



Global Muslim Brotherhood  
Research Center

# Extremism and the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)

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January 2007



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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As the “Global War on Terrorism” continues to occupy the attention of the US government, it is clear that the problem of Islamist extremism and terrorism in the Muslim world will continue to be a formidable challenge. In connection with the security-related efforts to combat the violence of extremist groups, attempts must also be made to oppose their ideology. The US government has rightly concluded that it must engage the Muslim community in order to achieve both of these goals, which are vital to American national interests. American-Muslim groups at home have received special attention as potential partners of the State Department and law enforcement officials in the ongoing fight against violent extremists. The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), America’s self-described leading Muslim civil rights organization, has emerged as one of the government’s most frequent and visible partners in these endeavors. An important factor in CAIR’s role as a government partner is the legitimacy conferred by its implicit status as a “moderate” Muslim organization. As a “moderate” partner of the US government, CAIR has been involved in various activities, such as a 2005 conference in Belgium that was intended to create an international network of moderate Muslims, as well as sensitivity training programs for national law enforcement officials.

However, it is important to remember that these partnerships are means to an end, not an end in themselves. If the US government is to partner with a Muslim organization, it is for the purpose of strengthening ties to the Muslim community in order to serve our national interests as we continue to battle Islamist extremism. A partnership with an extremist Islamist group, even a prominent one, would therefore undermine US efforts, and there is an extensive body of evidence that gives good cause to doubt CAIR’s moderate reputation. An additional problem is the implicit legitimacy conferred on a partner of the US government. Lending that legitimacy to an extremist organization, thereby allowing them to become mainstream, runs sharply counter to US interests. In order to evaluate the charges of extremism that have been leveled at CAIR, three criteria can be used: fundamentalism, anti-Semitism, and connections to terrorism. In this analysis, Islamic fundamentalism refers to “a political ideology based on a ‘selective and arbitrary politicization of religion.’” Charges of anti-Semitism can be leveled against individuals

and organizations who decry “Zionist conspiracies,” such as the control of the media or governments. Terrorist organizations are designated according to the State Department’s own list. An analysis of the public record on CAIR’s founding, funding, and leadership based on these characteristics clearly shows that CAIR emerged out of a global network of extremists, to which it is still connected, and that its ideology and practices exhibit clear extremist characteristics.

Since its inception, CAIR has been intimately connected to a network of extremist Islamist groups centered on Hamas, including the Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP) and the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) in the United States. Its strongest ties are with the IAP, where all three of CAIR’s founding leaders, Omar Ahmad, Nihad Awad, and Rafeeq Jaber, had leadership positions. Mr. Ahmad was IAP President from 1991-1994, Mr. Awad was IAP Public Relations Director for the same time period, and Rafeeq Jaber took over the IAP presidency after Mr. Ahmad from 1994 until the IAP’s apparent dissolution in 2005. Mr. Jaber’s involvement with both the IAP and CAIR is just one indication that the two groups continued to be intimately involved with each other after the founding. In IAP, CAIR’s founding has organizational roots in one of the foremost Hamas front-organizations in the United States. IAP’s involvement in logistical, organizational, and financial support for Hamas is widespread and well-documented, and includes publishing Hamas communiqués calling supporters to jihad, publishing and distributing the Hamas charters, distributing fliers and communiqués supporting and raising funds for Hamas, and distributing the Hamas magazine *Filisteen al-Muslima*, which paid tribute to and supported suicide bombers’ attacks. Along with the Holy Land Foundation, which was involved in fundraising for Hamas, the IAP was found officially liable for its activities in support of Hamas by a Federal judge in 2004.

CAIR’s connections to Hamas’ international infrastructure are not limited to the origins of its leadership, however. The Holy Land Foundation, which, according to according to a 2004 Justice Department report on its indictment, “illegally sent \$12.4 million to support HAMAS and its goal of creating an Islamic Palestinian state by eliminating the State of Israel through violent jihad,” was involved in providing

start-up funds necessary for CAIR's founding. Of course, as with all other accusations of extremism, CAIR's leadership has responded to this fact with self-serving denials. CAIR founder Nihad Awad, in a 2003 Senate testimony, called the accusation "an outright lie," and stated: "Our organization did not receive any seed money from HLF." Despite the certainty of Mr. Awad's remarks, they conflict with documented proof; a well-known critic of CAIR has provided a photocopy of a wire transfer from HLF to CAIR dated October 31, 1994, the same year as CAIR's founding. In fact, the HLF is not alone as an extremist source of funding for CAIR's facilities and activities. In December 1999, Arab News reported that the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), a Saudi Arabian charity closely tied to the global Muslim Brotherhood network, was "extending both moral and financial support to CAIR in its effort to construct its own headquarters at a cost of \$3.5 million in Washington, D.C." This is just one illustration of CAIR's connection to Saudi/Wahhabi funding, which also includes a \$500,000 donation from Saudi Prince al-Walid Bin Talal in 2002 and a cooperative \$1 million public relations campaign with WAMY, launched in 2002. These facts are troubling, especially in light of a 2001 CAIR news release, which paints an entirely different picture of CAIR's organizational network: "We do not support directly or indirectly, or receive support from, any overseas group or government."

If one accepts that CAIR's leadership is aware of the sources of its funding, the conflict between CAIR's public statements and the actual facts of its origins, funding, and continued connections implies that CAIR is deliberately obscuring its links to extremism. Actually, the fact that it is funded by extremist Muslim groups, both by US-based organizations such as HLF and by foreign sources such as WAMY, is not surprising, considering its roots in the international Hamas infrastructure. CAIR's leadership has not changed, so it is unsurprising that these links have not faded away. In fact, CAIR's connection to Hamas front-groups like the HLF has continued. After 9/11, for example, a link on CAIR's website entitled "What you can do for the victims of the WTC and Pentagon attacks" solicited support for the "NY/DC Emergency Relief Fund." The link, however, led to the HLF website; the Emergency Relief Fund did not exist. Moreover, CAIR officials were also involved in HLF's leadership. HLF Chairman Ghassan Elashi, for example, was a founding board member of CAIR/Texas. In 2004, he was indicted for his involvement in providing "financial and material support" to Hamas through the HLF. In addition to the IAP and HLF, CAIR also has extensive links to other Hamas-related organizations, including KindHearts and the United Association for Studies and Research.

CAIR has also extended support to specific individuals who had links to terrorist organizations—not only Hamas, but also al-Qaeda. An early example is that of Mousa Abu Marzook. Mr. Marzook was a political leader of Hamas who was involved in the founding of the Islamic Association of Palestine in the US in the 1980s, and was still involved with the IAP at the time of his arrest and extradition to Israel in the mid-1990s. CAIR participated in Mr. Marzook's defense, helping to raise funds for him, including him in its annually published list of religious persecution, and decrying the legal actions taken against him as being "politically motivated" and "orchestrated to serve as a wedge between America and Islamic countries," stating that "our judicial system has been kidnapped by Israeli interests." Of course, CAIR neglected to mention the inconvenient connection between Mr. Marzook and its parent organization, the IAP. With regard to al-Qaeda, CAIR was especially vocal in its criticisms of the March 2004 conviction of three men, in the so-called Virginia Jihad case, on charges including conspiracy to levy war against the United States and conspiracy to provide material support to the Taliban and Lashkar-e-Taiba. A CAIR press release warned that "we are quickly approaching a state of affairs in which there is a two-tier prosecutorial system in America; one system for Muslims, and one for all other Americans." The statement also alleged that "these men would never have been charged had they not been Muslims." Federal raids stemming from the investigation were labeled as "some sort of anti-Muslim dragnet" and "nothing but a fishing investigation" by CAIR officials. Again, CAIR's outrage omitted the illuminating detail that one of its own employees was a defendant who pled guilty to a variety of charges in the case.

