYuRcAyemlffA&utm_campaign=www_review_share_popup&utm_medium=copy_link&utm_source=\(direct\)](https://www.yelp.com/biz/diyanet-center-of-america-lanham-2?hrid=6o2vp2d6FLYuRcAyemlffA&utm_campaign=www_review_share_popup&utm_medium=copy_link&utm_source=(direct))
205. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/coordination-meeting-with-turkish-religious-leaders-imams/>
206. <https://diyanetamerica.org/mosques/>

REFERENCES

207. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/coordination-meeting-with-turkish-religious-leaders-imams/>
208. Ibid
209. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/iv-din-gorevlileri-koordinasyon-toplantisi-sona-erdi/>
210. <http://www.dinihaberler.com/ataselikler/washingtonda-din-gorevlileri-koordinasyon-toplantisi-h83898.html>
211. <https://diyanetamerica.org/locations/kagem-dca/>
212. <http://diyanetinstitute.org>
213. <https://twitter.com/serdarkilic9/status/753263821729521664>
214. <https://diyanetamerica.org/events/papermarbling/>
215. <https://diyanetamerica.org/events/quranhalaqa/>
216. <https://diyanetamerica.org/events/littlelearners/>
217. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/summer-season-educational-programs-at-dca/>
218. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/2017-character-education-summer-program/>
219. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/turken-vakfi-kis-kampi-sona-erdi/>
220. <https://diyanetamerica.org/events/kagem/>
221. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/april-cooking-club-with-yvonne-maffei/>
222. <https://www.zakat.org/en/zf-sponsors-eid-festival-diyane-center-america/>
223. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/community-story-time-aminas-voice/>
224. <https://yaqeeninstitute.org/en/homepage/#>
225. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/october-27-friday-events-at-dca-complex/>
226. <http://www.civilfreedoms.org/>
227. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/october-27-friday-events-at-dca-complex/>
228. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/the-opening-ceremony-surah-al-fatiha-with-fawakih-institute/>
229. <http://www.fawakih.com/>
230. <http://www.belovedgatherings.org/gathering/dc-area-portrait-of-a-prophet-weekend-dalia-mogahed-hassan-lachheb-more/>
231. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/kagem-dca-hosted-bridge-america/>
232. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/diyanet-center-of-america-serves-as-safe-island-for-the-turkish-americans/>
233. <http://ummah.events/dca/muslim-youth-in-america-opportunities-challenges-ahead>
234. <http://www.tsicus.com/>

REFERENCES

235. <https://diyanetamerica.org/events/refugee-women-on-the-axis-of-the-middle-east-and-europe-from-a-female-perspective/>
236. <http://diyanetinstitute.org/research-projects/oral-history-series-dr-hisham-altalib/>
237. <http://diyanetinstitute.org/meetings/diyanet-institute-hosts-talk-on-alexander-russell-webb-by-dr-celal-emanet/>
238. <http://diyanetinstitute.org/meetings/islam-cosmopolitanism-and-globalism-workshop-december-2015/#more>
239. <http://icnama.org/991-2/>
240. <http://irusa.org>
241. <http://diyanetinstitute.org/meetings/conversations-on-islam-in-america-series-ii-islam-and-the-secular-academy-in-the-us-by-ovamir-anjum/>
242. <https://diyanetamerica.org/events/comedyshow/>
243. <https://www.facebook.com/events/1497197547069820/>
244. <http://www.ihu.edu.tr/en/turkish-american-youth-academy/>
245. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/dca-organizes-panel-opens-booth-at-icna-mas-convention-in-baltimore/>
246. <https://twitter.com/DiyanetAmerica/status/716103373683105792>
247. <https://www.iiit.org/research.html>
248. http://thestamp.umd.edu/memorial_chapel/chaplains
249. <https://www.mlfa.org/team-page/ayman-aishat/#.Wt6Vo4jwbAQ>
250. <https://www.ampalestine.org/newsroom/amp-board-member-dr-osama-abu-irshaid-visits-us-state-department> & <http://www.masicna.com/osama-abuirshaid.html>
251. <https://www.almaghrib.org/instructors/mohammed-faqih>
252. <http://furqaanproject.org/learn-to-give-dawah/>
253. <https://twitter.com/ImamSuhaibWebb>
254. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/what-is-our-executive-order/>
255. <http://www2.diyanet.gov.tr/dinhizmetlerigenelmudurlugu/sayfalar/hutbelerlistesi.aspx>
256. <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/12188/erdogan-magic-spell>
257. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/927625/Diyanet_ten_Afrin_icin_hutbe__Silahli_mucadele__cihadin_en_ust_seviyesidir.html
258. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/927625/Diyanet_ten_Afrin_icin_hutbe__Silahli_mucadele__cihadin_en_ust_seviyesidir.html
259. http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/beliefs/jihad_1.shtml

REFERENCES

260. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/coordination-meeting-with-turkish-religious-leaders-imams/>
261. <https://aa.com.tr/en/turkey/us-turkish-religious-leader-warns-americans-about-feto/1029736>
262. http://tarf-virginia.org/en_US/about-us/
263. <https://www.haberler.com/amerika-da-uc-eyalette-uc-yeni-cami-aciliyor-ozel-haberi/>
264. <http://www.diyansiliconvalley.org/>
265. http://tarf-virginia.org/tr_TR/weekend-school/
266. http://tarf-virginia.org/en_US/about-us/
267. <http://www.ditib.de/>
268. <http://www.selimiyecamii.org/index.php>
269. http://tarf-virginia.org/en_US/vision-mission/
270. <http://vasington.be.mfa.gov.tr/Mission>
271. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/mehmet-ulutas-5a82bb24/>
272. <https://www.myfloridalicense.com/LicenseDetail.asp?SID=&id=0783B47B41BE6DDA0AFCA3E8D2284B8A>
273. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/fatih-kanca-38b10a63/>
274. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/president-fatih-kanca-visits-pennsylvania/>
275. http://www2.diyaret.gov.tr/DiniYay%C4%B1nlarGenelMudurlugu/DergiDokumanlar/Bulten/2018/nisan_bulten.pdf pg 43, <http://theanatoliapost.com/2018/03/30/koruyucu-ailenin-onemi-abdde-cuma-hutbesinde-anlatildi/>
276. <https://bit.ly/2Nvncq4>
277. <http://newyork.cg.mfa.gov.tr/Mission/Index>
278. <https://diyanetamerica.org/about-us/departments/>
279. <https://www.manta.com/c/mtmltzj/yho-trucking-llc>
280. <https://diyanetamerica.org/mosques/burlington-selimiye-mosque/>
281. <https://www.mapquest.com/us/new-jersey/selimiye-mosque-369385180>
282. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/yener-hendenoglu-35525338/>
283. <http://www.selimiyecamii.org/index.php>
284. <http://turkusanewspaper.com/yener-handenoglu-bugun-haitiye-gidiyor/>
285. <https://diyanetamerica.org/mosques/diyaret-mosque-of-kentucky-akhiskan-turks/>
286. <https://diyanetamerica.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Seerah-Contest-Locations.pdf>
287. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/mehmet-ulutas-5a82bb24/>

