

Usanas Report

Pakistan, Jamaat and Friends: The International Islamist Campaign Against India

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About the Author



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Pakistan, Jamaat and Friends: The International Islamist Campaign Against India

If being surrounded by hostile, autocratic nuclear-armed regimes were not already concerning enough, India must now also deal with an international campaign of demonization, boycott, and violent intent. Understanding the forces within the West – and especially in America – that belong to this international mob is crucial to defeating these international campaigns, their defamatory rhetoric, and the subsidy and legitimization of violence.

Broadly, within the United States – excluding the tiny handful of far-Left Hindu organizations and Khalistani groups – it appears that the infrastructure, persons, and organizations dedicated to attacking the world's largest democracy can be delineated, broadly, into three overlapping camps:

- the Pakistan Network, an assortment of persons and groups linked to elements of the Pakistani regime, the Pakistani Kashmiri puppet government, and various Pakistani Islamist networks.
- Jamaat-e-Islami, one of the oldest Islamist movements in the world, with a significant presence in the United States.
- Ikhwan Al-Muslimeen, or Muslim Brotherhood, along with associated various other Islamist movements from around the world.

While these three webs of theocratic intent have long pushed anti-Indian rhetoric (especially on the question of Kashmir), their fervency has noticeably increased within the last few years. In fact, the most important shift can mostly be traced to a couple of months in 2019:

- On August 5, 2019, India revoked the special status of Jammu and Kashmir.
- On September 1, Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan addressed the largest conference in the American Muslim calendar, organized by the Islamist-founded Islamic Society of North America, in which he denounced India and asked American Muslims to organize against the Modi government.
- On September 22, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi addressed enormous crowds in Houston, alongside President Donald Trump. In response, American Pakistani entities – some led by persons directly appointed by Imran Khan as Pakistani representatives – organized a series of significant protests, in collaboration with Jamaat-e-Islami networks, Ikhwani organizations, Khalistani groups and various fellow travelers.

Around and subsequent to these events, a broad section of American Islamism - backed by a considerable array of Pakistani regime proxies - devoted considerable resources and time to developing new anti-Indian campaigns, lobbying Congress and state legislatures, disseminating apologias for violent jihadists in Kashmir, arranging for expensive advertising in mainstream American newspapers, hiring lobbyists and law firms, and expanding the existing Islamist infrastructure – once focused so keenly on Israel and Gaza – to express its anger over Kashmir and India instead. Let's examine the most prominent examples of these networks and their activities.



1) Pakistan Network

The true extent of Pakistan's operations in the United States has never been fully known. The most public instance emerged in 2011, when Virginia activist Ghulam Nabi Fai was charged by American prosecutors with serving as a secret agent of the Pakistani government. Fai pleaded guilty, admitting to extensive contact with Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). It emerged that the ISI had transferred an extraordinary \$3.5 million to Fai and his organization, the Kashmiri American Council. Neil MacBride, U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia, accused Fai of a "decades-long scheme with one purpose – to hide Pakistan's involvement behind his efforts to influence the U.S. government's position on Kashmir."

But American prosecutors and media ignored the fact that Fai was not just an agent of Pakistan. In fact, from a young age, he was ideologically entwined with Jamaat-e-Islami in Kashmir, even working directly for its leaders.⁴ Fai's involvement with this dangerous South Asian Islamist movement continued in America, both before and after his prison stint in 2013. Fai's criminal activities in the United States were as much as an Islamist issue, as they were about undue foreign state influence.

Today, often in partnership with Jamaat-e-Islami proxies in the United States, Fai advances his agenda through the World Kashmir Awareness Forum (WFAC), an American 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization of which he is the Secretary General.⁵ Fai is just as active as he ever was. Over the past few years, he has regularly addressed events organized by ICNA and its subsidiary organizations, speaking alongside hardline Islamist activists such as Nakibur Rahman,⁶ a leading Jamaat-e-Islamist operative in the United States and son of former Bangladeshi Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh leader Motiur Rahman Nizami. In 2014, Bangladesh's war crimes tribunal sentenced Nizami to death for his involvement in "genocide, rape and torture" during that country's 1971 Liberation War.⁷

WFAC and Fai regularly organize rallies against India, partnering with Jamaat-e-Islami proxies, as well as with radical mosques such as the New York-based Majlis Ash-Shura and Islamist

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¹ "Statement of Facts," United States of America v. Ghulam Nabi Fai, December 7, 2011. https://www.docdroid.net/CR6fPtf/post-plea-statement-of-facts-pdf

² "Virginia Man Pleads Guilty in Scheme to Conceal Pakistan Government Funding for His U.S. Lobbying Efforts," *U.S. Department of Justice*, December 7, 2011. https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/washingtondc/press-releases/2011/virginia-man-pleads-guilty-in-scheme-to-conceal-pakistan-government-funding-for-his-u.s.-lobbying-efforts

³ "Two Charged with Conspiring to Act as Unregistered Agents of Pakistani Government," *U.S. Department of Justice*, July 19, 2011. https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/two-charged-conspiring-act-unregistered-agents-pakistani-government

⁴ https://www.propublica.org/article/the-man-behind-pakistani-spy-agencys-plot-to-influence-washington

⁵ "Leadership," World Kashmir Awareness Forum, https://kashmirawareness.org/leadership/

⁶ "Dr. Fai highlights student led mass movt. At ICNA conf," *Islamic Circle of North America*, April 14, 2017. https://www.icna.org/social-justice/dr-fai-highlights-student-led-mass-movt-at-icna-conference/

⁷ "Motiur Rahman Nizami: Bangladeshi Islamist leader hanged," BBC, May 10, 2016. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-36261197



umbrella groups, such as the Turkish-regime linked U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations.⁸ Fai also collaborates with groups such as the Coalition for Civil Freedoms, an Islamist lobby group founded by convicted Palestinian Islamic Jihad operative Sami Al-Arian, which advocates on behalf of other convicted jihadists, such as "Lady Qaeda" terrorist Aafia Siddiqui.⁹

Pakistan's Ghulam Nabi Fai is not just an Islamist activist for Kashmir but appears to be a means by which the Pakistani regime and other pro-Islamabad organizations build bridges with a wide variety of American Islamist organizations. In fact, this partnership is not limited just to other Islamists. Fai has also long been involved, for instance, with activists from the terror-tied Khalistani movement.