It is not surprising that an organization should wish to minimize any links to persons convicted of support for terrorism. CAIR, however, has been more audacious, criticizing the cases while simultaneously obscuring its own links to the very terrorist groups that the individuals were convicted of supporting. It certainly has a lot to answer for; apart from the al-Qaeda related individuals mentioned above, CAIR's infrastructure and leadership also have ties to organizations in the international Islamist network, such as the International Islamic Relief Organization, the Muslim World League, and the Mosque Foundation. It has defended al-Qaeda fundraising groups in the United States, such as Benevolence International, Global Relief Foundation, and the Islamic American Relief Agency, even after they have been officially linked to supporting terrorism. CAIR's repeated public outcries fit within its carefully crafted image of a socially-conscious, moderate religious organization, and are always couched in the language of civil rights and public

criticism. However, their purported civil rights agenda is disingenuous. While CAIR has time and again proved eager to jump to the aid of those organizations and individuals who fit within its extremist network, it repeatedly obscures its links to those same individuals. The effect of its selectively applied civil rights agenda is to promote solidarity within the extremist network and create an atmosphere of suspicion and victimization among the American Muslim community.

Additionally, CAIR's supposed concern for the entire Muslim community is patently false. While it avidly defends the innocence and victimization of other fundamentalist individuals and organizations, it attacks those individuals and groups who do not share its views on Islam. The result is ideological uniformity in the organization, characterized by strongly conservative, fundamentalist Islamist views. Virtually all women in the organization wear the hijab, of which CAIR is a strong proponent. Yet, for an organization that proclaims its deep concern and commitment to female civil rights (which apparently are best preserved by a headscarf), there are no women on its national leadership boards. CAIR has a long history of mounting public campaigns to discredit its critics, such as Daniel Pipes, and Muslims who clash with its close-minded fundamentalism, such as Sheikh Kabbani of the Islamic Supreme Council of America (ISCA), Zuhdi Jasser, chairman of the American Islamic Forum for Democracy, and Islamic scholar and author Khalid Duran. These attacks vilify CAIR's critics as apostates and blasphemers, and in the four examples mentioned above have prompted threats on the person's life. Even in these cases, CAIR remains attentive to the demands of its public image, crafting its smear campaigns in the language of advocacy. Criticisms of extremist Islam and terrorism are condemned for "[inciting] anti-Muslim hatred and bigotry" and for being "false and defamatory allegations," while the targets of criticism are accused of "perpetrating a hate crime against Muslims or of promoting and abetting such crimes." This inflammatory language is not at all connected to the substance of the statement being criticized. The only purpose it serves is to bully the Muslim community into conformity and CAIR's critics into silence.

CAIR's fundamentalism and inflammatory language are difficult to excuse in any organization, but they are of heightened significance because of CAIR's partnership with the US government. On top of these troubling characteristics, CAIR's ideology also does not appear to be committed to the government and the society with which it is purporting to cooperate. CAIR urges its members not to assimilate into American society, because, as CAIR board member

Ihasan Bagby states, Muslims "can never be full citizens" of the United States "because there is no way we can be fully committed to the institutions and ideologies of this [non-Islamic] country." This outlook is fueled by a fundamental belief in the need for an Islamic state to craft an Islamic society. To achieve this purpose, CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad urges Muslims "not to...assimilate to American society but instead to deliver Islam's message," precisely because "Islam isn't in America to be equal to any other faiths, but to become dominant." These sentiments, of course, are in addition to CAIR's message, which consistently attacks the government, its critics, and other Muslims for participating in a perceived anti-Muslim agenda that victimizes the American Muslim community. For a secular government charged with preserving the freedom and equality of America's pluralistic society, CAIR is indeed an unsavory bedfellow.

While some of CAIR's complaints may be legitimate, since it is reasonable to accept that there have been excesses in the prosecution of the Global War on Terrorism, its language goes beyond criticism of the alleged wrongdoing by the government to posit vast conspiracies and organized injustices of which all Muslims are victimized. As was mentioned before, CAIR has an established pattern of coming to the aid and defense of Islamic fundamentalists accused of connections to terrorism and extremism. These too are permeated by expressions of victimization and conspiracy theories. One of the most common themes is blaming the so-called "persecution" on nebulous forces of Zionists who have usurped control of the US government. The "Jewish conspiracy" defense has been a favorite of CAIR's since the early years of its operations. As was mentioned above, CAIR's defense of Hamas political leader Mousa Abu Marzook involved denunciations of the judicial system, which supposedly had been "kidnapped by Israeli interests." CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad has asserted that "it is the Israeli lobby that is demonizing Islam" and keeping American Muslims out of the political process. Investigations of Sami Al-Arian and the Holy Land Foundation, both of which were found to have links to Hamas, were blamed on "the attack dogs of the pro-Israeli lobby." Perceived "anti-Muslim discrimination" in the government's reactions to 9/11 were denounced as the result of "extremists, including the Christian Right and the pro-Israel lobby, carrying out a coordinated campaign against Islam and Muslims." The net effect of these allegations, which are merely a few illustrations of the larger trend, is to create the perception of a vast conspiracy aimed at the oppression and victimization of Muslims. The fact that Marzook, Al-Arian, and the HLF were in fact tied to terrorism is, of course, ignored.

The problem, however, is not simply with the pervasive sense of victimization that characterizes CAIR's message. The "Jewish conspiracy" theme is part of a larger, disturbing trend toward anti-Semitism in CAIR. On top of the anti-Semitic nature of CAIR's own statements, it also sponsors speakers and conferences whose messages are virulently anti-Semitic. Hatam Bazian, a speaker at a 1999 CAIR-sponsored fundraiser and conference in Santa Clara, California, linked the Day of Judgment to a war with Jews: "in the Hadith, the Day of Judgment will never happen until you fight the Jews... until the trees and the stones will say, oh Muslim, there is a Jew hiding behind me. Come and kills him!" When the Anti-Defamation League has, on several occasions, shed light on CAIR's alarmism and the anti-Semitic backgrounds of some of its speakers and actions, CAIR's response has been characteristically heavy-handed. CAIR branded the ADL's reports as "part of a nationwide campaign by the ADL to marginalize and disenfranchise the Muslim community in America." CAIR, again, jumps to defend the "victimized" Muslim community, never mind that the charges of anti-Semitism were well-grounded.

It is not difficult to see how CAIR's ideological mixture of fundamentalism, anti-Semitism, and messages of victimization could potentially be a radicalizing influence in the Muslim community, used as a justification for violence. A moderate organization, therefore, could therefore be expected to temper such an ideology with strong, unequivocal condemnations of terrorism and religious violence. CAIR's failure to do this is inexcusable, and further undermines its "moderate" stature. A CAIR-sponsored fatwa following the 9/11 attacks was weak, unspecific, neglected to condemn terrorism in strongly religious terms (using "haram," or unlawful, instead of a stronger term such as apostasy), and failed to define what constituted a civilian. Instead of being focused on condemning terrorism, CAIR's primary concern was with the need "to disassociate the faith of Islam from the violent acts of a few Muslims." Moreover, the condemnations CAIR has issued have remained stuck on the level of vague generalities, failing to identify groups such as Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

In fact, instead of unequivocally proscribing violence, CAIR has done the opposite, providing justifications for terrorist attacks. In a November 1999 speech, CAIR President Omar Ahmad praised Palestinian attackers, saying that they are "Fighting for freedom, fighting for Islam – that is not suicide. They kill themselves for Islam." CAIR/NY Executive Director Ghazi Khankan lent further support to Hamas' attacks, saying that "The people of Hamas who direct their

attacks on the Israeli military are in the correct position." Khankan went on to illuminate the civilian-military distinction in Israel, or lack thereof: "Who is a soldier in Israel and who is not? Anyone over 18 is automatically inducted into the service and they are all reserves. Therefore, Hamas in my opinion looks at them as part of the military." In light of these views, it is unsurprising that CAIR's condemnations and fatwas are weak, unspecific, and qualified. CAIR's view of terrorism certainly does not match the definition of the US government, which is strongly opposed to the continuation of suicide bombings by Hamas, against civilian and military personnel alike. It is, to put lightly, unreasonable to expect an effective partnership between two sides who differ so sharply on the nature of what they are supposedly partnering to combat.