REFERENCES

288. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/yasar-colak-aa23ba34/>
289. <http://iss.ihs.edu.tr/en/yasar-colak-2/>
290. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/dr-yasar-colak-social-and-religious-affairs-counselor-visit-bermuda-muslim-community/>
291. <https://bit.ly/2WWGI1t>
292. <http://newyork.cg.mfa.gov.tr/Mission/Index>
293. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/new-yorkda-kutlu-dogum-programi-duzenlendi/>
294. <http://www.troygranite.com/contact-us/>
295. <http://www.musiad.us/>
296. <http://www.musiad.us/teams/mustafa-tuncer/>
297. <https://diyanetamerica.org/contact/>
298. <http://www2.diyanet.gov.tr/YonetimHizmetleri/Sayfalar/HaberDetay.aspx?rid=51&lst=HaberlerListesi>
299. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/president-of-diyanet-visit-usa/>
300. <http://www.turkishny.com/interviews/40-interviews/167564-bir-toplumun-donusumundeki-en-onemli-unsur-kadinlardir>
301. <http://www.saltzmanevinch.com/ap-poturoglu.php>
302. <http://www.saltzmanevinch.com/index.php>
303. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/efe-poturoglu-3027474/>
304. <http://www.saltzmanevinch.com/ap-poturoglu.php>
305. <https://diyanetamerica.org/mosques/new-haven-diyanet-mosque/>
306. <https://diyanetamerica.org/mosques/long-island-mawlana-diyanet-mosque/>
307. <https://www.haberler.com/amerika-da-uc-eyalette-uc-yeni-cami-aciliyor-ozel-haberi/>
308. <https://diyanetamerica.org/mosques/bergen-diyanet-mosque/>
309. http://tarf-virginia.org/en_US/
310. http://tarf-virginia.org/en_US/board/
311. <https://diyanetamerica.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Seerah-Contest-Locations.pdf>
312. <https://www.facebook.com/Turkish-American-Religious-Foundation-Virginia-beach-Mosque-699621006898976/>
313. http://tarf-virginia.org/en_US/donate/
314. <https://twitter.com/DiyanetAmerica/status/953653476676001792?s=20>
315. <http://www.musiad.us/teams/mustafa-tuncer/>

REFERENCES

316. <https://issuu.com/forumusa>
317. <http://www.forumusa.com/about/>
318. <http://www.forumusa.com>
319. <http://www.globaldailynews.com/>
320. <http://www.forumusa.com/global-daily-news-yayin-hayatina-basladi/>
321. <http://www.forumusa.com/about/>
322. http://www.turkavenue.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4831:forum-gazetesini-isadami-mustafa-tuncer-satin-aldi&catid=102:basari-hikayeleri&Itemid=643
323. <http://www.musiad.us/>
324. <http://www.forumusa.com/about/staff-kunye/>
325. <http://www.forumusa.com/global-daily-news-yayin-hayatina-basladi/>
326. <http://www.forumusa.com/musiad-abd-baskani-mustafa-tuncer-milletvekili-aday-adayi-oldu/>
327. <http://www.forumusa.com/ekonomik-darbe-girisimi-olarak-ap-karari/>
328. <https://stockholmcf.org/musiads-ads-on-turkeys-controversial-coup-not-allowed-in-us-for-being-too-political/>
329. <http://www.forumusa.com/musiad-abdnin-15-temmuz-tanitimlarina-washingtonda-engel/>
330. <https://issuu.com/forumusa/docs/forumusa-ramazan-magazine>
331. https://issuu.com/forumusa/docs/amerika_da_ramazan_2017-compressed
332. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/yasar-colak-aa23ba34/>
333. <https://www.linkedin.com/company/turkish-heritage-organization/>
334. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/about-us>
335. <http://www.irsexempt.com/472457279?view=990-n&year=2014>
336. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/about-us>
337. Red Hack, a Turkish Marxist-Leninist hacker group, hacked Berat Albayrak's emails and WikiLeaks released those emails as a searchable archive on December 5, 2016.
338. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/article>
339. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/10397>
340. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/42479>
341. <http://dailycaller.com/2017/03/15/revealed-turkeys-plan-to-camouflage-its-lobbying-activities-in-the-us/>

REFERENCES

342. <http://nycturk.com/ali-cinar-turkish-heritage-vakfinin-yeni-baskani-oldu/>
- * <https://ahvalnews.com/us-turkey/us-congresswoman-omar-received-donation-erdogan-ally-last-month-report>
343. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/about-us/tho-team>
344. <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/472457279/201830409349300223/IRS990>
345. Ibid
346. Ibid
347. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/yenal-kucuker-92309626/>
348. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/events/tho-organizes-roundtable-for-turkish-foreign-minister-5454>
349. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/events/tho-organizes-panel-discussion-on-turkeys-snap-elections-and-the-impact-on-us-turkey-relations-5419>
350. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/events/tho-organizes-panel-discussion-on-the-implications-of-washingtons-shifting-syria-policy-for-us-turkey-relations-5308>
351. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/events/tho-teleconference-offers-update-on-operation-olive-branch-5267>
352. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/publications/tho-statements/thos-statement-on-president-trumps-jerusalem-declaration-4991>
353. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/publications/tho-statements/thos-statement-on-visa-crisis-and-the-us--turkey-relations-4758>
354. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/publications/turkish-heritage-weekly-review/newsletter-archive-2018>
355. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/about-us/advisory-board>
356. <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/turkish-heritage-organization-announces-three-new-advisory-board-members-300084312.html>
357. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/support>
358. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/1758>
359. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/10397>
360. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/1758>
361. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-01-09/in-turkey-erdogans-construction-projects-draw-corruption-probe>
362. <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2015/ekonomi/akkuyunun-hidroelektrik-ihalesi-cengiz-insaat-797887/>

REFERENCES

363. <https://www.airlinehaber.com/3-havalimani-maliyeti-35-milyar-dolar/>
364. <http://www.makyo.com.tr/en/projects?tur=10>
365. <https://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/yuru-ya-kulum-denen-6-sirket-104583.html>
366. <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-26348852/turkey-pm-erdogan-faces-corruption-claim>
367. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2014/12/141212_17_25_aralik_operasyonu_neler_oldu_10_soruda
368. <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/report/power-and-corruption-in-erdogans-turkey-context-and-consequences/>
369. <http://www.haberturk.com/ekonomi/para/haber/909459-7-isadaminin-hisselerine-el-kondu>
370. <https://www.ft.com/content/ef8b4e0e-72d5-11e3-b05b-00144feabdc0>
371. <http://igairport.com/en/about-iga/about-us>
372. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/foto/foto_galeri/868830/1/Millete_kufreden_Mehmet_Cengiz_Erdogan_in_helikopterinde.html
373. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/103021/Havuzda_paralar_boyle_depolandi.html
374. <http://www.diken.com.tr/9-soruda-sabah-atv-satisi/>
375. <https://www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/private/person.asp?personId=60445821&privcapId=43976112>
376. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/>
377. https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/?q=&mfrom=danismaz%40gmail.com&mto=&title=¬itle=&date_from=&date_to=&nofrom=¬o=&count=50&sort=1#searchresult
378. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/53274>
379. <http://dailycaller.com/2017/03/15/revealed-turkeys-plan-to-camouflage-its-lobbying-activities-in-the-us/>
380. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/53274>
381. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/53274>
382. <http://dailycaller.com/2017/03/15/revealed-turkeys-plan-to-camouflage-its-lobbying-activities-in-the-us/>
383. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/53274>
384. <http://dailycaller.com/2017/03/15/revealed-turkeys-plan-to-camouflage-its-lobbying-activities-in-the-us/>

REFERENCES

385. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/americas/turkey-needs-stronger-lobby-in-us-turkish-ngo-head/870093>
386. <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/04/25/michael-flynn-turkey-russia-237550>
387. <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/library/power-and-corruption-in-erdogans-turkey-context-and-consequences/>
388. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/draining-the-swamp-of-turkish-influence_us_59bf17dbe4b0390a1564def5
389. <http://freebeacon.com/politics/clinton-campaign-warned-turkeys-erdogan-attempting-buy-favor/> & <http://www.defenddemocracy.org/media-hit/dr-aykan-erdemir-clinton-campaign-was-warned-that-turkeys-erdogan-was-attempting-to-buy-favo/>
390. <http://dailycaller.com/2017/03/15/revealed-turkeys-plan-to-camouflage-its-lobbying-activities-in-the-us/>
391. <http://www.newsweek.com/michael-rubin-are-western-journalists-too-afraid-report-truth-turkey-516752>
392. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/48619>
393. <https://twitter.com/stevenacook/status/780796321947058176>
394. <http://www.musiad.us/ibrahim-uyar-with-abdullah-gul-3/>
395. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/42479>
396. <http://www.musiad.us/about-us/>
397. <http://www.musiad.us/teams/mustafa-tuncer/>
398. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/42479>
399. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/murat-guzel-67140617/>
400. <http://www.nimeks.com/p.php?PID=home>
401. <http://dailycaller.com/2016/12/07/exclusive-dnc-official-shared-political-intel-with-turkish-government-officials-paid-for-pro-turkey-op-ed/>
402. <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10154458457869561&set=pb.589319560.-2207520000.1481087150.&type=3&theater>
403. https://twitter.com/muratguzel_usa?lang=en
404. <http://origin-ny1.thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/campaign/304032-hillary-clinton-can-expand-the-american-dream-to-immigrants>
405. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/46178>
406. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/46178>