Before his conviction, Fai worked with the Anti-Defamation Sikh Council for Khalistan and Council of Khalistan to lobby legislators and address U.S. congressional hearings. A recent report published by the Hudson Institute – examining the ties between the Khalistani movement, Pakistan and American Islamist groups – notes that congressmen who received financial support from Fai and his group spoke publicly not just in favour of Pakistan and Kashmir, but of the Khalistani cause as well. Fai continues today to work with Khalistanis. The Hudson report notes: In July 2021 ... Khalistani activists joined Fai again ... to honor 'Kashmir Martyrs Day.' Following a rabble-rousing speech, [one Khalistani activist] led the crowd in chants of 'India out of Kashmir, India out of Khalistan.'"

Fai may serve as the vanguard of the Pakistani-promoted anti-Indian Islamist influence operation in the United States, but he is hardly the only example. The Pakistani regime's reinvigorated efforts to exert influence over both America's politics and its Muslim communities came most noticeably to the fore in 2019, amid an attempt by Pakistan and American Islamist groups to organize protests against the visit of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi to Houston, Texas. Alongside Khalistani activists such as Sikhs for Justice (banned in India because of alleged terrorism ties) and other "Pro Khalistan Sikhs & Organizations Supporting People of Kashmir," Fai, representatives of

⁸ Event Poster, "Peaceful protest against Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi," *World Kashmir Awareness Forum*, September 14, 2021. https://www.facebook.com/shuranewyork/photos/a.1910705805905416/2620271424948847/

⁹ Sam Westrop, "Exploiting Progressivist Handwringing, Islamists Advocate for their Own," *National Review*, September 13, 2021. https://www.nationalreview.com/2021/09/islamists-exploit-western-progressives-hand-wringing-to-support-their-own/

¹⁰ Jatinder Preet, "Kashmir, Khalistan lobbyists join hands," *Sunday Guardian*, July 31, 2011. http://www.sunday-guardian.com/news/kashmir-khalistan-lobbyists-join-hands

¹¹ "Pakistan's Destabilization Playbook: Khalistan Separatist Activism Within the US," *Hudson Institute*, September 2021. https://www.hudson.org/research/17268-pakistan-s-destabilization-playbook-khalistan-separatist-activism-within-the-us

¹² "Pakistan's Destabilization Playbook," *Hudson Institute*, September 2021.

¹³ "GoBackModi," Event Poster, Facebook Post, September 14, 2019. https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10156280238232676&set=a.383828847675&type=3&eid=ARAxqLcqz 88GzB9iyCaodduKqqRrYrXJpP_jC7GBL3qL49zvHnsJeLk8u4sKo5A0T4lD3ddAVZebmTVU



Pakistani leader Imran Khan and other components of the Pakistani regime, along with a wide array of American Islamists, organized a series of protests and media stunts.¹⁴



These other sponsoring Pakistani organizations include the U.S. branch of the PTI, Pakistan's ruling party. PTI-USA is led by Sajjad Burki, ¹⁵ a Pakistani activist who is also the founder of the

¹⁴ "Kashmir Rally GoBackModi," Event Poster, Facebook Post, September 20, 2019.

https://www.facebook.com/fayazkhalilofficial/photos/a.475229499251388/2421108781330107/?type=3&theater ¹⁵ Erica Grieder, "Sunday celebration of Indian American community at NRG gets more political," *Houston Chronicle*, September 18, 2019. https://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/columnists/grieder/article/Sunday-celebration-of-Indian-American-community-14447815.php



International Humanitarian Foundation (IHF), another key American organization behind the 2019 anti-Modi efforts. Other IHF officials include¹⁶ Pakistani regime official Atif Iqbal Khan, as well as members of the Islamic Society of Greater Houston (ISGH), which describes itself as the "largest Islamic society in North America." The ISGH runs a series of prominent and mostly Pakistani Muslim-run mosques in Houston and works closely with several organizations tied to Jamaat-e-Islami and the Ikhwan Al-Muslimeen.¹⁷

Just a few days before the Modi protests, IHF's Burki and Iqbal Khan met with Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan. The Prime Minister appointed Iqbal the "Advisor to Government for Overseas Pakistanis." Despite being a recently established organization, the IHF suddenly wielded significant financial resources – spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on full-page advertisements in the *New York Times*, erecting billboards across the Houston area, and arranging for luxury buses to shuttle in protestors from outside of Houston. ¹⁹

Perhaps learning from Fai's mistakes, the IHF has not attempted to hide its connections to Islamabad. A document filed with the U.S. Department of Justice around the time of the protests reveals that the IHF engaged prominent New York lobbying firm Fenton Communications for \$50,000 to represent the Pakistani government and "spread word of India's rights violations in Kashmir." The same Fenton Communications later arranged for an interview with Imran Khan on one of America's most-watched morning news programs.

The most important organization behind the 2019 protests, however, was Friends of Kashmir – an organization with a presence in Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Friends of Kashmir describes itself as a U.S. based "International Non-Political Organization which aims to Impart Awareness Worldwide regarding Kashmir Issue, Kashmir [sic] status, and Kashmiris [sic] genocide at the hands of Indian Forces in occupied Kashmir."²²

While Sajjad Burki has been described as an "organizer" with Friends of Kashmir, its leading figure is Ghazala Habib, an activist and self-declared poet. Habib has claimed that the Pakistani

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¹⁶ "International Humanitarian Foundation Inc., Open Corporates.

https://opencorporates.com/companies/us_tx/0803399910

¹⁷ Facebook Post, Islamic Society of Greater Houston, April 17, 2016. https://www.facebook.com/ISGH.ORG/posts/791544677643084

¹⁸ Muhammad Saleem, "Atif Iqbal Khan President PTI Texas Now a Become Advisor to Government for Overseas Pakistanis," *AZB*, September 15, 2019. https://theazb.com/atif-iqbal-khan-president-pti-texas-now-a-become-advisor-to-government-for-overseas-pakistanis/