Ultimately, the question of CAIR's extremism is a subset of the more practical concern of who the United States government should partner with in its ongoing fight against Islamist extremism and terrorist violence. CAIR, as an organization, is deeply enmeshed in a global network of Islamist radicalism, stemming from its roots in the American infrastructure of Hamas, and continuing to this day with connections to a wide range of radical groups related to Hamas, al-Qaeda, and the global Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood network. CAIR's leadership and funding sources are inextricable from this network, whose extremist goals are fundamentally opposed to the interests and existence of the same American government that CAIR partners with. CAIR's agenda is characterized by a manipulative blend of victimization and conspiracy theories, couched in the misleading terms of a disingenuous civil rights agenda. This agenda is selectively applied to support members of CAIR's extremist network, promote its limited, conservative interpretation of Islam, and create a sense of alienation and suspicion in the American Muslim community. While CAIR obscures its own agenda and connections to terrorism, it leaves no room for dissent, demonizing and vilifying its critics and opponents through public smear tactics such as the "Hate Hurts America Campaign" on its website, a virtual list of enemies that attacks even such well-respected individuals as Congressman Tom Lantos for allegedly anti-Muslim statements. Instead of tempering its focus on the civil rights of suspected terrorists with strong condemnations of violence, CAIR's positions on terrorism are invariably qualified, weak, and undermined by justifications for Hamas suicide bombings. Should such a group be responsible for providing sensitivity training for the FBI (a role that CAIR is currently filling)? Should it be allowed to continue to masquerade behind the façade of a moderate, reliable partner in the war on terror, all the while continuing

to attack the actions of the US government at every turn? States? The evidence compiled here clearly indicates that the  
Is this partnership really serving the interests of the United answer to these questions is a resounding “No.”



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# Extremism and the Council on American-Islamic Relations

## SYNOPSIS

The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) describes itself as the nation's leading Muslim civil rights organization. While sometimes fulfilling a civil rights role, this report provides substantial evidence that CAIR and its key leadership are associated with Islamic fundamentalism, anti-Semitism, and support for terrorism. Having its origins in the U.S. Hamas infrastructure, CAIR functions as an important component of the U.S. Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood global network and consistently has delivered a message of Muslim victimization while opposing U.S. government efforts to fight terrorism. CAIR has a particularly close association with Palestinian terrorism.

## BACKGROUND

In April 2005, a U.S. State Department bulletin announced that the United States hoped to help create an “international network that allows mainstream Muslims in Europe and North America regularly to discuss issues of alienation and extremism.”<sup>1</sup> The bulletin cited Tom Korologos, U.S. ambassador to Belgium, who said that the concept was initiated at a November 2005 meeting in Belgium of American and Belgian Muslims that was partially hosted by the U.S. Embassy. Ambassador Korologos went on to say that “Four or five more conferences like this can lead to a network of moderate Muslims.” Ambassador Korologos testified before the U.S. Senate that “We vetted, checked and rechecked those we invited.”<sup>2</sup> He acknowledged that:

“ *Some of the organizations whose members participated in the Conference have been accused of being extremist. It is possible that some individual members of those organizations have made statements that have been termed extremist. Our view however, was to base our selection on the stated policies and specific actions of organizations and individuals today with regard to harmonious Muslim integration into American and European society. We wanted them to hear and participate in our dialogue with fellow moderates.*”

According to the organization website, the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) “played a major part in facilitating the planning of the conference from the US side and indicated that other U.S. Muslim groups attended the conference including the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR), the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), and the Muslim Students Association of the US and Canada (MSA).

It is clear that the State Department has characterized CAIR, ISNA, and the other U.S. Muslim groups as “moderates”. However, these same groups have been repeatedly accused by opponents of being extremists with connections to fundamentalism, anti-Semitism, and terrorism. This report examines the Council on Islamic-American Relations (CAIR) to determine whether or not the charge of extremism can be supported.

## SCOPE OF INQUIRY AND DEFINITIONS

This inquiry used a relatively simple set of criteria to assess the charge of extremism, or more properly, to determine whether or not ISNA should be considered a moderate organization.

### 1. FUNDAMENTALISM

The term fundamentalism is used in many different contexts. Perhaps the most common usage is in reference to the belief that particular religious scriptures are the “authentic and inerrant word of God.”<sup>3</sup> This usage characterizes beliefs held in many religions and serves no useful purpose in this inquiry which will instead rely upon the work of Syrian-born Muslim scholar Bassam Tibi who distinguishes “between Islam as a religious belief” and Islamic fundamentalism as a political ideology” based on a “selective and arbitrary politicization of religion.”<sup>4</sup>

### 2. ANTI-SEMITISM

Common expressions of anti-Semitism are not difficult to identify but problems arise when attempting to distinguish between criticism of the State of Israel and anti-Semitism. Often, anti-Semitism is couched using references to “Zionism” but there are also those who argue that criticism of the founding of the State of Israel is inherently anti-Semitic. For purposes of this inquiry, criticism of “Zionism” as an ideology is not considered anti-Semitic but positing of “Zionist conspiracies” such as the “Zionist control” of media or government is taken as evidence of anti-Semitism.

### 3. TERRORISM

This inquiry will rely upon the State Department’s own list of “Foreign Terrorist Organizations.”<sup>1</sup> Evidence of any form of support for an organization on this list will be considered support of terrorism.

For the purposes of this report, an organization will be said to be moderate if it is reasonably free of these three characteristics. Both the organization and/or its key leadership were examined and where possible, the most recent activities of the organizations were evaluated. This inquiry into CAIR was confined to the subject of extremism and in doing so, the record of the organization in doing “good works” was not examined. Experience with Islamic charities has shown that a record of socially useful activities does not preclude serious involvement with extremism.

1 See <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/fs/37191.htm>

## FOUNDING OF CAIR

CAIR was founded by two important leaders of an organization known as the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), Omar Ahmad and Nihad Awad.

### ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE

A U.S. Treasury Department intelligence official has described the founding of the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP):

“*The IAP is intimately tied to the most senior Hamas leadership; in fact it was originally formed in 1981 by Dr. Aly Mishal at the personal direction of Khaled Mishal (who was then a senior Muslim Brotherhood activist and would later become secretary-general of Hamas). The founding of IAP six years prior to the formation of Hamas is still further indication of Hamas’s roots in the Muslim Brotherhood. When the group’s leaders in Gaza made the decision to official found Hamas in 1987, the IAP became the group’s mouthpiece in North America.*”<sup>5</sup> Sami Al-Arian, a convicted leader of Palestinian Islamic Jihad has stated that he was also involved with founding of IAP.<sup>6</sup>

There is substantial evidence confirming the close association of IAP with Hamas following the founding of Hamas in 1987. An individual known as Mousa Abu Marzook has been a long-time high-ranking leader of Hamas and is currently described by the U.S Government as “the Deputy Chief of Hamas’s Political Bureau based in Damascus, Syria. His activities include directing and coordinating terrorist acts by HAMAS against soldiers and civilians in Israel and the West Bank and Gaza.”<sup>7</sup> According to a U.S Treasury Department intelligence official, Mr. Marzook was helping to finance IAP:

“In January 1990, Marzook--who was then living in Northern Virginia--opened a bank account in the name of IAP. At the same time that Marzook was providing seed money to the HLRFD and operational funds for Mohammad Salah to deliver to Hamas operatives in the West bank, he was also providing startup funds for the IAP. Bank records show that over the course of 1990 and 1991 seven checks totaling \$125,000 were deposited into this account.”<sup>8</sup>

Many of the early leaders of IAP were also leaders in two organizations known as the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) and InfoCom, both located in Richardson Texas, the same Dallas suburb where IAP had its headquarters. Both HLF

and InfoCom have since been implicated by the U.S government in the funding of Hamas and the leaders of HLF and InfoCom have either been convicted and or indicted in connection with this activity.<sup>9</sup> Leadership connections between IAP and HLF and/or InfoCom included:

- ◆ A U.S Treasury Department intelligence official has identified Mousa Abu Marzook as a one-time director of IAP.<sup>10</sup> Marzook also funded both HLF and InfoCom.
- ◆ In April 2005, Basman Elashi and his brothers Ghassan and Bayan were convicted of supporting Hamas by funneling money to Hamas leader Abu Mousa Marzook.<sup>11</sup> Ghassan Elashi was the Chairman of HLF and in California state records as the registered agent for IAP.<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> Basman Elashi was listed in Texas county records as an “owner” of IAP.<sup>14</sup> All three brothers were owners of InfoCom.
- ◆ Texas county records list Ghassan A. Dahduli as an “owner” of IAP and Texas state records list him as the registered agent for IAP.<sup>15 16</sup> Mr. Dahduli was described by various media reports as a former employee of InfoCom.<sup>17</sup>
- ◆ Ahmad E. Agha was both a director of the American Middle Eastern League for Palestine (AMEL) and a Treasurer for HLF. <sup>18 19</sup> The AMEL was another name by which the IAP operated and shared the same office and officers.<sup>20 21 22</sup>
- ◆ Rasmi Khader Almallah was described by a Dallas newspaper as both a Secretary for IAP and a board member of the HLF.<sup>23</sup>

Some of these same individuals and organizations were present at a meeting held in Philadelphia on October 3, 1993 and which was under electronic surveillance by the FBI. According to an FBI document, present at this meeting were:<sup>24</sup>

- ◆ Abdelhaleem Hasan Ashqar  
Hamas activist
- ◆ Akram Kharroubi  
Muslim Arab Students Association, Hamas
- ◆ Mohammad Al-Hanooti  
Hamas money-raiser
- ◆ Ismail Elbarasse  
Marzook associate
- ◆ Muin Kamel Mohammed Shabz  
Hamas military commander
- ◆ Shukri Abu Baker  
HLF CEO, Hamas
- ◆ Ghassan Elashi  
HLF Board Chairman, InfoCom founder

- ◆ Haitham Maghawri  
HLF Executive Director
- ◆ IAP representatives

Other FBI documents indicate that an individual identified as Omar Ahmad, likely the same individual who was President of IAP at that time, was one of the IAP representatives at the meeting.<sup>25</sup>

An FBI document characterizes the meeting as significant since it represented a meeting in the United States among senior leaders of HAMAS, the HLF and the IAP.<sup>26</sup> The document summarizes the content of the meeting as follows:

- ◆ “The overall goal of the meeting was to develop a strategy to defeat the Israeli/Palestinian peace accord, and to continue and improve their fund-raising and political activities in the United States.”
- ◆ “During the meeting the participants went to great length and spent much effort hiding their association with the Islamic Resistance Movement, aka HAMAS. Instead, they referred to HAMAS as ‘SAMAH’, which is HAMAS spelled backwards. Most of the time, the participants referred to HAMAS as ‘The Movement.’”
- ◆ The participants decided that for fund-raising purposes, the United States theater was very valuable to them. They stated they could not afford to lose it. In the United States, they could raise funds, propagate their political goals, affect public opinion and influence decision-making of the U.S. Government. In addition, they hoped that sometime in the future they would be viable enough and strong enough to represent an alternative to the Palestinian Liberation Organization.
- ◆ “It was mentioned that the United States provided them with a secure, legal base from which to operate. The democratic environment in the United States allowed them to perform activities that are extremely important to their cause. In discussing financial matters the

2 A deposition involving Mr. Ahmad indicates that he was also known as Omar Yehyia, another name for the Omar Ahmad attending the meeting and identified as a high ranking IAP official. Mr. Ahmad stated in the deposition that while he could not remember being at the meeting, he could not deny having been there. See Deposition of Omar Ahmad, Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute, (E.D. CA 00C-2905), May 27, 2003. In September 2003 Congressional testimony, Mr. Awad appears to acknowledge that Mr. Ahmad was present at the meeting. See “Supplemental Testimony” of Nihad Awad before the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Homeland Security “Terrorism Two Years After 9/11: Connecting the Dots” “American Muslim Community Under Siege” September 17, 2003. p. 8

participants stated a belief that continuation of the Holy War was inevitable.”

- ◆ “It was decided that most or almost all of the funds collected in the future should be directed to enhance the Islamic Resistance Movement and to weaken the self-rule government. Holy War efforts should be supported by increasing spending on the injured, the prisoners and their families and the martyrs and their families.”

Another Justice Department document states that during the meeting, participants advocated:

“In essence, a very broad active measures effort to influence public opinion and to effect change.”<sup>27</sup>

A U.S. Treasury Department intelligence official and former FBI analyst has provided details about IAP activities in support of Hamas during this time period. These included:<sup>3 28</sup>

- ◆ Published Hamas communiqués calling supporters to jihad.
- ◆ Published and distributed the Hamas charter.
- ◆ Held conventions and conferences that included pro-Hamas speakers and singers including a 1989 conference where a hooded Hamas activist called for financial assistance for terror attacks and which featured appearances by Hamas leader Mohammad Siyam and Muslim Brotherhood leader Youssef Qaradawi. The conference featured Arabic banners proclaiming “Islamic Palestine from the river to the sea” and another with the name of Hamas.”
- ◆ Organized support rallies for jailed Hamas leaders including Mousa Marzook and Mohammed Salah.
- ◆ Distributed the Hamas magazine *Filisteen al-Muslima* which paid tributes to and supported the attack of suicide bombers.
- ◆ Distributed many fliers and communiqués supporting and raising funds for Hamas.

Other sources have reported additional IAP activity in support of Hamas. An FBI memo reported that confidential informants provided the following information:<sup>29</sup>

- ◆ “On November 5, 1994, the IAP held a conference at the Culver City Memorial Building in Culver City, California. The HLFDR’s CEO, Shukri Ahu Baker was identified to the audience as the Director of the HLFDR - in Dallas, Texas, and the Senior Vice-President in HAMAS (second only to Mohammed El Mezain). The

source reported that at this conference, El Mezain and Baker stated that the monies raised by the HLFDR were strictly for HAMAS terrorists.”

- ◆ According to the source, FARES, a Jordanian, indicated that he had been affiliated with the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) for approximately ten years, and that organization donates to the Palestinian area approximately \$3 million per year. These donations were reportedly sent to the Holy Land Foundation in Palestine, and the money goes to HAMAS.

An April 1996 Dallas newspaper article reported receiving a videotape that:

“ depicts men with assault rifles re-enacting an attack on a Jewish factory. In another scene, rifle bullets spell out “Hamas” in Arabic characters. The opening frames carry the logo of Aqsa Vision Audio Visual Production. The association’s Richardson telephone number is provided at the end for ordering copies. Mr. Abdul called Aqsa Vision “the sales department of IAP,” selling items with the association’s logo or slogans. He said Aqsa Vision “does not produce any tapes.”<sup>30</sup>

The article also provides further description of publications distributed by IAP including:

- ◆ A quarterly called *Ila Falastin*, Arabic for Toward Palestine that contained cartoons “depicting a mosque with its minaret replaced by a Kalashnikov assault rifle and a map of the United States drawn as a target pierced with arrows.”
- ◆ Hamas pamphlets that were distributed in the occupied territories by enclosing them with *Al-Zaitonah*, another IAP paper.
- ◆ The charter of Hamas printed by IAP and with the IAP’s name and local post office box address. The charter includes the Hamas’ motto, which states that there is no solution to the Palestinian Problem except by Jihad”, describing Jihad as carrying weapons and confronting the enemy, providing equipment to the fighter and looking after his family.