REFERENCES

407. <http://dailycaller.com/2016/12/07/exclusive-dnc-official-shared-political-intel-with-turkish-government-officials-paid-for-pro-turkey-op-ed/>
408. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/49673>
409. <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/oct/19/dan-burton-why-turkey-matters/>
410. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/49673>
411. <http://freebeacon.com/politics/clinton-campaign-warned-turkeys-erdogan-attempting-buy-favor/>
412. <https://wikileaks.org/clinton-emails/>
413. <https://www.americanprogress.org/about/staff/werz-michael/bio/>
414. <http://freebeacon.com/politics/clinton-campaign-warned-turkeys-erdogan-attempting-buy-favor/>
415. <https://wikileaks.org/podesta-emails/emailid/36009>
416. <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?201509039001604556>
417. <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?201609209031157568>
418. <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?201610209034459724>
419. <http://docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/fecimg/?201608209023601863>
420. <http://freebeacon.com/politics/clinton-campaign-warned-turkeys-erdogan-attempting-buy-favor/>
421. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/53274>
422. https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/?q=&mfrom=danismaz%40gmail.com&mto=&title=¬itle=&date_from=&date_to=&nofrom=¬o=&count=50&sort=1#searchresult
423. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/support>
424. <http://igairport.com/en/about-iga/about-us>
425. <http://www.tr724.com/yandas-isadamlarina-davetiye-usuluyle-verilen-ihaleler-36-milyara-ulasti/>
426. <https://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/cengiz-holding-in-onlenemez-yukselisi-2017-de-8-kamu-ihalesi-200861.html>
427. <https://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/ihale-pastasindan-en-cok-yandas-yedi-204112.html>
428. <https://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/iktidarin-gozbebekleri-dunyanin-zirvesinde-turkiye-yi-boyle-yagmaladilar-217183.html>
429. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/46813>

REFERENCES

430. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/12185>
431. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/1530>
432. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/11473>
433. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/24955>
434. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/22263>
435. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/28483>
436. <http://www.mei.edu/profile/g%C3%B6n%C3%BCl-tol>
437. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/28483>
438. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/12430>
439. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/>
440. <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/06/27/michael-flynn-lobbying-client-239974>
441. <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/04/25/michael-flynn-turkey-russia-237550>
442. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/6424>
443. <http://www.aei.org/publication/will-turkeys-assassinations-reach-america/>
444. <https://www.dailydot.com/layer8/redhack-turkey-albayrak-censorship/>
445. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/57443>
446. <http://www.aei.org/publication/will-turkeys-assassinations-reach-america/>
447. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/14563>
448. <https://robertamsterdam.com/>
449. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/14563>
450. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/6818>
451. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/14388>
452. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/14563>
453. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/14388>
454. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/14388>
455. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/14388>
456. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/16219>
457. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1nT4-lwEKts>
458. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2014/03/140320_times_erdogan
459. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/14563>
460. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2013/12/131230_times_erdogan_tehdit

REFERENCES

461. http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/siyaset/44675/_Bilal_evdeki_paralari_sifirla__.html
462. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cvf4aeRLu0E>
463. <http://www.diken.com.tr/erdoganin-paralari-sifirlama-trafigi/>
464. <http://web.archive.org/web/20140226202449/http://todayszaman.com/news-340552-full-transcript-of-voice-recording-purportedly-of-turkish-pm-erdogan-and-his-son.html>
465. <http://yourmiddleeast.com/2014/02/25/sound-recordings-expose-erdoganaes-corruption-although-he-claims-they-are-false-ae-heres-a-translation-of-what-was-said/>
466. <http://odatv.com/ve-sehrizar-konaklarindan-alinan-daireler-dogrulandi-1309141200.html>
467. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/01/06/why-turkeys-mother-of-all-corruption-scandals-refuses-to-go-away/>
468. <https://web.archive.org/web/20161205193735/http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2014/02/27/ses-kaydi-degistirilmis-veya-montajlanmis> & <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26336354>
469. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kelebek/magazin/sevenleri-attila-ozdemirogluna-kostu-40092155>
470. <https://twitter.com/attilao/status/438085637020061696>
471. <https://web.archive.org/web/20191003150309/https://www.vocativ.com/380917/wikileaks-turkey-corruption/>
472. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/49863>
473. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/41022>
474. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/2882>
475. <https://www.johnmarshallmedia.com/>
476. <http://kaleidoscopesound.com/>
477. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/25423>
478. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/6529>
479. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/56118>
480. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/15996>
481. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/33633>
482. <http://www.vocativ.com/380917/wikileaks-turkey-corruption/>
483. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/36750>
484. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/56118>
485. <http://www.platform24.org/guncel/187/abd-skandal-dedi>
486. <https://web.archive.org/web/20161205193735/http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2014/02/27/ses-kaydi-degistirilmis-veya-montajlanmis>

REFERENCES

487. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-recording-studios-embroiled-in-sprawling-turkish-government-scandal-1393633164>
488. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-recording-studios-embroiled-in-sprawling-turkish-government-scandal-1393633164>
489. <https://www.facebook.com/john.cheary/posts/10152027431618995>
490. <https://www.facebook.com/KaleidoscopeSound/posts/10151893352721073>
491. <http://www.haber7.com/guncel/haber/1132841-abdli-iki-adli-ses-uzmanindan-ses-kaydi-analizi>
492. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/2036>
493. <https://wikileaks.org/berats-box/emailid/57541>
494. <https://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2017/11/20/iste-halkbank-kumpasinin-perde-arkasi>
495. As spelled in English
496. <https://www.zakat.org/en/about-us/our-team/>
497. <https://www.zakat.org/en/contact-us/>
498. <https://www.zakat.org/en/about-us/>
499. <https://www.zakat.org/en/where-we-work/>
500. <https://www.zakat.org/en/where-we-work/turkey/>
501. <https://www.facebook.com/zakatus/photos/a.156189314419724.27852.102989323073057/1750600068311966/?type=3&theater>
502. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/52397/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-abddeki-musluman-toplumu-temsalcileriyle-bulustu.html>
503. <https://www.zakat.org/en/zf-executive-director-meets-president-erdogan-un-general-assembly/>
504. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/21/us/erdogan-new-york.html>
505. <https://www.facebook.com/zakatDE/photos/a.647056795343719.1073741827.647053232010742/1028464767202918/?type=3&theater>
506. <https://www.zakat.org/wp-content/uploads/ZF-Newsletter-2016.pdf>
507. THE ROLE OF ISLAMIC CHARITIES IN INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST RECRUITMENT AND FINANCING Evan F. Kohlmann <http://strateias.org/diis.pdf>
508. <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/po3632.aspx>
509. <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/po3632.aspx>
510. <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20160419/104817/HHRG-114-FA18-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160419.pdf>

REFERENCES

511. Internal Revenue Service, Form 990: Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax, "Benevolence International Foundation," 2001, accessed via GuideStar. (<http://www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2001/363/823/2001-363823186-1-9.pdf>). The forms states that "Books are in care of Halil I. Demir."
512. <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/po3632.aspx>
513. Ibid
514. https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/01/turkish_counterterro.php
515. Ahmet S Yayla, "IHH: The Nonprofit Face of Jihadism," ICT, the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, May 2019.
516. https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/sheryl-saperia/terrorism-ihh-turkey_b_4704063.html
517. <https://web.archive.org/web/20111227232648/http://caipirinhafoundation.org:80/>
518. <http://culturesofresistance.org/>
519. https://web.archive.org/web/20111226085650/http://caipirinhafoundation.org/?page_id=6
520. <https://www.ihh.org.tr/en/haber/gazze-ozgurluk-filosu-489>
521. <http://www.bbc.com/news/10203726>
522. <http://www.bbc.com/news/10203726> BBC, Mavi Marmara: Why did Israel stop the Gaza flotilla?,
523. https://web.archive.org/web/20120504153250/http://www.zakat.org/where_we_work/campaign/palestine/palestine_relief/
524. https://web.archive.org/web/20140708044918/http://www.zakat.org/where_we_work/campaign/palestine/palestine_relief/
525. Israel's Blockade of Gaza and the 'Mavi Marmara' Incident by Carol Migdalovitz, pg 4 (is this a book? Article?) Book
526. <https://web.archive.org/web/20041018195705/http://www.tzfa.org/qa/g/afg13b.jpg>
527. THE ROLE OF ISLAMIC CHARITIES IN INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST RECRUITMENT AND FINANCING Evan F. Kohlmann <http://strateias.org/diis.pdf>
528. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qWJRv6PBfyw>
529. <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/hp1267.aspx>
530. <https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/terrorist-illicit-finance/Pages/protecting-union-of-good.aspx>
531. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/cautious-banks-hinder-charity-financing-1459349551>
532. https://www.ffi.gov/bsa_aml_infobase/pages_manual/OLM_015.htm
533. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/cautious-banks-hinder-charity-financing-1459349551>