¹⁹ Sam Westrop and Martha Lee, "Pakistan's Terror-Connected Islamist Network in Houston Revealed," *Firstpost*, June 4, 2021. https://www.meforum.org/62423/exposed-pakistan-intricate-us-islamist-network

²⁰ Fenton Communications, "Exhibit A to Registration Statement," *U.S. Department of Justice*. September 23, 2019. https://efile.fara.gov/docs/6726-Exhibit-AB-20190923-3.pdf

²¹ "Fenton helped get Pakistan PM on 'Morning Joe' as part of Kashmir contract," *Foreign Lobby Report*, June 2, 2020. https://www.foreignlobby.com/2020/06/02/fenton-helped-get-pakistan-pm-on-morning-joe-as-part-of-kashmir-contract/

²² "Aims & Objectives," Friends of Kashmir. https://www.friendsofkashmir.net/aims-objectives/



government opened the "consulate doors for us 24/7."²³ Habib openly consorts with jihadists. In 2020, leaders of the Kashmiri Hurriyat political alliance, including Asiya Andrabi and the late Syed Ali Geelani, reportedly appointed Ghazala Habib as their representative in the United States.²⁴ A long-standing Jamaat-e-Islami activist, Geelani also served, notes *Al Jazeera*, as the

"spiritual leader" for designated terrorist organization Hizbul Mujahideen.²⁵ Andrabi, meanwhile, is the founder of the banned jihadist organization Dukhtaran-e-Millat. ²⁶ These were not Habib's only jihadist friends. In 2017, Friends of Kashmir organized an event with Lashkar-e-Taiba operatives Yasin Malik and Shabir Shah,²⁷ both of whom were arrested by Indian police in 2019.

Since the 2019 protests, Friends of Kashmir has continued to be active, organizing events with webinars featuring ISI operatives, terror sympathizers and prominent American politicians. Most notably, in 2020, Friends of Kashmir, in partnership with the Pakistani embassy, organized a webinar featuring speakers from Sikhs for Justice, as well as two U.S Congressmembers who chair the Congressional Pakistan Caucus, along



with a variety of pro-jihadist and ISI-connected voices.²⁸

Other American Pakistani organizations contributed to the event. The Pakistani-American Political Committee, or PAKPAC, is the leading lobbying organization for Pakistani interests in the United States. A subsidiary of the Association of Physicians of Pakistani Descent of North America

²³ Sam Westrop and Martha Lee, "Pakistan's Terror-Connected Islamist Network in Houston Revealed," *Firstpost*, June 4, 2021. https://www.meforum.org/62423/exposed-pakistan-intricate-us-islamist-network

²⁴ "Arts Council Karachi organized the launching ceremony of the book 'Lamakan' written by Ghazala Habib," *Trade Chronicle*, September 28, 2020. https://tradechronicle.com/arts-council-karachi-organized-the-launching-ceremony-of-the-book-lamakan-written-by-ghazala-habib/

²⁵ "Obituary: Syed Ali Shah Geelani was symbol of Kashmir resistance," *Al Jazeera*, September 2, 2021. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/9/2/obituary-syed-ali-shah-geelani-was-symbol-of-kashmir-resistance ²⁶ "Lock up your daughters," *Economist*, April 12, 2007. https://www.economist.com/asia/2007/04/12/lock-up-your-daughters

²⁷ Sayab Ahmed Siddiqui, "Friends of Kashmir Conference in USA," Facebook Post, February 11, 2017. https://www.facebook.com/sayabahmedawan/posts/1389361144461029

²⁸ Sam Westrop and Martha Lee, "Pakistan's Terror-Connected Islamist Network in Houston Revealed," *Firstpost*, June 4, 2021. https://www.meforum.org/62423/exposed-pakistan-intricate-us-islamist-network



(APPNA), PAKPAC members include leading donors to the campaign funds of the two Congressmembers involved with Friends of Kashmir. APPNA itself is a partner of Jamaat-e-Islami proxy, the Islamic Circle of North America; and it is described by Imran Khan has Pakistan's "most powerful" lobbying group in the United States.²⁹

The 2019 Modi protests exposed a new, vigorous effort by Islamabad to advance anti-Indian sentiments in America, using American Islamists as its proxies. 2019 also marked the start of a renewed Pakistani campaign to exert a greater degree of influence over American Muslims, following in the footsteps of Qatar and Turkey.

2) Jamaat-e-Islami

While there have been plenty of examples of anti-Hindu and anti-Indian sentiment within American Islamist circles over the past few decades, a significant level of coordination and newfound energy emerged in 2019, following India's decision to revoke the special status of Jammu and Kashmir, and Pakistan's renewed efforts to advance Islamist agendas and undermine Indian interests within American politics.

Plenty of American Islamist organizations have been apparently involved in this campaign, but few are as important as the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) – the U.S. branch of the violent South Asian Islamist movement Jamaat-e-Islami. Founded in the 1960s as Halaqa Ahbabe Islami, it initially described its mission as "to strengthen the Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan." In 1977, the group changed its name to ICNA. With an almost exclusively South Asian membership, ICNA has long served to promote the ideas of Abul A'la Mawdudi, Jamaat-e-Islami's founding ideologue. ICNA officials have included Ashrafuz Zaman Khan, a Jamaat-e-Islami operative who fled Bangladesh after the 1971 Liberation War. In 2013, a Bangladeshi war-crimes tribunal convicted Khan *in absentia* for leading a killing squad during that war, reportedly murdering 18 civilians.

ICNA seems to have long worked to advance Pakistan's interests and partner with anti-Indian jihadists. A 1997 article in ICNA's in-house publication, the *Message*, featured an exclusive interview with Kashmiri terrorist leader Syed Salahuddin. ICNA praised him as the "undisputed

²⁹ Sam Westrop and Martha Lee, "Pakistan's Terror-Connected Islamist Network in Houston Revealed," *Firstpost*, June 4, 2021. https://www.meforum.org/62423/exposed-pakistan-intricate-us-islamist-network

³⁰ Zaheer Uddin, "ICNA: A Successful Journey and a Promising Road Ahead." *The Message International* 23, no. 8 (1999), 24.