A well-known critic of CAIR has testified that IAP distributed anti-Semitic publications including “America’s Greatest Enemy: The Jew and an Unholy Alliance,” which was routinely distributed at Islamist conventions and another IAP brochure by Yusef Islam, formerly known as Cat Stevens which stated:

<sup>3</sup> Many of the fund-raising activities involved the Holy Land Foundation

“ *The Jews seem neither to respect God nor his creation. Their own holy books contain the curse of God brought upon them by their prophets on account of their disobedience to Him and mischief in the earth. We have seen the disrespect for religion displayed by those who consider themselves to be ‘God’s chosen people.’... There will be no justice until all the land is given back to its rightful owners... Only Islam can bring peace back to the Holy Land.*”<sup>31</sup>

One media report states that in 1994, Nihad Awad suggested that the Israeli Mossad had a role in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, calling the conviction of the Muslim individuals involved “a travesty of justice.”<sup>32</sup> Awad also has a well documented history of making remarks which defend, encourage and support Hamas and its goal to bring about the destruction of Israel.

#### FOUNDING OF CAIR

According to District of Columbia corporate records, CAIR was first registered on September 15, 1994.<sup>33</sup> Three individuals, all Palestinians, have been identified as founders of CAIR and all were employed by IAP:

- ◆ Omar Ahmad  
President of IAP  
1991-1994<sup>34</sup>
- ◆ Nihad Awad  
Public Relations Director IAP  
1991-1994<sup>35</sup>
- ◆ Rafeeq Jaber  
President of IAP  
1994-2005<sup>4 36</sup>

Mr. Awad explains his version of the founding:

“ *After the Gulf War was over, I was offered a job with the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) as their public relations director. Since many Americans had been exposed to only one side of the story, my responsibility was to explain the Palestinian experience to the public and the media. In this effort I worked closely with IAP president Omar Ahmad. Omar, however, had the insight to realize that the central issue facing the Muslim community in the United States was not being addressed. The core challenge, that of stereotyping and defamation, was having a devastating effect on our children and paralyzing adults from taking their due roles in civic affairs.*

*Omar suggested to me that we leave the IAP and concentrate on combating anti-Muslim discrimination nationwide. He proposed that I move to Washington, D.C., where any effective national effort would have to be based, while he tried to raise the seed money for the project. I contacted my friend Ibrahim Hooper, a professional journalist and communications genius, and tried to persuade him to move to Washington and join the project. Omar’s vision and concern for Muslims in America coincided with Ibrahim’s and my desire to take up the task. Ibrahim and I had worked together for years to help our local community reach out to its neighbors and we understood that individual initiatives were essential, but that they would never be as effective as a coordinated national effort. So the three of us took a chance. We decided to try to bridge the chasm of ignorance between Muslims in America and their neighbors. We knew it was a simple prescription but one that would not be easy to apply. In June 1994, we used a modest donation as a starting budget to open the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) in Washington, D.C.”<sup>37</sup>*

Mr. Awad fails to explain that startup funds for CAIR appear to have been provided by the Holy Land Foundation. In 2003 Senate testimony, Mr. Awad categorically denied that CAIR received start-up funding from HLIIF stating “This is an outright lie. Our organization did not receive any seed money from HLF.”<sup>38</sup> CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad also has denied receiving start-up funds from HLF.<sup>39</sup> However, a well-known critic of CAIR has provided a photocopy of a wire transfer from HLF to CAIR dated October 31, 1994, **in the amount of \$5,000. This was** well within the timeframe provided by Mr. Awad above.<sup>40</sup>

#### EARLY ACTIVITIES

The early activities undertaken by CAIR demonstrate a theme that has been consistent throughout the life of the organization. CAIR publicly appears to demonstrate a genuine concern for defamation directed against Muslims while at the same time using inflammatory language that consistently suggests that Muslims are the targets of various plots and organized hostility directed at them. The organization then attempts to use the credibility and legitimacy obtained to attack virtually all efforts of the U.S. government to combat terrorism, often with the same tactics used in connection with defamation. CAIR also frequently and consistently suggests that Muslim individuals and organizations under investigation in connection with terrorism are being

4 IAP appears to have dissolved in 2005

victimized by the government and/or “Israeli interests.” The following is a sample of CAIR’s early activities that illustrate the above themes. It is not meant as a comprehensive history of CAIR’s early activities.

## 1. TRUE LIES

According to a February 2000 interview with CAIR leader Nihad Awad, the earliest effort of the organization was directed at the well known movie “True Lies” released in the summer of 1994:

“As we prepared our bare, two-room office, we heard of the latest in a long line of insulting Hollywood potboilers. The humiliation was familiar to American Muslims and Arabs: ‘Delta Force,’ ‘Rambo,’ ‘Terrorist on Trial’...Here came another public degradation for Muslim families. I’ve seen a preview for an upcoming Schwarzenegger movie with Arabs in it — as terrorists, of course,’ someone told us. We took on the seemingly futile task of contacting 20th Century Fox to object to the negative stereotyping of Muslims suggested by the images in the movie’s trailer: sweaty, swarthy, kuffiyeh-clad Arabs firing wildly into the air; enormous bombs wrapped in the American flag. CAIR’s first action alert, explaining the danger of the stereotypes in ‘True Lies,’ reached only a couple of dozen fax machines. But it was a start. When we called 20th Century Fox, our concerns about stereotyping in the movie fell on deaf ears. For the first time, CAIR took its case to the community. At the film’s Washington, D.C. premiere, we held an ‘informational picketing.’ The dozen people who stood outside the theater handing out information about Muslim objections to the film did not know that they were turning over a new leaf for Muslims in America. They were joined by Muslims in different cities in a coordinated national effort. The modest but organized effort of Muslims nationwide generated enough media interest that 20th Century Fox felt compelled to call CAIR and offer a disclaimer on the film. This minor victory planted a badly needed seed of hope in Muslim hearts.”<sup>41</sup>

In one statement, Mr. Awad “warns” that:

“It’s also unfortunate that Moslems are the sole remaining ‘safe’ villain available to movie producers,” Awad said. He warned that the movie may alienate Moslems from the larger American society

and lead to an increase in hate crimes against Arabs and Moslems.<sup>42</sup>

A little over a week later, Mr. Awad escalated his warning:

“What worries us is that in this movie, all Arabs are portrayed as terrorists, and it’s becoming an open invitation to violence against Arabs.”<sup>43</sup>

## 2. JIHAD IN AMERICA

Another major campaign was waged by CAIR in connection with a PBS documentary called “Jihad in America” that was broadcast on November 21, 1994.<sup>44 45</sup> A New York Times article described the broadcast as follows:

“[The producer] states right off that ‘the overwhelming majority of Muslims are not members of militant groups,’ but the import of his program is that seemingly respectable Muslim organizations have ties to militants who preach violence against moderate Muslims as well as against Christians and Jews, and that charitable contributions to the organizations find their way to extremists.”<sup>46</sup>

According to a description of the video made from the broadcast, the documentary featured individuals strongly connected to Hamas and/or the Muslim Brotherhood including Youssef Qaradawi and Abdullah Azzam as well as others connected to first World Trade Center attack.<sup>47</sup> A media report also stated that Kamal Helbawi, another important Muslim Brotherhood leader, attended a conference featured in the PBS broadcast.<sup>48</sup>

Several days before the program aired, Nihad Awad stated:

“the program will create ‘an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion that is very dangerous’ for Muslims,” adding, “We would love to see evidence, other than just assertions and rhetoric from people.”<sup>49</sup>

On at least two occasions, CAIR attributed damage in an Islamic facility to the broadcast. In October 1994, one month before the broadcast was aired, a fire was set on a stairway rug outside a small mosque in Brooklyn. CAIR issued a news release entitled, “New York Mosque Set on Fire: PBS Jihad in America Documentary May Prompt More Hate Crimes” which stated “We expect more of these hate crimes in the near future.” However, no evidence appears to have been produced that the fire was related to the broadcast and at the time of the article, the NYPD had not declared the fire to be a bias crime.<sup>50</sup>

One week after the broadcast, unknown individuals entered the Muslim Community School in Potomac, Md. and emptied three fire extinguishers into a computer room, the nursery and the door to the principal's office, causing minimal damage. Following the incident, Nihad Awad stated:

“ We believe this attack is a direct result of the distortions and stereotyping of American Muslim contained in the PBS documentary....”The thousands of Muslim who contacted PBS to ask for balance in the documentary did so to prevent just this type of attack.”<sup>51</sup>

However, a media report indicated that “police officials insisted the relatively minor attack was clearly not hate-related” and was probably carried out by some of the older students at the school.<sup>52</sup>

Despite the many developments and terrorism prosecutions since “Jihad in America” was Broadcast, CAIR continues to this day to criticize the broadcast, calling it “unbalanced” and that it “lacked factual support.”<sup>53</sup>

### 3. ANTI-TERROR LEGISLATION

In early April 1995, Congressional hearing were held on a Clinton administration terrorism bill that according to the Washington Post “would speed deportation of illegal immigrants suspected of terrorism, prohibit fund-raising in the United States for organizations the president deems dangerous and grant the FBI broader authority to investigate and order wiretaps.”<sup>54</sup> In a news conference called by Arab and Muslim groups, Nihad Awad claimed:

“ If this legislation passes into law, it will give a green light for law enforcement agencies to conduct surveillances- unnecessary surveillances. It will intimidate people. It will attack or... target people because of their political or religious beliefs.”<sup>55</sup>

In a CNN interview one day later, Mr. Awad went further stating:

“ Mosques, religious institutions, women in Muslim dress, men who have beards, people who have accents...all will be targets for hate crimes and unwarranted government surveillance.”<sup>56</sup>

### 4. OKLAHOMA CITY

Shortly after the Congressional hearings, CAIR received a large amount of media attention following the bombing of

the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995. In a media interview one the day following the attack, Nihad Awad appeared to be positioning CAIR to deal with Islamic involvement while at the same time holding open the possibility that there was no such involvement:

“ Whoever did this does not qualify to be more than an animal, and it's unfair to link these animals with any religious or ethnic groups....But people shouldn't jump to conclusions.”<sup>57</sup>

On the same day, CAIR along with other U.S. Islamic organizations condemned the attacks and by April 21, two days after the bombing, it had become clear that rightwing extremists were involved. Ibrahim Hooper was quoted by media sources as saying at that time “We're happy that some people have been caught and that they weren't Muslims.”<sup>58</sup>

Legitimate concerns notwithstanding about unfair blame being directed at innocent American Muslims, CAIR utilized the opportunity offered by the inaccurate initial speculation about Islamic involvement to pursue the same agenda seen in earlier campaigns. For example, CAIR leaders used the bombing to continue attempting to deny any connection between Islam and terrorism. Several days after, press reports quoted Nihad Awad as rejecting any basis for speculation about Islamic involvement even though, as noted above, he himself initially appeared willing to consider such a possibility:

“ Muslims and Arab-Americans were declared guilty from the beginning. I think it was completely unnecessary, an unfair and premature judgment,”<sup>59</sup>

Earlier on CNN, the following exchange took place:

“ FRANK SESNO: You say that the news reports have made the speculation, but I would like to ask you this - many law enforcement officials, many, very top, senior people, well-intentioned people, when asked in the early stages about their investigation, said that what they had to go on, what any investigator has to go on, is history - modus operandi [sp], motivation, that sort of thing. And that previous sorts of car bombings like this have had origins in the Middle East, whether Beirut - the U.S. embassy bombing, or the bombing in Buenos Aires against the Jewish center there.

NIHAD AWAD: Yeah, and also there have been terrorist attacks, you know, by Irish groups, and so on and so forth. We have to treat this incident like

*many incidents – as a criminal act, without associating, you know, perpetrators to any religion, to any, you know, ethnicity or national origin. And that was, you know, the assurance by President Clinton when he said this is not about, you know, religion or national origin, it is about evil and crime. And we would like to reinforce this message.”*<sup>60</sup>

On April 22, another CAIR official stated:

“*I hope the media will call (the suspects) ‘white Christian terrorists.’ They should not reserve the name of terrorists only for Muslims.... This knows no ethnicity. It is just pure evil.”*<sup>61</sup>

One week later, Nihad Awad continued this theme:

Because of the general ignorance, the unfamiliarity, the Islamic Community can be judged by the few, while Christianity can’t be judged by the few”<sup>62</sup>

The CAIR leadership also used the Oklahoma City bombing as an early effort to confound actions directed against terrorism with “hate crimes.” In April 1996, one year after the bombing, CAIR issued a report which stated that:

“*American Muslims have been the targets of nearly 300 incidents of harassment, violence and discrimination since last year’s Oklahoma City bombing, much of it due to widespread but inaccurate speculation that Middle Eastern terrorists had caused the explosion.”*<sup>63</sup>

The report drew a large amount of media attention and the 300 incidents referred to above were sometimes described as “hate crimes.”<sup>64 65</sup> However, as one media report noted,

“*The council’s report adds discrimination, bias and violation of legal rights, and it collects incidents directly from participants and from the media.”*<sup>66</sup>

Another media report pointed out that:

“*About 10 percent of the incidents involved violence, including beatings, vandalism and other property damage. Most involved women who are easily identified by their distinctive head coverings. Fifty-seven percent of the anti-Muslim incidents consisted of verbal abuse, intimidation, harassment and bias.”*<sup>67</sup>

The inclusion of categories such as “intimidation” and “bias” as well as the fact that CAIR was collecting incidents from the media allowed CAIR to define as a “hate crime” virtually any incident involving Muslims including actions by law enforcement that may have had a reasonable basis. For example, the Washington Post pointed out that the CAIR report:

“*includes in its count allegations of religious persecution of two highly political Muslims arrested for serious crimes: Mousa Abu Marzook, accused of being an organizer for Hamas, and Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, convicted in the bombing of the World Trade Center.”*<sup>68</sup>

This aspect of CAIR’s hate crime reporting will be discussed later in this report. However, it is interesting to note that the FBI Uniform Crime Reports listed only 20 “Anti-Islamic” hate crimes for 1995.<sup>5 69</sup> Even considering incitements which may not have been reported to law enforcement, there appears to be a large discrepancy between what CAIR defines as a hate crime and what is conventionally so defined.

CAIR leadership additionally used the Oklahoma City bombing to attack anti-terror legislation. Two days after the bombing, Nihad Awad suggested that had the legislation been in effect, large numbers of people would have been placed in “concentration camps”:

“*So – and this incident, the horrible crime in Oklahoma, and the hysteria that was generated by some media reports – anti-Muslim, anti-Arab hysteria – it proves two things. Number one, that to save and guarantee the minorities rights, we need to preserve the Constitution. Because if we went with the assumption that Middle Eastern people are involved, or Muslims and had this legislation been in effect, hundreds of thousands of people would have been rounded up in concentration camps.”*<sup>70</sup>

On the day after the bombing, another CAIR spokeswoman expressed concern that Muslims would be deported on the basis of “rumors”:

“*We have the right to freedom of association. You can’t indict people because of their associations,” said Anisa Abd El Fattah of the Council on American-Islamic Relations in Washington. She fears the federal government will abuse these new powers by deporting*

5 In 1995, 1058 hate crimes were reported against Jews in the UCR.

*Muslims and others just because they are rumored to be connected to overseas terrorists groups.”<sup>71</sup>*

Finally, CAIR used the opportunity of the bombing to pursue aggressive attacks on those it considers to be its enemies. In May 1995, Ibrahim Hooper complained about the media:

“ Our main concern is that people don’t generalize about us. We just want the media to be responsible and not fuel the fires of hysteria.”<sup>72</sup>

In December 1995, Nihad Awad suggested that the media was playing “a sinister game” and implied that CAIR should be a future source of information about Islamic communities:

“ Because the media played a sinister game, we approached them with an authentic report after a thorough research and told them that they should use restraint in reporting unsubstantiated allegations and avoid the tendency to link criminal actions of individuals to a particular culture or religion. Some other suggestions were that they should avoid ill-defined terms such as ‘Muslim fundamentalist,’ increase the awareness of Islam and Islamic culture, and seek advice from recognized Muslim and Arab-American leaders when reporting on those communities.”<sup>73</sup>