REFERENCES

534. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/kuliyemizde-buyukelcilik-iftari/>
535. <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/buyukelci-kilictan-amerika-diyanet-merkezinde-iftar/837782?amp=1>
536. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/president-of-diyanet-visit-usa/>
537. <http://chicago.cg.mfa.gov.tr/Mission>
538. <https://www.haberler.com/feto-nun-darbe-girisimine-dunyadan-tepkiler-8617407-haberi/>
539. <http://www.iha.com.tr/haber-15-temmuz-yil-donumunde-chicago-da-demokrasi-nobetinde-658618/>
540. <https://www.facebook.com/zakatus/photos/a.156189314419724.27852.102989323073057/1259932977378680/?type=3&theater>
541. <https://twitter.com/TRConsulChicago/status/813992189256724480>
542. https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=852079728242755&id=121427167974685
543. <http://www.gazetevatan.com/basbakan-yardimcisi-kurtulmus-abd-de-982917-gundem/>
544. https://issuu.com/forumusa/docs/forum_usa-188-june
545. <https://ahvalnews.com/muslim-brotherhood/turkey-becomes-biggest-muslim-brotherhood-backer-world>
546. <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20160419/104817/HHRG-114-FA18-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160419.pdf> & Conference Program, American Muslims for Palestine, 2014, page 29; Conference Program, American Muslims for Palestine, 2015, page 6.
547. https://2015ampconference.sched.com/speaker/khalil_demir.1uj4wwmf
548. <http://www.icna.org/muslims-unite-at-13th-mas-icna-in-chicago/>
549. <https://www.zakat.org/en/join-zf-and-teamyateem-at-mas-icna-2014/>
550. <http://www.worldbulletin.net/muslim-world/151984/muslims-unite-at-13th-mas-icna-in-chicago>
551. <https://www.zakat.org/en/mas-icna-2015-3/>
552. <https://www.haberler.com/15-temmuz-ve-darbeye-direnen-kahramanlar-9102542-haberi/>
553. <http://www.icna.org/turkey-to-have-large-presence-at-annual-islamic-convention-in-chicago/>
554. <http://www.forumusa.com/15-temmuz-ve-darbeye-direnen-kahramanlar-toplantisi/>
555. https://www.facebook.com/pg/zakatus/photos/?tab=album&album_id=1616203811751593
556. <https://www.zakat.org/en/zakat-foundation-of-americas-icna-mas-presence-noticeable/>

REFERENCES

557. <https://www.zakat.org/en/zf-joins-icna-mas-convention-baltimore/>
558. <https://www.zakat.org/en/zakat-foundation-america-represented-mas-milwaukee-convention/>
559. <https://www.facebook.com/zakatus/photos/a.1463935473645095.1073741991.102989323073057/1463953450309964/?type=3&theater>
560. <https://www.zakat.org/en/sponsor-53rd-annual-isna-convention/>
561. <https://www.zakat.org/en/zakat-foundation-america-participates-isna-convention/>
562. <https://www.zakat.org/en/zf-promotes-education-initiatives-at-isna-2014/>
563. <https://www.scribd.com/document/235316208/Muslim-Brotherhood-Plan-US-Settlement-Project>
564. <http://www.isna.net/>
565. <https://www.frontpagemag.com/fpm/98034/three-ways-tell-if-muslim-charity-supports-jihad-david-swindle>
566. <https://www.zakat.org/en/zf-welcomes-former-secretary-general-isna-staff/>
567. <https://www.zakat.org/en/zf-sponsors-local-event-syria/>
568. <http://msanational.org/blog/msa-national-report-card-and-curriculum/>
569. <https://www.zakat.org/en/start-successful-halaqa-group-masjid/>
570. <https://www.zakat.org/en/creating-personal-budget-2/>
571. <https://www.zakat.org/en/starting-food-pantry-whats-dinner/>
572. <https://www.zakat.org/en/zf-rushes-emergency-aid-to-somali-cyclone-survivors/>
573. <https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2015/07/08/director-of-mosque-linked-to-muslim-brotherhood-seeks-release-of-islamic-state-supporters/>
574. <https://www.zakat.org/wp-content/uploads/zakat-book-1.pdf>
575. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/islam-s-spiritual-dear-abby-the-voice-of-egypt-s-muslim-brotherhood-a-745526.html>
576. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/01/yusuf-al-qaradawi-sentenced-life-prison-egypt-180118065805129.html>
577. <https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/01/terrorist-groups-american-charities-fund-ufa-amas-dawah-social-services/>
578. <https://www.facebook.com/ufa2003.12/photos/a.1580713518816350.1073741830.1579867135567655/1698572460363788/?type=3&theater>
579. <http://www.uscmo.org/>
580. <https://www.cair.com/press-center/press-releases/12400-us-muslim-groups-to-launch-new-council-with-political-census.html>

REFERENCES

581. <http://www.uscmo.org/founding-members/>
582. <http://www.masicna.com/oussama-jammal.html>
583. <https://www.globalmbwatch.com/2014/03/12/us-muslim-brotherhood-to-launch-latest-umbrella-group/>
584. Please see USCMO exhibit
585. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/52401/president-erdogan-meets-with-representatives-of-muslim-community-in-the-us.html>
586. <http://uscmo.net/index.php/portfolio-items/video-post/#prettyPhoto>
587. <https://www.investigativeproject.org/5492/will-turkey-new-diplomatic-push-reduce-its>
588. <https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2015/04/20/us-muslim-organization-calls-for-proper-study-of-1915-events-denies-genocide-claims>
589. <http://www.uscmo.org/pressreleases/>
590. <https://www.dailysabah.com/americas/2015/05/25/us-muslim-ngos-praise-turkey-and-president-erdogan-for-support-to-morsi>
591. Ibid
592. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/world/us-muslim-leaders-hail-erdogan-for-islamic-leadership/1591054>
593. Ibid
594. Ibid
595. <https://www.haberler.com/feto-nun-darbe-girisimine-dunyadan-tepkiler-8617407-haberi/>
596. <https://www.muslimamericansociety.org/content/uscmo-rally-for-jerusalem/>
597. <https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2017/12/20/turkish-president-erdogan-declared-ummah-leader-at-washington-dc-muslim-brotherhood-rally-condemning-trump-recognition-of-jerusalem/>
598. <https://aa.com.tr/en/americas/thousands-in-washington-protest-us-jerusalem-decision/1007136>
599. <https://www.investigativeproject.org/5492/will-turkey-new-diplomatic-push-reduce-its>
600. <https://aa.com.tr/en/americas/trumps-jerusalem-plans-reckless-and-dangerous-/991780>
601. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-people-ali-erdogan/turkeys-erdogan-cuts-short-u-s-trip-for-muhammad-ali-tribute-idUSKCN0YW1C9>
602. <https://www.pri.org/stories/2016-06-10/turkeys-president-went-kentucky-speak-alis-funeral-then-he-couldnt>
603. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkeys-erdogan-cuts-us-trip-short-without-attending-muhammad-ali-burial-100320>