^{31 &}quot;The Charter And By-Laws," Islamic Circle of North America, accessed January 22, 2018,

https://web.archive.org/web/20101227052638/http:/www.icnasisterswing.com/charterbylawfiles/ICNA CBL.pdf.

³² "Promoting Radical Ideas—What ICNA Demands of its Members," *IPT News*, August 10, 2010,

https://www.investigativeproject.org/2098/promoting-radical-ideas-what-icna-demands-of-its

³³ "Charter and By-Laws," Islamic Circle of North America, 2004,

https://web.archive.org/web/20041013074104/http:/www.icna.com/ICNA/organize.html



leader of the mujahideen struggling to liberate the territory of Kashmir from brutal Indian occupation."³⁴

Following the 9/11 attacks, ICNA was more careful to avoid overt praise for jihadist operatives, but it continued to partner with their proxies overseas. One of ICNA's chief subsidiaries, Helping Hand for Relief and Development (HHRD), openly partnered in 2017 with Lashkar-e-Taiba, the designated Pakistani terrorist organization responsible for the deadly 2008 Mumbai attacks.³⁵ HHRD also funds and partners³⁶ with Jamaat-e-Islami's welfare arm, Al-Khidmat Foundation,³⁷ which is closely involved with the designated Kashmiri jihadist group Hizbul Mujahideen.³⁸ As a letter sent by U.S. Congress members noted: "HHRD's partnership with Al-Khidmat is not relegated to this one conference. Indeed, according to HHRD's 2017 report, HHRD had done 214 different projects with Al-Khidmat."³⁹ Another ICNA subsidiary, ICNA Relief, also works closely with groups such as the READ Foundation, a sister organization of Al-Khidmat. Schools operated by READ Foundation in Pakistani Kashmir have openly expressed praise for violent Islamists.⁴⁰

All this foreign activity has been accompanied by longstanding, lawful efforts in the United States to advance the issue of Kashmir within American politics. Following the arrest of Ghulam Nabi Fai, in 2011, ICNA and several other American Islamist organizations published a statement in support of Fai and the Kashmiri people's "peaceful struggle for self-determination." Similar statements were published regularly over the next few years. In 2016, for example, ICNA demanded President Obama intervene on the question of Kashmir, accusing the Indian army of turning the region into "killing fields" and senselessly murdering innocent civilians. 42

In 2019, around the time Imran Khan called on American Muslims to organize against the Indian government, these occasional statements were expanded into a series of fully-fledged campaigns.

³⁴ "Kashmir Commander Speaks," Interview with Syed Salahuddin Ahmed, Supreme Commander, Hizbul Mujahideen, *The Message*, October 1997, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/963.pdf.

³⁵ Sam Westrop, "Pakistani Islamism Flourishes in America," *National Review*, Jan. 24, 2018, https://www.nationalreview.com/2018/01/pakistani-terror-groups-charitable-guises-us-funds/

³⁶ "US-based charity announces establishment of rehab center," ICNA Website, Mar. 10, 2017, https://www.icna.org/us-based-charity-announces-establishment-of-rehab-center/

³⁷ "Welfare in Sindh: 'Al Khidmat spent Rs140m last year,'" *The Express Tribune*, June 28, 2016, https://tribune.com.pk/story/1132200/welfare-sindh-al-khidmat-spent-rs140m-last-year/

³⁸ Abha Shankar, "IPT Investigation Reveals ICNA Partner's Close Ties to Kashmiri Jihadists," *IPT News*, December 5, 2017, https://www.investigativeproject.org/7011/ipt-investigation-reveals-icna-partner-close-ties; Sheikh Abdulmayed, "S Syed Salehuddin, Martyrdom Brings a New Spirit to the Freedom Struggle," *Jasarat* [Urdu], Aug. 7, 2016, https://www.jasarat.com/2016/08/07/karachi-sayed-salahuddin-and-hafiz-naeem-ur-rehman-press-conference.

³⁹ Letter to Nathan Sales, Representative Jim Banks, United States Congress, September 2019. http://dearcolleague.us/2019/09/cosign-investigate-potential-terror-finance-links/

⁴⁰ Sam Westrop, "Putting an End to Government Funding of Islamism," *National Review*, Aug. 24, 2017, https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/08/us-government-funds-islamic-extremists/

⁴¹ "AMT Reaffirms Commitment to Peaceful Kashmiri Struggle," ICNA Press Release, Islamic Circle of North America, August 2, 2011. https://www.icna.org/press-release/amt-reaffirms-commitment-to-peaceful-kashmiri-struggle/

⁴² Naeem Baig, "Kashmir needs immediate attention of Pres. Obama," *Islamic Circle of North America*, July 12, 2016, http://www.icna.org/kashmir-needs-immediate-attention-of-obama-administration/.



Billboards denouncing genocide, oppression, & fascism" putatively imposed on Kashmir by India began to spring up across America.⁴³ Another ICNA subsidiary, the ICNA Council for Social Justice, began a regular series of advertising campaigns, social media blitzes, published articles and lobbying efforts to highlight ostensible Indian iniquity and violence.⁴⁴ And a new organization, Justice For All, established by yet another ICNA subsidiary, launched a "Free Kashmir" campaign.