REFERENCES

604. Ibid
605. <https://www.voanews.com/a/a-13-muhammad-ali-sells-80-percent-of-marketing-rights-to-his-name-likeness-for-50-million-dollars/315077.html>
606. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/president-erdogan-to-call-for-joint-global-stance-against-terror-at-un-meet-104000>
607. <https://counterjihadreport.com/2017/04/03/nato-ally-turkey-working-with-u-s-muslim-brotherhood/>
608. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/52401/president-erdogan-meets-with-representatives-of-muslim-community-in-the-us.html>
609. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/muslim-cleric-mohammad-qatanani-at-one-of-new-jerseys-largest-mosques-fights-deportation/>
610. <http://www.familysecuritymatters.org/publications/detail/jamal-badawi-enduring-link-to-isnas-radical-past>
611. <http://www.meforum.org/6439/worst-of-the-2016-mas-icna-speakers>
612. <https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2017/04/03/nato-ally-turkey-working-with-u-s-muslim-brotherhood/>
613. <http://www.icna.org/muslims-unite-at-13th-mas-icna-in-chicago/>
614. <http://www.worldbulletin.net/muslim-world/151984/muslims-unite-at-13th-mas-icna-in-chicago>
615. <http://www.icna.org/turkey-to-have-large-presence-at-annual-islamic-convention-in-chicago/>
616. <https://www.dailysabah.com/americas/2016/12/26/turkey-to-have-large-presence-at-annual-islamic-convention-in-chicago>
617. <https://www.zakat.org/en/about-us/our-team/>
618. Exhibit
619. <https://www.frontpagemag.com/fpm/245089/suhaib-webb-goes-washington-andrew-harrod>
620. <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/may/27/local/la-me-american-imam-20110527>
621. https://www.scribd.com/doc/150475229/FBI-Document-118853482-FBI-Files-1#download&from_embed
622. <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/LAW/03/09/al.amin.verdict/index.html>
623. <http://dailycaller.com/2013/06/27/dzhokhar-tsarnaevs-imam-shares-ties-with-senior-al-qaeda-operative/>
624. <https://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2017/01/03/mas-icna-2016-the-power-of-prayer>

REFERENCES

625. <https://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2017/01/03/mas-icna-2016-the-power-of-prayer>
626. <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20160419/104817/HHRG-114-FA18-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160419.pdf>
627. <https://www.facebook.com/masiconvention/videos/1462734257100583/>
628. <https://www.ampalestine.org/about-amp/staff>
629. http://www.copleydc.net/cns_links/terrorism/fbi%20report.pdf
630. <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20160419/104817/HHRG-114-FA18-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160419.pdf>
631. http://www.copleydc.net/cns_links/terrorism/fbi%20report.pdf
632. <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international-american-muslims-for-palestine-2013-03-29-v1.pdf>
633. <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20160419/104817/HHRG-114-FA18-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160419.pdf>
634. <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international-american-muslims-for-palestine-2013-03-29-v1.pdf>
635. <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20160419/104817/HHRG-114-FA18-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160419.pdf> Matthew Levitt, Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), page 78.
636. <http://dailycaller.com/2016/12/28/ex-hamas-financier-spotted-with-turkish-presidents-daughter-at-us-muslim-convention-video/>
637. http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/879.pdf#page=2
638. Ibid
639. <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20160419/104817/HHRG-114-FA18-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160419.pdf> Abdul Jaleel Al-Bukhari, “نيطسلف الكريم أب لئاسي رضاح ل بقت سم او (رمتؤم) Palestine Conference in the United States Explores the Present and the Future,” Al Jazeera (Qatar), November 30, 2015. (<http://www.aljazeera.net/news/reportsandinterviews/2015/11/30/رمتؤم-نيطسلف-الكريم-أب-لئاسي-رضاح-ل-ل-بقت-سم-او>)
640. <https://aa.com.tr/en/americas/16th-annual-mas-icna-convention-kicks-off-in-chicago/1017712>
641. <https://www.yenisafak.com/en/news/world-is-bigger-than-five-much-bigger-than-one-says-erdogan-after-un-vote-on-jerusalem-2911190>
642. <https://www.dirilispostasi.com/dunya/erdogandan-mas-icna-kongresinde-amerika-ve-israile-kudus-uyarisi-5a78446a18e54028cc0b0306>
643. <https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2017/12/30/erdogandan-mas-icna-kongresinde-abd-ve-israile-kudus-uyarisi>

REFERENCES

644. <https://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/turkey-s-akp-adopts-muslim-brotherhood-s-rabia-sign-in-its-bylaws-160493.html>
645. <https://youtu.be/u9loPnwRpvM?t=15>
646. <https://aa.com.tr/tr/pg/foto-galeri/amerikali-musulmanlarin-yillik-kongresi-mas-icna-suruyor>
647. <http://www.masicna.com/uploads/9/0/6/7/90672185/program-web.pdf>
648. <https://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/amerikali-musulmanlarin-yillik-kongresi-mas-icna-chicago-da-devam-ediyor/1018482>
649. Ibid
650. <http://www.cair.com/about-us/vision-mission-core-principles.html>
651. <http://www.cair.com/about-us.html>
652. <https://www.frontpagemag.com/point/267660/mgm-resorts-fight-bigotry-donating-anti-semitic-daniel-greenfield>
653. <https://nation.foxnews.com/cair/2011/04/07/cair-caught-gaddafi-web>
654. United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al. (Cr. No. 3:04-240-P (N.D.TX.))
655. <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CREC-2009-06-12/html/CREC-2009-06-12-pt1-PgH6669-6.htm>
656. Ibid
657. <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/7663.aspx>
658. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/turkey-nurtures-egypts-terrorist-muslim-brothers?ref=scroll>
659. <http://www.bbc.com/news/10203726>
660. http://www.jcpa.org/text/Turkey_Muslim_Brotherhood.pdf
661. <https://cair.com/press-center/cair-in-the-news/11049-a-global-bid-to-connect-muslims-and-christians.html>
662. <http://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/merve-kavakci-buyukelci-olarak-atandi-178057h.htm>
663. <http://www.muslimlinkpaper.com/community-news/community-news/3358-a-symbol-of-friendship.html>
664. <http://www.dw.com/en/muslim-social-networking-site-set-to-launch/a-15788005>
665. Ibid
666. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AcR7cNpQZyU>
667. <http://www.dw.com/en/muslim-social-networking-site-set-to-launch/a-15788005>
668. <https://aa.com.tr/en/archive/turkey-is-an-influential-model/380373>
669. <https://www.eventbrite.com/e/4international-young-bussinessmen-congress-tickets-9553078515?+http%3A%2F%2Fwww.halic.com%2Fen-EN%2Ftakvim-detay%2F17%2Fetkinlikler%2F145%2Fetkinlik-takvimi%2F39.aspx=&ID=5110&mod=article#>

REFERENCES

670. Politics and Foreign Policy in Turkey: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives
671. edited by Kilic Kanat, Ahmet Tekelioglu, Kadir Ustun <https://www.amazon.com/Politics-Foreign-Policy-Turkey-Contemporary-ebook/dp/B00WRLKOKQ/>
672. <http://www.musiad.us/musiad-usa-visited-council-on-american-islamic-relations-cair/>
673. <https://www.facebook.com/CAIRNational/photos/a.92140837694.89999.42590232694/10152518591117695/>
674. Ibid
675. <https://www.oic-oci.org/home/?lan=en>
676. <http://www.worldbulletin.net/muslim-world/148091/turkey-hosts-latin-american-muslims-in-conference>
677. <https://aa.com.tr/en/search/?s=nihad+awad>
678. <https://aa.com.tr/en/search/?s=CAIR>
679. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rQPDJGGZQQs>
680. <https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2015/04/20/us-muslim-organization-calls-for-proper-study-of-1915-events-denies-genocide-claims>
681. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/us-muslims-turks-gather-in-washington-to-protest-attempted-coup-in-turkey---101739>
682. <https://www.dailysabah.com/diplomacy/2015/10/18/turkey-receives-2015-humanitarian-award-of-cair-for-refugee-efforts>
683. <http://www.yurtgazetesi.com.tr/akpnin-fettullah-gulenle-mucadelede-yine-kozu-nihad-awad-makale,10223.html>
684. <https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2015/04/20/us-muslim-organization-calls-for-proper-study-of-1915-events-denies-genocide-claims>
685. <https://www.washdiplomat.com/PouchArticle/cms/using-joomla/extensions/components/content-component/featured-articles.html?start=125>
686. <http://www.haber7.com/guncel/haber/1873462-gormezden-abdde-cok-kritik-mesaj>
687. <https://www.facebook.com/CAIRNational/videos/10153669351737695/>
688. <https://twitter.com/CAIRNational/status/740551944238997509>
689. <https://www.facebook.com/georgetownmsa/photos/a.286015091600781.1073741831.232833946918896/506776329524655/?type=3&theater>
690. https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/turkeys-president-comes-to-maryland-to-celebrate-turkish-centers-opening/2016/04/02/0ef8112a-f905-11e5-9804-537defcc3cf6_story.html?utm_term=.c09c8cb33698

REFERENCES

691. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36816045>
692. <https://www.reuters.com/article/turkey-security-timeline/timeline-turkeys-attempted-coup-idUSL8N1A158X>
693. Exhibit 2
694. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/us-muslims-turks-gather-in-washington-to-protest-attempted-coup-in-turkey---101739>
695. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uxUAbFEBO3M&feature=youtu.be&t=1m7s>
696. <https://aa.com.tr/en/americas/turks-us-muslims-protest-attempted-coup-in-turkey/609974>
697. Exhibit 6
698. <https://www.facebook.com/hussam.ayloush/posts/10153941824794825>
699. <https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/175/ahmed-bedier>
700. <https://www.investigativeproject.org/5548/erdogan-coup-survival-dont-call-it-democracy>
701. <https://twitter.com/ZahraBilloo/status/754072595805327360>
702. <https://twitter.com/ZahraBilloo/status/755072405521899525>
703. <https://twitter.com/ZahraBilloo/status/755072733495472128>
704. Exhibit 3 Hussam Ayloush tweets
705. <https://twitter.com/NihadAwad/status/759424179292647425>
706. <https://twitter.com/NihadAwad/status/760485145833005058> Exhibit 4
707. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/52401/president-erdogan-meets-with-representatives-of-muslim-community-in-the-us.html>
708. <https://www.yenisafak.com/dunya/erdogan-islam-aleminin-ve-ummetin-baskanidir-2535927>
709. <https://www.yenisafak.com/dunya/erdogan-islam-aleminin-ve-ummetin-baskanidir-2535927>
710. <https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2014/11/11/abdli-muslumanlar-erdogan-hayrani>
711. <http://www.usasabah.com/Roportajlar/2014/11/11/cair-direktoru-nihad-awad-musluman-amerikalilar-isid-yuzunden-bedel-oduyor>
712. <https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/09/08/turkish-delegation-launches-drive-to-discuss-gulens-extradition-in-washington>
713. <https://aa.com.tr/en/americas/turkish-mps-to-press-us-officials-on-gulen-extradition-/642226>
714. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/kuliyemizde-buyukelcilik-iftari/>

REFERENCES

715. <https://twitter.com/MusiadUSA/status/874803248267493376>
716. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/president-of-diyanet-visit-usa/>
717. <https://twitter.com/DiyanetAmerica/status/951178318681960451>
718. <https://www.diyanet.gov.tr/tr-TR/Kurumsal/Detay/11190/diyanet-isleri-baskani-erbas-amerikan-islam-iliskileri-konseyi-baskani-awadi-kabul-etti>
719. <https://aa.com.tr/en/anadolu-post/erdogan-killer-assad-engages-in-state-terrorism/587390>
720. <http://www.forumusa.com/erdogan-suriyede-bir-devlet-teroru-estiriliyor-bir-katil-is-basindadir/>
721. <https://twitter.com/trconsulchicago/status/741257770993848320>
722. <http://www.icna.org/about-icna>
723. The Complete Idiot's Guide to Understanding Islam By Yahiya Emerick
724. ICNA Member's Handbook <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/475.pdf>
725. Women Embracing Islam: Gender and Conversion in the West edited by Karin van Nieuwkerk
726. <http://www.icna.org/chapter-locator>
727. <http://www.icna.org/javaid-siddiqi-elected-as-new-icna-president/>
728. <https://www.investigativeproject.org/2373/hand-book-shows-icna-true-goals>
729. <http://messageinternational.org/>
730. <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/485.pdf>
731. <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2017/06/272168.htm>
732. <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/488.pdf>
733. <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/f865/595d761f2e03f68f6a68819f99b3d93c9d57.pdf>
734. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/10/world/asia/10inquire.html>
735. <http://interfaithcenter.org/a-short-list-of-terror-plots-disrupted-by-muslim-community-assistance/>
736. <http://www.uscmo.org/founding-members/>
737. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/52401/president-erdogan-meets-with-representatives-of-muslim-community-in-the-us.html>
738. Ibid
739. <http://www.masicna.com/about-us.html>
740. <http://www.icna.org/erdogans-daughter-says-turkey-inspires-hope-for-all-muslim-world/>
741. <https://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2017/01/03/mas-icna-2016-the-power-of-prayer>

REFERENCES

742. <http://www.icna.org/uscmo-meets-with-myanmar-oic-turkish-ambassadors/>
743. Ibid
744. <https://www.muslimamericansociety.org/content/uscmo-rally-for-jerusalem/>
745. <https://www.ampalestine.org/events/national-rally-for-jerusalem-at-white-house-12-16-noon>
746. <https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2017/12/20/turkish-president-erdogan-declared-ummah-leader-at-washington-dc-muslim-brotherhood-rally-condemning-trump-recognition-of-jerusalem/>
747. <https://aa.com.tr/en/americas/thousands-in-washington-protest-us-jerusalem-decision/1007136>
748. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/dca-organizes-panel-opens-booth-at-icna-mas-convention-in-baltimore/>
749. <https://www.icna.org/uscmo-statement-on-1915-turkish-armenian-events/>
750. https://www.icna.org/icna-commends-turkish-people-for-standing-up-to-the-coup/#utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=icna-commends-turkish-people-for-standing-up-to-the-coup
751. <https://www.iiit.org/about.html>
752. <https://www.iiit.org/offices-and-affiliates.html>
753. <https://www.thefairfaxinstitute.org/about2.html>
754. <https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2014/07/27/iiit-think-thank/>
Merly, "The Muslim Brotherhood in the United States," Hudson Institute Research Monographs on the Muslim World Series No 2, Paper No 3, April, 2009 pg. 25
755. Stakelbeck, "The Brotherhood: America's Next Great Enemy," Regenry, July 2013, pg. 1968
756. <https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/people/yusuf-al-qaradawi>
757. <http://msanational.org/>
758. Muslih. "The International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) – USA: A Project of Islamic Revivalism." p. 26-27. University of Leiden. Leiden, Netherlands. 2006.
759. <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/84.pdf>
760. <http://www.ikhwan.whoswho/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2015/07/liste-USA.pdf>
761. http://www.amssuk.com/pressreleases/20080115amssuk_Press_Release.pdf
762. <http://www.amssuk.com/awards.html>
763. <https://www.iiit.org/news/iiit-and-smg-meet-with-turkish-president>
764. <https://www.iiit.org/news/turkish-imams-meet-with-interfaith-leaders-in-washington>
765. <https://www.iiit.org/news/the-new-turkish-policy-toward-the-middle-east-temporary-change-or-reviving-history>