Justice For All quickly aligned itself with pro-jihadist voices,⁴⁵ and partnered with other new groups, such as Stand With Kashmir.⁴⁶ Justice For All director Hena Zuberi is also a board member of the Aafia Foundation,⁴⁷ a group that advocates on behalf of convicted Al Qaeda operative Aafia Siddiqui, Pakistan's "daughter of the nation."⁴⁸ In August 2021, Justice For All organized an event to mourn the "prisoners of Haqq [truth] of the Indian regime," focusing primarily on Shabbir Shah, whom Justice For All describes as the "Nelson Mandela of Kashmir."⁴⁹ In fact, Shah stands accused by Indian prosecutors of involvement with designated terrorist organization Lashkar-e-Taiba.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, Justice For All's partner, Stand With Kashmir (SWK), is a relatively new organization with a somewhat more legitimate sheen, founded in 2019 by several semi-respectable academics and activists. Officials of SWK include Hafsa Kanjwal, who, research organization DisInfo Lab reports, previously worked for the Pakistani regime. ⁵¹ Kanjwal's cousin, meanwhile, is Sameera Fazili. In March 2021, President Biden appointed Fazili – an SWK member – as deputy director of the National Economic Council, an important executive body. ⁵²

Under the cover of progressivist and social sciences rhetoric, SWK openly advocates for jihadists, including Kashmiri terrorists involved with Lashkar-e-Taiba; as well as members of the banned

⁴³ Cliff Smith and Sam Westrop, "Not just JeM, Lashkar – this Islamic group in Louisiana & Michigan as dangerous for India," *ThePrint*, December 10, 2019. https://theprint.in/opinion/not-just-jem-lashkar-this-islamic-group-in-louisiana-michigan-as-dangerous-for-india/332800/

^{44 &}quot;India," Search Results, ICNA Council for Social Justice. https://icnacsj.org/?s=india

⁴⁵ Abha Shnkar and Cliff Smith, "U.S. Multimedia Company Peddles Jihadist-Friendly Kashmir Narrative," *Sunday Guardian*, January 23, 2021.

⁴⁶ "Free Kashmir," *Justice for All.* https://www.justiceforall.org/free-kashmir/

⁴⁷ "Board of Directors," Aafia Foundation. https://aafia.org/board-of-directors/

⁴⁸ Sam Westrop, "Exploiting Progressivist Handwringing, Islamists Advocate for their Own," *National Review*, September 13, 2021. https://www.meforum.org/islamist-watch/62637/exploiting-progressivist-handwringing-islamists

⁴⁹ "Event: Prisoners of Haqq of the Indian Regime. The case of Shabir Shah," *Justice For All*, August 20, 2021. https://www.justiceforall.org/events/event-prisoners-of-haqq-of-the-indian-regime-the-case-of-shabir-shah/

⁵⁰ "ED attaches assets of Shabir Shah, fines three more in terror funding case," Hindustan Times, March 29, 2019. https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/ed-attaches-assets-of-shabir-shah-fines-three-more-in-terror-funding-case/story-B5i3yd9xwXhKBsYUfc8V7H.html

⁵¹ "Kashmir Inc: a Conflict Industry," *DisInfo Lab*, August 2021. Page 28. https://thedisinfolab.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/The-Un-Ending-War-III-KASHMIR-INC.pdf

⁵² J.M. Phelps, "Top Biden Economic Policy Adviser Linked to Kashmiri Extremists," *American Spectator*, March 5, 2021. https://www.meforum.org/islamist-watch/62087/top-biden-economic-policy-adviser-linked-to



jihadist outfit Dukntaran-e-Millat, such as its pro-Bin Laden leader, Asiya Andrabi.⁵³ SWK has worked closely with Jamaat-e-Islami proxies such as ICNA; and, in her academic writings, SWK's Kanjwal appears to frame Jamaat-e-Islami and its founding ideologue, Abul A'la Mawdudi, as positive influences within South Asia.⁵⁴

The Jamaat-e-Islami network in the United States places a great deal of emphasis on influencing American politics and media. Along with working to advance anti-Indian policies through multiple campaigns, rallies, petitions, and other means, ICNA and other Islamist groups have worked in Congress to discredit critics who have exposed these Islamist groups' terror ties. Working through InterAction – an easily manipulated, State Department-funded charitable umbrella organization – ICNA and others disseminated documents in 2019 and met with legislators to distract or try to excuse their connections to jihadists and other Islamists in Kashmir and Pakistan. ⁵⁵ ICNA's HHRD even engaged Perkins Coie, the law firm behind the infamous "Steele dossier," to help it attack its critics. ⁵⁶

Late 2019, in the wake of Imran Khan's call on American Muslims to organize against India, once again proves to be a crucial time period. ICNA's efforts to force the Kashmiri issue onto legislative agendas in the United States contributed, some Indian media concludes, to the Foreign Affairs Committee's decision to organize an October 2019 congressional hearing on Kashmir.⁵⁷ During those hearings, Islamist-friendly politician, Representative Ilhan Omar, came under particular scrutiny for her extraordinary attacks on India and prominent journalist Aarti Tikoo Singh offered the Foreign Affairs Committee compelling testimony on the Islamist-led expulsion of Hindus from Kashmir.⁵⁸ There is good reason to suspect the influence of Jamaat-e-Islami organizations within this drama. Cliff Smith of the Middle East Forum notes:

"[Rep.] Omar prominently supports ICNA and HHRD. She starred in a fundraising video for ICNA, and proudly met with HHRD's director of programs, Ilyas Choudry. ICNA has lauded Omar in numerous social media posts and press releases. Senior ICNA leaders have signed public letters in support of Omar.

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⁵³ Martha Lee, "Stand With Kashmir not an innocent hashtag, it supports violent Islamists and terrorists," *ThePrint*, May 26, 2020. https://theprint.in/opinion/stand-with-kashmir-not-innocent-supports-violent-islamists-terrorists/429425/

⁵⁴ Hafsa Kanjwal, "Response to Fear in the Muslim Tradition," Journal of Interreligious Dialogue, 2010; Hafsa Kanjwal, "Building a New Kashmir: Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad and the Politics of State-Formation in a Disputed Territory (1953-1963)," Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2017.

⁵⁵ Sam Westrop, "Terror-Charity Lobbyists Are Subsidized by U.S. Taxpayers," *National Review*, May 13, 2020. https://www.nationalreview.com/2020/05/terror-charity-lobbyists-subsidized-by-us-taxpayers/

⁵⁶ Cliff Smith, "Steele Dossier' law firm peddles misinformation for Jamaat-e-Islami linked charity" *Sunday Guardian Live*, June 27, 2020. https://www.sundayguardianlive.com/news/steele-dossier-law-firm-peddles-misinformation-jamaat-e-islami-linked-charity.