REFERENCES

766. <https://www.iiit.org/news/amss-uk-2009-lifetime-achievement-award>
767. <https://www.iiit.org/news/panel-with-prof-emad-shahin-and-prof-dalia-fahmy>
768. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/president-of-diyanet-visit-usa/>
769. <https://www.iiit.org/iiit-visitors.html>
770. <https://www.iiit.org/iiit-visitors.html>
771. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/iiit/sets/72157664329468953>
772. <https://www.thefairfaxinstitute.org/the-team.html>
773. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/diyanet-islamic-research-institute-colloquium-highlights-academic-study-of-islam/>
774. <http://www.ihu.edu.tr/hakkimizda/kurucu-vakif/>
775. <https://www.linkedin.com/company/t%C3%BCrkiye-genel%A7lik-ve-e%C4%9Fitime-hizmet-vakf%C4%B1/>
776. <http://www.turgev.org/tr/yonetim-kurulu-uyeleri>
777. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/ibn-haldun-university-opens-us-office-at-the-dca-complex/>
778. <https://www.dailysabah.com/education/2017/05/20/turkeys-ibn-haldun-university-opens-with-objective-of-intellectual-independence>
779. <https://www.iiit.org/news/iiit-attends-ibn-haldun-university-opening-ceremony>
780. <https://www.iiit.org/iiit-visitors.html>
781. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/dca-signed-mou-with-iiit/>
782. <https://www.iiit.org/news/iiit-and-dca-sign-an-mou>
783. <https://www.iiit.org/news/turkish-imams-and-diyanet-center-visit-iiit>
784. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/coordination-meeting-with-turkish-religious-leaders-imams/>
785. <https://www.iiit.org/news/turkish-imams-and-diyanet-center-visit-iiit>
786. <https://www.iiit.org/news/turkish-translations-of-iiit-books>
787. <https://www.iiit.org/news/turkish-translation-of-maqasid-al-shariah-as-philosophy-of-islamic-law>
788. <https://www.iiit.org/news/new-iiit-publication>
789. <https://www.iiit.org/news/turkish-translation-of-al-tawhid>
790. <https://www.iiit.org/news/recently-released-iiit-publications-and-forthcoming-2013-titles>
791. https://twitter.com/iiit_ss?lang=en

REFERENCES

792. <https://www.iiit.org/news/mahya-translates-six-iiit-titles-into-turkish>
793. <https://www.iiit.org/news/iiit-turkish-titles-displayed-at-istanbul-book-fair>
794. <https://www.iiit.org/news/the-first-iiit-istanbul-summer-school>
795. <https://www.iiit.org/uploads/4/9/9/6/49960591/flyer.pdf>
796. https://twitter.com/iiit_ss?lang=en
797. <https://www.thefairfaxinstitute.org/iiit-turkey-summer-school.html>
798. https://www.iiit.org/uploads/4/9/9/6/49960591/summer_school_2017_turkey_announcement.pdf
799. https://www.iiit.org/uploads/4/9/9/6/49960591/feb._2018_turkley_winter_school.pdf
800. <https://www.iiit.org/2017---biographies.html>
801. <https://www.iiit.org/news/dr-anas-al-sheikh-ali-attends-the-international-silk-road-congress>
802. <https://www.iiit.org/news/iiit-presents-emeritus-awards>
803. <https://www.iiit.org/news/iiit-and-istanbul-university-to-hold-a-conference-on-the-state-of-education-in-muslim-societies>
804. <https://www.iiit.org/news/the-fairfax-institute-and-the-transformation-of-turkey>
805. <https://www.iiit.org/news/locating-the-quran-in-the-modern-world-towards-a-maqasidi-tafseer>
806. <https://www.mlfa.org/about/#.WrW8lojwbAQ>
807. <http://www.uscmo.org/founding-members/>
808. <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/25/us/25charity.html>
809. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/08/28/lady-al-qaeda-the-american-educated-doctor-the-islamic-state-desperately-wants-freed/?utm_term=.771de0267438
810. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/08/26/lady-al-qaeda-the-worlds-most-wanted-woman/>
811. <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/newyork/press-releases/2010/nyfo092310.htm>
812. <https://web.archive.org/web/20110612233233/http://www.mlfa.org/aafia-siddiqui>
813. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/52401/president-erdogan-meets-with-representatives-of-muslim-community-in-the-us.html>
814. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/dca-management-policy-meeting/>
815. <https://www.mlfa.org/event/muslim-nonprofit-leadership-conference-maryland/#.WrWyLIjwbAR>
816. <https://www.mlfa.org/vip-iftar-jebail/#.WrW4IYjwbAQ>
817. https://www.mlfa.org/event/special-event-featuring-mahmoud-abdul-rauf-diyanet-center-of-america-md/#.WrW3_ojwbAQ

REFERENCES

818. <https://www.muslimamericansociety.org/about/>
819. <https://www.muslimamericansociety.org/leadership/>
820. <http://www.discoverthenetworks.org/printgroupProfile.asp?grpid=6263>
821. The Brotherhood: America's Next Great Enemy by Erick Stakelbeck & Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe and Laurie Cohen. "A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America," Chicago Tribune, September 19, 2004. <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/watchdog/chi-0409190261sep19-story.html>
822. <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/watchdog/chi-0409190261sep19-story.html>
823. <http://www.discoverthenetworks.org/printgroupProfile.asp?grpid=6263>
824. Caryle Murphy (September 12, 2004). "Facing New Realities as Islamic Americans". The Washington Post. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A14497-2004Sep11.html>
825. <https://www.nationalreview.com/2010/08/more-moderate-muslims-andrew-c-mccarthy/>
826. <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js2025.aspx>
827. http://counterterrorismblog.org/site-resources/images/1992_Phone_Directory.pdf
828. <http://www.discoverthenetworks.org/printgroupProfile.asp?grpid=6263>
829. Arab Lobby in the United States Handbook: Organization, Operations, Performance, International Business Publications, Inc. (April 1, 2015) <https://www.amazon.com/United-States-Organization-Operations-Performance/dp/132903399X> & <https://www.investigativeproject.org/419/counterterrorism-blog-expert-matthew-levitt-takes-the-stand>
830. <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/watchdog/chi-0409190261sep19-story.html>
831. <http://www.uscmo.org/founding-members/>
832. <http://www.masicna.com/about-us.html>
833. <https://www.muslimamericansociety.org/leadership/>
834. Ibid
835. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/52401/president-erdogan-meets-with-representatives-of-muslim-community-in-the-us.html>
836. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/ahmed-shehata-a6174b17/>
837. <https://www.meforum.org/articles/2017/american-islamists-turn-to-ankara>
838. <https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DJySMaoWAAzZON.jpg>
839. <http://www.icna.org/uscmo-statement-on-1915-turkish-armenian-events/>
840. <https://www.mlfa.org/mlfa-response-to-uscmo-statement-on-armenian-genocide/#.WTVGhsa1v-h>

REFERENCES

841. <https://twitter.com/TRConsulChicago/status/716439570913558529>
842. <https://diyanetamerica.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Rapor-Amerikada-Islam.pdf>
843. <https://diyanetamerica.org/news/dca-organizes-panel-opens-booth-at-icna-mas-convention-in-baltimore/>
844. <https://twitter.com/drbetulsayan/status/974674370269499392>
845. <https://www.ampalestine.org/about-amp/statement-of-principles>
846. <https://www.ngo-monitor.org/ngos/american-muslims-for-palestine-amp/>
847. <https://www.ampalestine.org/about-amp/staff>
848. <https://www.ngo-monitor.org/ngos/american-muslims-for-palestine-amp/>
849. <http://www.uscmo.org/founding-members/>
850. <https://www.ampalestine.org/about-amp/staff>
851. <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/nm/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/taherherzallah.jpg> & <http://www.ngo-monitor.org/nm/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/taherherzallah.jpg>
852. <https://www.ampalestine.org/about-amp/staff>
853. <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20160419/104817/HHRG-114-FA18-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160419.pdf>
854. https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/466.pdf#page=49
855. <http://www.uscmo.org/founding-members/>
856. <https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2017/12/20/turkish-president-erdogan-declared-ummah-leader-at-washington-dc-muslim-brotherhood-rally-condemning-trump-recognition-of-jerusalem/>
857. <https://aa.com.tr/en/americas/trumps-jerusalem-plans-reckless-and-dangerous-/991780>
858. <https://www.yenisafak.com/en/world/trumps-jerusalem-plans-reckless-and-dangerous-2869918>
859. <https://aa.com.tr/en/americas/trumps-jerusalem-plans-reckless-and-dangerous-/991780>
860. <https://nypost.com/2017/12/05/turkey-draws-red-line-on-recognizing-jerusalem-as-israeli-capital/>
861. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/islam-isbirligi-teskilati-islam-zirvesi-konferansi-olaganustu-toplantisi-istanbulda-duzenlendi.en.mfa> & <https://eurasianimes.com/organisation-of-islamic-cooperation-istanbul/>
862. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/jerusalem-erdogan-turkey-israel-terror-state-oic-summit-islamic-world-leaders-muslim-a8106991.html>
863. <https://www.dailysabah.com/americas/2017/12/17/thousands-protest-jerusalem-decision-in-washington>