⁵⁷ "Jamaat campaign against India led to US hearings, resolutions on Kashmir," *IANS*, March 31, 2020. https://www.outlookindia.com/newsscroll/jamaat-campaign-against-india-led-to-us-hearings-resolutions-on-kashmir-ians-exclusive/1785863

⁵⁸ Aziz Haniffa, "Kashmir is part of an overall Hindu nationalism project, says Rep. Ilhan Omar," *India Abroad*, October 26, 2019. https://www.indiaabroad.com/us_affairs/kashmir-is-part-of-an-overall-hindu-nationalism-project-says-rep-ilhan-omar/article_049ee7ac-f849-11e9-9e78-b3905e179f62.html



Moreover, ICNA publicly works with Stand With Kashmir which, as Singh's reporting showed, coordinates with other Islamist groups to drive their favored narrative on Kashmir." Moreover, Omar has also "appeared in an interview with SWK hosted by Marc Lamont Hill, an activist and academic who was let go from CNN for publicly using rhetoric calling for the destruction of Israel." ⁵⁹

ICNA, along with its subsidiaries and partners, appears most closely associated with the Pakistani branch of Jamaat-e-Islami. Other South Asian branches of Jamaat-e-Islami have their own proxies and partners. The Indian American Muslim Council (IAMC), for example, appears curiously close to Jamaat-e-Islami Hind. An unashamedly anti-Hindu organization, IAMC openly collaborates with jihadist and pro-jihadist voices. Writing in the *Sunday Guardian*, Benjamin Baird of Islamist Watch notes:

"Consider the case of Asim Ghafoor, a fixture at the [IAMC's] early conventions. As a lawyer and lobbyist, Ghafoor represented the Saudi-based Al Haramain Islamic Foundation, an UN-designated terrorist organization aligned with Al Qaeda. He was also the "spokesman" for the Global Relief Foundation (GFR), another designated terrorist group which funded the Taliban."



⁵⁹ Cliff Smith, "Omar's Indian nemesis highlights the congresswoman's radical supporters," *JNS*, May 19, 2020. https://www.jns.org/opinion/omars-indian-nemesis-highlights-the-congresswomans-radical-supporters/
⁶⁰ Benjamin Baird, "Chicago's Indian American Muslim Council Doth Protest Too Much," *Sunday Guardian*, January 30, 2021. https://www.meforum.org/61982/chicagos-indian-american-muslim-council



IAMC does little to hide its support for Jamaat-e-Islami Hind. Baird adds: "IAMC produces fawning news briefings and social media posts promoting JIH activities, even referring to it as a 'savior' to Indians. Sufia Salim, IAMC's vice president in 2017, has shared at least 30 posts from the official Facebook page belonging to the more extremist Jamaat-e-Islami branch in Pakistan." In addition, IAMC has been accused of links to the Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), an Indian-designated terrorist organization. In fact, SIMI's founder, Ahmadullah Siddiqui, appeared at the IAMC's first convention in 2003. Despite running frequent campaigns to denounce its critics and deny all accusations of extremism, the IAMC just recently decided to partner with pro-Taliban Deobandi cleric Yasir Nadeem Al Wajidi to work "against fascism and Hindutva." This is not the first example of IAMC-linked individuals expressing sympathy for the Taliban. In 2002, the IAMC's Kaleem Kawaja penned a sorrowful article asking fellow Muslims to "spare a tear for [the] Taliban."

As with ICNA, the IAMC has worked vigorously to advance anti-Indian causes within the U.S. Capitol. In 2020, for instance, it organized – in partnership with various Islamist groups and far-Left Hindu organizations – a Congressional briefing on Indian "state repression and police brutalities."

These Jamaati efforts to advance Islamist interests within American politics are found at the local and state level as well. In March 2021, Islamists in Chicago, including ICNA, Helping Hand for Relief and Development, IAMC and Stand With Kashmir introduced a resolution within the Council of the City of Chicago that condemned the Indian government and its "violence against certain castes and faith groups." Although the resolution was defeated, such tactics and bills like it will almost certainly surface again in Chicago and other city and state legislatures across America.⁶⁷

https://twitter.com/Mufti_Yasir/status/1436928473667362818

⁶¹ Baird, "Chicago's Indian American Muslim Council Doth Protest Too Much," 2021.

⁶² Baird, "Chicago's Indian American Muslim Council Doth Protest Too Much," 2021.

⁶³ Sam Westrop, "Western Islamists Welcome Taliban Takeover," *Islamist Watch*, August 16, 2021. https://www.meforum.org/islamist-watch/62562/western-islamists-welcome-taliban-takeover

⁶⁴ Yasir Nadeem Al-Wajidi, Twitter Post, September 12, 2021.

⁶⁵ Kawaja, Kaleem. "Brother, spare a tear for Taliban." The Milli Gazette. n.d.

https://www.milligazette.com/Archives/01032002/0103200254.htm

⁶⁶ Ibrahim Hooper, "CAIR to Co-Sponsor Jan. 27 Congressional Briefing on 'Implications of India's Citizenship Law," *CAIR*, January 26, 2020. https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-to-co-sponsor-jan-27-congressional-briefing-on-implications-of-indias-citizenship-law/

⁶⁷ "Anti-India resolution backed by Islamists and the Left in Chicago City Council defeated," *SamvadaWorld*, March 25, 2021. https://samvadaworld.com/national/anti-india-resolution-backed-by-islamists-and-the-left-in-chicago-city-council-defeated/



3) American Ikhwan and Friends

Around the same time as the Modi protests, Pakistan's Imran Khan addressed a conference organized by a leading American Islamist organization, the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA). Khan called on ISNA to "raise awareness" about the ostensible evils of India and its purported similarities to the Nazis, and to "approach your members of Congress, Senators." (In 2018, the Canada Revenue Agency suspected ISNA's Canadian branch after it emerged that the organization transferred 136,000 Canadian Dollars to Kashmir, where it suspected to have fallen into the hands of Hizb-ul-Mujahideen.)

But while the Pakistani regime pursued a new campaign to win over American Muslims to their cause, America's Islamists did not need much convincing. For the last few years, India has not just been firmly in the sights of Jamaat-e-Islami and Pakistani proxies, but also those of a wide array of American Islamism's leading other radical voices. Much of the work demonizing India and providing apologias for Kashmir's jihadists have been carried out by Middle Eastern Islamists aligning themselves with existing Pakistani and Jamaat-e-Islami campaigns.

The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), for example, is arguably the most prominent Islamist voice in America. Its roots lie in Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood networks; and in 2014, the United Arab Emirates designated it a terrorist organization because of its Islamist activities and connections. Alongside Jamaati, Pakistani and Khalistani organizations, CAIR was a sponsor of the 2019 anti-Modi protests in Houston. CAIR also regularly promotes events organized by Ghulam Nabi Fai's organization and Jamaat-e-Islami groups. And in 2020, CAIR sponsored the radical Indian American Muslim Council's efforts to influence U.S. Congressmembers on India's Citizenship Law.

https://www.facebook.com/fayazkhalilofficial/photos/a.475229499251388/2421108781330107/?type=3&theater ⁷² "Rally for Kashmir," Event Poster, Facebook Post, August 4, 2021.

https://twitter.com/CAIRNational/status/1422954581840044036/photo/1

⁶⁸ "PM Imran Khan Speech at ISNA Houston Texas," *ISNA Houston Conference*, YouTube, September 1, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b9khofkghRs

⁶⁹ Stewart Bell, "CRA suspends, fines major Islamic charity over concerns it may have 'provided resources' to armed militants," *Global News*, October 1, 2018. https://globalnews.ca/news/4490892/cra-suspends-fines-major-islamic-charity-over-concerns-it-may-have-provided-resources-to-armed-militants/

⁷⁰ Perry Chiaramonte, "US group CAIR named terrorist organization by United Arab Emirates," *Fox News*, November 17, 2014. https://www.foxnews.com/us/us-group-cair-named-terrorist-organization-by-united-arabemirates

^{71 &}quot;Kashmir Rally GoBackModi," Event Poster, Facebook Post, September 20, 2019.

⁷³ Twitter Post, CAIR National, January 27, 2020. https://twitter.com/CAIRNational/status/1221813880239919106





The violent evictions of Bengali-speaking Muslims in Assam is ethnic cleansing. Modi's government is setting the stage for genocide.

@IAMCouncil #Islamophobia in india #HindutvaStateTerror



Indian American Muslims condemns forced evictions and police brutality in Ass... The Indian American Muslim Council (IAMC) condemned the violent eviction drive in Assam, which was aimed at driving Muslims \mathscr{D} siasat.com

CAIR has also partnered with the Muslim American Society and others Muslim Brotherhood-founded organizations, along with groups such as Stand With Kashmir, to organize protests against the Indian state. Heans-linked Hamas-linked organizations such as American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) and its student subsidiary, Students for Justice in Palestine, have switched a considerable amount of their focus to the question of India and Kashmir, often working with organizations such as Stand With Kashmir in the process. AMP chairman Hatem Bazian, meanwhile, also uses his organization, the Islamophobia Research & Documentation Project at the University of California, Berkeley, to advance anti-Indian dogma – including various videos and reports on "Islamophobia in India," in which Bazian argues that Indians are pursuing a "colonial" effort to "punish the [Kashmiri] population for demanding basic human rights and freedom." Hundreds of similar, additional examples can be found across the United States, with Kashmirthemed khutbahs, lectures and rallies organized by scores of mosques, community organizations and pressure groups.

⁷⁴ Cliff Smith, "Israel's American Enemies Now Target India," *ThePrint*, October 29, 2020. https://www.meforum.org/islamist-watch/61710/israel-american-enemies-now-target-india

⁷⁵ "American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)," *NGO Monitor*, February 15, 2021. https://www.ngo-monitor.org/ngos/american-muslims-for-palestine-amp/

⁷⁶ "San Francisco – Stand With Kashmir," Facebook Event, September 28, 2019.

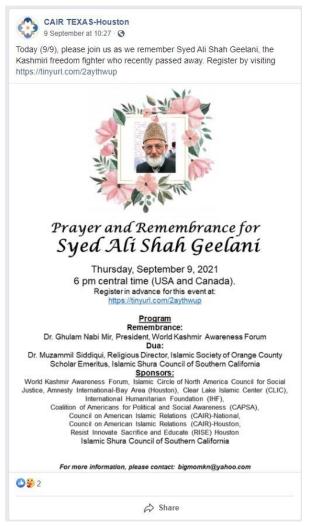
https://www.facebook.com/events/498368957378152/?post_id=501218090426572&view=permalink

⁷⁷ Oren Litwin, "Islamists Are Exploiting the Conflict in Kashmir," *Daily Wire*, August 22, 2019. https://www.meforum.org/islamist-watch/59233/islamists-are-exploiting-the-conflict-in-kashmir; Sam Westrop, "India Should Beware Of American Islamism," *Daily O*, May 10, 2019. https://www.meforum.org/58507/india-should-beware-of-american-islamism



But these additional Islamist groups do not just parrot anti-India rhetoric; they work to praise Kashmir's jihadists. Following the recent death Syed Ali Shah Geelani – who served as the "spiritual leader" of the designated terrorist organization Hizb-ul-Mujahideen – half a dozen registered U.S. nonprofits organized an event in remembrance of this leading, violence-tied Islamist activist. These American mourners included Ghulam Nabi Fai's World Kashmir Awareness Forum, Pakistan's International Humanitarian Foundation, various branches of CAIR, the Islamic Circle of North America, a variety of mosques, and, curiously, a branch of Amnesty International.

American Islamist supporters of Pakistan's efforts to attack the Indian state are not entirely limited to domestic movements. Proxies and supporters of foreign Islamist regimes have also increasingly become involved – particularly the Turkish and Qatari regimes. For instance, Azad Essa, a doggedly anti-Indian journalist, 80 is a regular presence on the hardline Islamist speaking circuit and has served as a journalist for



Qatari regime-linked media entities *Al Jazeera* and the *Middle East Eye*.⁸¹ Moreover, he is the husband of Stand With Kashmir founder Hafsa Kanjwal. In early 2021, Essa established a newsletter "tracking" the "new alliance" between India and Israel and its purported roots in the "targeting of Muslims, repressing Kashmiris," among other things.⁸² In April 2021, the Indian American Muslim Council appeared to work in close collaboration with *Al Jazeera* to publish an article on U.S. federal COVID-relief monies reaching "Hindu nationalists."