REFERENCES

864. <https://aa.com.tr/en/americas/thousands-in-washington-protest-us-jerusalem-decision/1007136?amp=1>
865. <https://www.zakat.org/en/zf-executive-director-meets-president-erdogan-un-general-assembly/>
866. <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20160419/104817/HHRG-114-FA18-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160419.pdf> & Conference Program, American Muslims for Palestine, 2014, page 29; Conference Program, American Muslims for Palestine, 2015, page 6.
867. https://2015ampconference.sched.com/speaker/khalil_demir1uj4wwmf
868. Internal Revenue Service, Form 990: Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax, "Benevolence International Foundation," 2001, accessed via GuideStar. (<http://www.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2001/363/823/2001-363823186-1-9.pdf>). The forms states that "Books are in care of Halil I. Demir." & <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20160419/104817/HHRG-114-FA18-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160419.pdf>
869. U.S. Department of the Treasury, Press Release, "Treasury Designates Benevolence International Foundation and Related Entities as Financiers of Terrorism," November 19, 2002. (<http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/pressreleases/Pages/po3632.aspx>)
870. <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/hatem-bazian/archive>
871. <https://www.frontpagemag.com/fpm/148457/destroy-israel-conference-comes-illinois-ryan-mauro>
872. <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/161184>
873. <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/foreign-policy/middle-east/turkish-air-sponsoring-anti-israel-hatefest/>
874. <https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2015/04/20/us-muslim-organization-calls-for-proper-study-of-1915-events-denies-genocide-claims>
875. <http://www.bbc.com/news/10203726> BBC, Mavi Marmara: Why did Israel stop the Gaza flotilla?
876. <https://www.ihh.org.tr/en/mavi-marmara>
877. <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/16/world/middleeast/16turkey.html>
878. Israel's Blockade of Gaza and the 'Mavi Marmara' Incident by Carol Migdalovitz, pg 4
879. Ahmet S Yayla, "IHH: The Nonprofit Face of Jihadism," ICT, the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, May 2019.
880. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/01/turkish-police-raid-charity-aiding-syria-201411411543616402.html>
881. <http://www.star.com.tr/politika/ihhya-paralel-kumpas-haber-829738/> & <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/o-polis-muduru-gorevden-alindi-25567156>

REFERENCES

882. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748704080104575286912377868890>
883. <https://www.ampalestine.org/newsroom/remembrance-of-mavi-marmara-victims-amp-encourages-supporters-to-activism>
884. <https://www.ihh.org.tr/en/news/alquds-award-to-furkan-dogan-130>
885. http://www.usasabah.com/Guncel/2011/02/21/erdogandan_sonra_dogana_ayni_onur
886. <https://www.ihh.org.tr/en/news/alquds-award-to-furkan-dogan-130>
887. http://www.usasabah.com/Guncel/2011/02/21/erdogandan_sonra_dogana_ayni_onur & <http://www.internethaber.com/furkan-dogana-kudus-odulu-329675h.htm>
888. <https://www.ampalestine.org/action-alerts/support-turkey-by-buying-turkish-products>
889. Ibid
890. <http://www.lacivertdergi.com/>
891. <http://www.lacivertdergi.com/soylesi/2014/12/31/abd-yonunu-kaybetmis-bir-sekilde-ortalikta-tepinen-dev-bir-fil>
892. <https://twitter.com/DiyanetAmerica/status/936744132671877126>
893. <https://zaytuna.edu/mission>
894. <https://zaytuna.edu/our-academics>
895. <http://blog.zaytuna.edu/when-evil-fails-and-goodness-prevails-regarding-the-recent-coup-attempt-in-turkey>
896. <https://twitter.com/zaytunacollege/status/741054148406169600>
897. <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/634.pdf> Speech by Hamza Yusuf to AMP-Chicago fundraiser, Chicago IL, Feb. 19, 2011.
898. <https://aa.com.tr/en/education/first-us-muslim-college-aims-to-stand-against-islamophobia/66060>
899. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AuccsedIoB0>
900. https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/images/asset_upload_file142_36171.pdf
901. <http://www.isna.net/isna-executive-council-and-board-meet-at-headquarters/>
902. <http://www.isna.net/mission-and-vision/>
903. <https://forward.com/news/11554/top-reform-rabbi-gives-watershed-address-to-larges-00439/>
904. <http://www.isna.net/convention/>
905. Ibid
906. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-turkey-zarrab/u-s-jury-finds-turkish-banker-guilty-of-helping-iran-dodge-sanctions-idUSKBN1ES1D0>
907. <https://www.dailysabah.com/americas/2014/08/27/isna-holds-51st-annual-conference>

REFERENCES

908. <http://www.isna.net/isna-joins-national-and-californian-muslim-leadership-for-meeting-with-turkish-prime-minister/> & <https://web.archive.org/web/20130913064810/http://www.isna.net/isna-joins-national-and-californian-muslim-leadership-to-meet-with-turkish-prime-minister.html>
909. <http://www.turkishny.com/news/turkeys-ambassador-to-us-kilic-read-a-special-message-from-erdogan-at-isna-convention>
910. <https://twitter.com/ISNAHQ/status/758714082694275073>
911. Exhibit 7
912. <https://aa.com.tr/en/todays-headlines/turkish-deputy-pm-tells-us-muslims-about-failed-coup-/640363>
913. <https://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/53-isna-kongresi-chicago-da-basliyor/639508>
914. <https://aa.com.tr/tr/kurumsal-haberler/53-isna-kongresinde-turkiye-ruzgari/642323?amp=1>
915. <https://aa.com.tr/en/todays-headlines/turkish-deputy-pm-tells-us-muslims-about-failed-coup-/640363>
916. <https://www.yenisafak.com/en/world/turkish-deputy-pm-tells-us-muslims-about-failed-coup-2521810>
917. <http://www.byegm.gov.tr/english/agenda/turkish-deputy-pm-tells-us-muslims-about-failed-coup/99463>
918. <https://aa.com.tr/en/todays-headlines/turkish-deputy-pm-tells-us-muslims-about-failed-coup-/640363>
919. <http://www.setav.org/en/about/>
920. <https://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/53-isna-kongresi-chicago-da-basliyor/639508>
921. <http://setadc.org/research-director-fellow-isna-convention/>
922. <https://web.archive.org/web/20150706011703/http://www.isna.net/isna-rep-attends-iftar-with-turkish-ambassador.html>
923. Ibid
924. <https://web.archive.org/web/20150710185154/http://www.isna.net/isna-secretary-general-hosts-special-iftar-event-at-turkish-american-community-center.html>
925. <https://aa.com.tr/en/anadolu-post/erdogan-killer-assad-engages-in-state-terrorism/587390>
926. <http://www.forumusa.com/erdogan-suriyede-bir-devlet-teroru-estiriliyor-bir-katil-is-basindadir/>
927. <https://web.archive.org/web/20090711062544/http://www.isna.net:80/assets/conventions/programs/2009/conventionprogramweb/program-isna.pdf> & <http://www.turkishjournal.com/i.php?newsid=5396>

REFERENCES

- 928. ibid
- 929. <http://www.turkishjournal.com/i.php?newsid=5396>
- 930. <https://myiqa.org/founder-and-imam/>
- 931. <https://web.archive.org/web/20090711062544/http://www.isna.net:80/assets/conventions/programs/2009/conventionprogramweb/program-isna.pdf>
- 932. ibid
- 933. <https://web.archive.org/web/20100704205850/http://www.isna.net/assets/conventions/2010/program/webisnaprogram.pdf>
- 934. ibid
- 935. ibid
- 936. ibid
- 937. <https://web.archive.org/web/20110815091137/http://www.isna.net:80/assets/conventions/2011/programs/isnaprogramweb.pdf>
- 938. <https://web.archive.org/web/20110815091137/http://www.isna.net:80/assets/conventions/2011/programs/isnaprogramweb.pdf>
- 939. https://web.archive.org/web/20120906211922/http://www.isna.net:80/assets/pdfs/convention_program_2012.pdf
- 940. https://web.archive.org/web/20130913041419/www.isna.net/uploads/1/5/7/4/15744382/program_august_5.pdf
- 941. http://www.isna.net/uploads/1/5/7/4/15744382/51_convention_program_14_web-3.pdf