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⁷⁸ Sam Westrop, "Eulogizing a Jihadist," *Islamist Watch*, September 17, 2021. https://www.meforum.org/islamistwatch/62650/eulogizing-a-jihadist

⁷⁹ Incidentally, it appears the same Amnesty International branch also sponsored the anti-Modi protests in Houston. "Kashmir Rally GoBackModi," Event Poster, Facebook Post, September 20, 2019.

https://www.facebook.com/fayazkhalilofficial/photos/a.475229499251388/2421108781330107/?type=3&theater ⁸⁰ Cliff Smith, "Israel's American Enemies Now Target India," *ThePrint*, October 29, 2020.

https://www.meforum.org/islamist-watch/61710/israel-american-enemies-now-target-india

^{81 &}quot;Speakers," *Palestine Convention*. https://www.palestineconvention.org/speakers/

⁸² "Azad Essa, "A newsletter about India and Israel. Why?" *India-Israel Alliance Newsletter*, February 1, 2021. https://indiaisraelalliance.substack.com/p/a-newsletter-about-india-and-israel

^{83 &}quot;Call for US probe into Hindu right-wing groups getting COVID fund," *Al Jazeera*, April 8, 2021. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/8/call-for-us-probe-into-hindu-right-wing-groups-getting-covid-fund;



Many Islamists, determined to demonize India, have also grown close to the Turkish regime, which is one of the leading state patrons of Western Islamism today. Abdullah Bozkurt of *Nordic Monitor* reveals that Ghulam Nabi Fai, before and after his conviction, collaborated with SADAT – "Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's secretive paramilitary group" – through SADAT's leading front group, the Union of NGOs of the Islamic World (UNIW), where Fai has served as a board member. UNIW head Adnan Tanrıverdi met with Fai in 2018, Bozkurt reveals, to "discuss joint projects and coordinate actions globally, especially on India." UNIW serves as an umbrella for a wide variety of Islamist charities, including Muslim Brotherhood charities such as Islamic Relief, and Jamaat-e-Islami charities such as Muslim Aid and ICNA's Helping Hand for Relief and Development. UNIW events in Pakistan have featured visits to the head offices of Jamaat-e-Islami and its terror-tied proxies, along with conferences at which UNIW officials warn about "our enemies ... [the] UK, EU, USA."86

What Next?

As India continues to battle Pakistan-backed Jamaati, Deobandi, and Ahl-e-Hadith terrorists in Kashmir, it must now also contend with a powerful effort to vilify the world's largest democracy internationally. The groups and persons mentioned above represent only a small proportion of the total danger.

At best, such campaigns of demonization and delegitimization may exert real damage on India's reputation, while serving to benefit Pakistani ambitions. At worst, they are harbinger for an international Islamist effort to support violence and terror in Kashmir and the rest of India, with jihadist volunteers, money, and weapons perhaps to follow. India – and indeed, American Indian communities – would ignore these threats at their peril.

A number of changes should be made. First, the Indian government is advised to do more to explain the true extent of the jihadist threat it faces. Arrests and prosecutions of Kashmiri jihadists are rarely explained properly, with official documents outlining the facts often not being made available. Islamist forces in the West often use the opaque appearance of Indian law enforcement's activities as the basis for accusations of Indian repression, which mainstream human rights organizations and media outlets then thoughtlessly repeat. Indian law enforcement should publish as much as possible, outlining the extent of their evidence against jihadist operatives and extremist

[&]quot;Legal Demand for Retraction and Apology," *Hindu American Foundation*, Letter, April 19, 2021. https://www.hinduamerican.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/2021.04.19-RJS-to-IAMC-Demand-Letter-re-Hindu-American-Foundation.pdf

 ^{84 &}quot;24th Council Meeting," *Union of NGOs of the Islamic World*. https://idsb.org/en/24th-council-meeting/
 85 Abdullah Bozkurt, "Turkey's Paramilitary SADAT Teamed Up with Convicted Felon in the US to Act against India," Middle East Forum, February 11, 2021. https://www.meforum.org/62053/turkey-teamed-up-with-felon-in-us-against-india

⁸⁶ Sam Westrop, "Umbrella Group for American Government Funded Islamist Charities: U.K, U.S. are our 'Enemies," Islamist Watch, February 5, 2020. https://www.meforum.org/islamist-watch/60372/umbrella-group-for-american-government-funded



organizations. Second, the Indian government should place pressure on American authorities to prosecute agents of the Pakistani regime and investigate 501(c) public charities that overtly lionize and subsidize jihadist activity in Kashmir. Third, close and comprehensive monitoring of Pakistani, Islamist, Khalistani and fellow traveler networks in the West is urgently needed. For that, much can be learned from the existing efforts to fight back against the Western support networks of jihadists in the Palestinian territories. India and diaspora allies are well-advised to establish their own think tanks, pressure groups, lobbyists, research organizations, student activist groups and a whole array of nonprofit infrastructure, in cooperation with existing counter-Islamist organizations such as the Usanas Foundation in India and the Middle East Forum in the United States.

Understanding the enemies of India and the potency of their designs requires detailed research: establishing extensive relational databases, making use of advanced open-source intelligence techniques, establishing systems for mass-scraping of social media and financial data sources, among other methods. Once such research has begun to be collected, a newly established force of lawyers, lobbyists, politicians, and activists can bring uncovered information to Indian and American journalists, legislators, and the public.

The growing ideological obsession of international Islamism with India is becoming more and more apparent. Given recent events in Afghanistan, as well as the growing prominence of Pakistan as a major force in the international Sunni Islamist axis (alongside Qatar and Turkey), it seems clear that the next 20 years of Islamist news will no longer come out of the Middle East, but from South Asia. Close partnerships between U.S. and Indian counter-Islamist organizations are urgently needed if we are to defy this theocratic menace.