CAIR leaders also attacked its critics. Shortly after the bombing, Ibrahim Hooper stated:

“ At least in the future the media may not be so willing to accept the word of so-called terrorism experts who make a living defaming Arabs and Muslims.”<sup>74</sup>

## 5. JAMIL ABDULLAH AL-AMIN

**In the fall of 1995, CAIR leadership suggested that American Muslim leaders were being “targeted.” Media reports indicate that CAIR participated in an August 1995 news conference in which they defended Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin, formerly known as H. Rap Brown, who had recently been arrested in connection with an Atlanta shooting. At the news conference, Nihad Awad stated:**

“ Our community is being misunderstood and hence mistreated...When we see our leaders being targeted, this is wrong.”<sup>75</sup>

Another media report indicates that according to Mr. Awad, he and Abdurahman Alamoudi, executive director of the American Muslim Council, met with FBI officials to

“express concerns about the Al-Amin case” and to suggest establishment of an FBI liaison with the American Muslim community and “sensitivity training” on Islam and Muslims for FBI agents.”<sup>6 76</sup>

## 6. MOUSA ABU MARZOOK

From 1995 through 1996, CAIR participated in the defense of Hamas political leader Mousa Abu Marzook in his legal difficulties with the U.S. government. According to documents filed in U.S. District Court, in August 1995, CAIR protested the arrest and extradition of Mr. Marzook to Israel alleging conspiratorial activity:

“ [t]he arrest, detention and extradition is politically motivated...[and] this campaign has been orchestrated to serve as a wedge between America and Islamic countries.”<sup>77</sup>

The documents also state that in June 1996:

“ CAIR signed an open letter to then Secretary of State Warren Christopher that railed against ‘the injustice that has prevailed against Dr. Marzook’ and alleged that ‘our judicial system has been kidnapped by Israeli interests.’ The letter additionally stated, ‘Dr. Abu Marzook is a political leader; no more, no less than any other political leader in the world.’”

As noted above, CAIR included Mr. Marzook in its April 1996 allegations of religious persecution. One media report also indicated that CAIR had also raised funds on behalf of Mr. Marzook.<sup>78</sup> It was not generally reported at the time that Mr. Marzook was a financier of the Islamic Association for Palestine from which CAIR and its leaders had emerged.

## CAIR STRUCTURE AND OPERATIONS

Since its founding in 1994, CAIR has grown into a large organization with a national budget of over \$2 million that describes itself as “the nation’s leading Muslim organization in the civil rights and advocacy arenas.”<sup>79</sup>

### STRUCTURE

CAIR has a national headquarters as well as local chapters in 18 states as well as Canada.<sup>80</sup> According to the CAIR

6 In March 2002, Mr. Al-Amin was found guilty of murder Saturday in a March 2000 shooting that killed a Fulton County Georgia sheriff’s deputy and wounded another. See “CNN.com - Ex-Black Panther convicted of murder - March 9, 2002” <http://archives.cnn.com/2002/LAW/03/09/al.amin.verdict>

website, the CAIR national office is structured into the following departments: 7<sup>81</sup>

## 1. CIVIL RIGHTS

According to CAIR website, “counsels, mediates and advocates on behalf of Muslims and others who have experienced religious discrimination, defamation or hate crimes.”

CAIR routinely speaks out during high-profile, media centered issues where civil liberties might be involved. Most recently, CAIR came to the defense of six imams who were removed from a flight due to suspicious activity reported by passengers. While the imams had displayed some of the same behaviors as the 9/11 hijackers (moving to the exit rows, reciting “allahu akbar” repeatedly), and had asked the flight attendants for seat belt extenders (typically used for obese passengers) which then then put under their seats,<sup>82</sup> CAIR maintained that their only crime was “flying while Muslim,” CAIR further noted that the imams were humiliated by being removed from the plane, and that the suspicious activity reported was nothing more than the normal evening prayer routines by which Muslims abide.<sup>83</sup>

While defending those whose civil liberties CAIR deems have been violated, CAIR is often quick to comment on individuals who criticize Islam, and to bring media attention to it. In 2006, CAIR was quick to reprimand Virgil Goode, who took issue with Congressman-elect Keith Ellison’s decision to be sworn in to office using the Koran, instead of the traditionally accepted Bible or constitution. While Mr. Goode never apologized, both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* published editorials defending CAIR’s position, and chastising Mr. Goode.<sup>84</sup> Similarly, when columnist and talk show host, Dennis Prager, wrote a column suggesting that Mr. Ellison should not be permitted to take his oath the Koran, CAIR urged his removal from the board of the U.S. Holocaust Museum.<sup>85</sup>

## 2. GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS

According to CAIR website, “conducts and organizes lobbying efforts on issues related to Islam and Muslims and the CAIR annual report lists its “Government Affairs accomplishments.”<sup>86</sup> CAIR has met with much success in its lobbying efforts, and has, as a result, been granted access to high-ranking officials in both the Clinton and Bush administrations, and sometimes has even been afforded

the opportunity to appear with the President himself.<sup>87</sup> For example:

- ◆ Members of CAIR, MPAC, AMC and the Islamic Institute met with government officials in January 2001, to discuss the use of “secret evidence” as well as ways the new Bush administration could include Muslims in its operations and activities. Participants in that meeting included Newt Gingrich, Tom Davis, John Sununu, Grover Norquist and Kerri Houston.<sup>88</sup>
- ◆ Just one week following the September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 attacks, CAIR officials met with members of the Department of Justice, the Department of State and the FBI, to discuss the concerns of the Muslim community in the wake of the terrorist attacks.<sup>89</sup>
- ◆ The American Muslim Council hosted a meeting with high-ranking FBI officials on October 5, 2001, which representatives from CAIR, MPAC, MAS and other Muslim organizations attended. The meeting was held at AMC’s request, in order to address concerns over perceived civil rights violations in the wake of the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks.<sup>90</sup>
- ◆ CAIR, the Islamic Institute and ADC met with the Secretary of Transportation, Norm Minetta, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of October 2001, to discuss issues regarding airline safety and racial profiling as it pertained to the Muslim community.<sup>91</sup>
- ◆ On November 21<sup>st</sup>, 2001, CAIR Communications Director met personally with Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy, Charlotte Beers, at her request, asking for a “meeting to open a dialogue with Muslims on issues related to how America is perceived in other countries, particularly those with Muslim majority populations.”<sup>92</sup>
- ◆ CAIR, along with other American Muslim groups, met with FBI Director Robert Mueller on February 13, 2002, to again discuss the issue of civil rights.<sup>93</sup> Another month later, officials from the same organizations met with Assistant Attorney Ralph Boyd at the Department of Justice.<sup>94</sup>
- ◆ Representatives from CAIR (including Jason Erb and Ibrahim Hooper), AMC, and MPAC met with officials from the White House, Justice Department and INS officials to discuss immigration policy, arguing that the “special registration program” was unfair to Muslims.<sup>95</sup>

CAIR-Ohio met with the FBI and the Ohio Office of Homeland Security in June 2003, where the groups worked together to build bridges between law enforcement and the Muslim community.<sup>96</sup>

7 The activities of the CAIR chapters are beyond the scope of this report.

As CAIR has gained increased access to important governmental officials, it has begun to be recognized by many agencies and departments in the federal government as a legitimate voice for the moderate, mainstream Muslim community in America. Such recognition has allowed CAIR to provide input and advice to various agencies regarding important U.S. policies. Examples include:

- ◆ In December 2004, CAIR led a “sensitivity training” workshop in Florida attended by FBI agents for the purpose of teaching them about Islamic culture and principles and how to better interact with the Muslim community.<sup>97</sup>
- ◆ Nihad Awad and other CAIR officials were asked to attend a meeting at the State Department in January 2005 to discuss, according to CAIR, a number of issues relating to U.S. foreign policy. Attending the meeting for the State Department were Assistant Secretary Patricia de Stacy Harrison, Assistant Secretary Richard Boucher and Ambassador William Burns. During the meeting, Awad delivered a proposal aimed toward combating Islamophobia as well as anti-Americanism.<sup>98</sup>
- ◆ In anticipation of the hajj towards the end of 2006, the Transportation Security Administration engaged in “sensitivity training” for TSA workers who might encounter a larger number of Muslim travelers during this time. In order to support this measure taken by TSA, CAIR released a press release applauding the TSA’s efforts, which the TSA then copied and put on its own website. The information passed onto TSA workers during the “sensitivity training” was the result of, and inspired by, numerous meetings between CAIR chapters nationwide and the TSA, Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and Customs and Border Protection (CBP) officials on issues related to cultural sensitivity and national security.<sup>99</sup>

CAIR has also extended its outreach program to Capitol Hill, where it has received varying degrees of acceptance. Some Members of Congress, like Cynthia McKinney (D-GA) and the newly-elected Keith Ellison, have embraced CAIR and its work, while others have exercised a more cautious approach to the organization. Forms of outreach to Congress employed by CAIR include making campaign donations to Members of Congress, and it not unusual for those Members who accept these donations to possess similar views as CAIR. The most common thread amongst all of them is opposition to the War on Terror, particularly the front in Iraq. While some Members of Congress haven’t hesitated to embrace CAIR, others see CAIR in a more critical light.

### 3. MEDIA RELATIONS<sup>8</sup>

According to CAIR website, “works in conjunction with local and national media to ensure an accurate portrayal of Islam and Muslims is presented to the American public.” The website also states that CAIR “monitors local, national and international media.” Since its founding, CAIR’s media operations have grown substantially, and many of its officers are called upon by national and international news outlets for commentary on a wide array of important issues, giving CAIR’s views a very large audience. For example, in early 2006 when UAE-owned Dubai Ports World sought to acquire the company responsible for overseeing the operational activities of many large U.S. ports, Members of Congress actively worked to block the deal from taking place on the grounds that it would have adverse implications on national security. CAIR’s view that, “in reality, bigotry and fear were driving the debates” helped proponents of the deal fight Congressional opposition.<sup>100</sup>

### 4. ACTION ALERTS AND CAIR-NET

According to CAIR website, “issues ‘Action Alerts’ as a means of generating a grassroots response to critical political, social and media-related issues.”

### 5. RESEARCH

According to CAIR website, “conducts empirical research studies on subjects relevant to the American Muslim community.”

### 6. INTERNSHIPS

According to CAIR website, “offers internships to students or other interested individuals who wish to gain experience in media relations, political activism or civil rights work.” The CAIR annual report states that up to 12 interns per year are invited to work in Washington.

### 7. CAIR PUBLICATIONS

According to the CAIR website, publications include “guides for employers, educators, healthcare providers, and law enforcement” as well as “practical handbooks and resource materials for the Muslim community.” One such handbook released shortly before the start of the Iraq war, titled the Muslim Community Safety Kit, advised American Muslims on a wide variety of issues including a section titled “Know Your Rights If Contacted By The FBI.”<sup>101</sup> CAIR has

<sup>8</sup> Previously known as the Communications Department

attempted to educate law enforcement authorities on issues specific to its definition of the Muslim community.<sup>102</sup>

Each year for the past decade, CAIR has also compiled and published a report on the status of Muslim civil rights, which typically details anti-Muslim hate crimes, complaints filed by Muslims and general biases against Muslims. Its 2006 report, entitled, “The Struggle for Equality,” notes a 30% increase in complaints from the previous year, and an 836% increase in complaints it received from Muslims. CAIR concludes that “the sharp increase in reported incidents included the lingering impact of post-9/11 fears, increased awareness of civil rights issues in the Muslim community and a general increase in anti-Muslim rhetoric in American society.”<sup>9 103</sup>

8. EDUCATION: CONFERENCES, SEMINARS AND WORKSHOPS

According to CAIR website “organizes regular conferences and training seminars for government and law enforcement agencies, media professionals and the academic community” and “provides training for the Muslim Community and activists in areas such as media relations, public speaking, lobbying, and civil rights.” The CAIR website features a prominent display of its work with various law enforcement agencies.<sup>104</sup>

CAIR has also engaged in efforts to educate the public-at-large about Islam in general. During 2006 when a Danish cartoonist drew an image of the prophet Mohammed with a large bomb in his turban, Muslims around the world took to violence to show its displeasure. CAIR responded to this crisis by “declaring 2006 the “Year of the Prophet Muhammad” and launched the ‘Explore the Life of Muhammad’ campaign, a major educational effort that offered people of all faiths a free book or DVD about the Prophet.” According to CAIR, 18,000 people have requested these materials.<sup>105</sup>

CAIR has also participated in a host of conferences with other US Muslim organizations, mainly those tied to Muslim Brotherhood global network. These will not be detailed here.

9. VOTER REGISTRATION

According to CAIR website “regularly sponsor voter registration drives across the country”. While CAIR has rallied behind various campaigns since its inception, in 2006 it was

9 The integrity of these statistics is questionable. See CAIR Uses Questionable Methods In Civil Rights Reporting <http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2007/06/20/cair-uses-questionable-methods-in-civil-rights-reporting/>

recently presented with the opportunity to rally behind the first Muslim ever to be elected to Congress. 10 In addition to making donations to Keith Ellison’s campaign, CAIR also helped to mobilize voters to go to the polls and vote for the candidate. “CAIR’s recently-acquired list of 400,000 registered Muslim voters helped to get out the vote nationwide in the mid-term elections and encourage increased political participation within the Muslim community.” It was CAIR’s stated goal to “empower the American Muslim community by helping build a stronger political presence as well as to encourage active civic participation,” and when Mr. Ellison was elected in November 2006 CAIR commented on its website that, “reflected a larger trend: a greater turnout of the American Muslim voters to make their voices heard.”<sup>106</sup>

10. OUTREACH AND INTERFAITH RELATIONS

According to CAIR website, sponsors visits to CAIR offices and “other interfaith initiatives.”

OTHER ACTIVITIES

In addition to these activities, the CAIR website indicates that it also sponsors advertising campaigns.

Another activity featured on the CAIR website is what can best be described as an enemies lists titled “Hate Hurts America Campaign.” On the CAIR webpage for this campaign, prominent CAIR critic Daniel Pipes is prominently featured along with his photograph together with radio host Don Imus.<sup>107</sup> One article posted as part of this campaign is entitled “Does Daniel Pipes Want to Destroy Mecca?”<sup>108</sup> Other individuals featured in articles include Ann Coulter, Franklin Graham, the American Jewish Congress and Congressman Tom Lantos. The articles appear to be a mix of reporting on genuine defamation mixed with inflammatory headlines and /or distortions of statements by the individuals involved.

LEADERSHIP

The leadership structure of CAIR consists of a board of directors. The following individuals are listed on the current CAIR website as members of the board:<sup>109</sup>

- ♦ Omar Ahmad Chairman Emeritus
- ♦ Dr. Parvez Ahmed Chairman
- ♦ Dr. Ahmad Al-Akhras Vice-Chairman
- ♦ Nihad Awad Member

10 See appendix for listing of campaign contributions made by CAIR officers.

- ◆ Dr. Ihsan Bagby Member
- ◆ Dr. Nabil Sadoun Member
- ◆ Fouad Khateeb Member
- ◆ Hadia Mubarak Member
- ◆ Larry Shaw Member

CAIR has, at least at one time, also had an advisory board. The last known members of this board were listed on a December 2001 CAIR web page:<sup>110</sup>

- ◆ Dr. Jamal Badawi ISNA
- ◆ Dr. Ali Mazrui ISNA
- ◆ Fmr. Rep. Paul Findley
- ◆ Imam W.D. Mohammed
- ◆ Imam Siraj Wahhaj ISNA
- ◆ Dr. Sayyid M. Syeed ISNA
- ◆ Dr. Mohammad Cheema
- ◆ Dr. Muzammil Siddiqi ISNA
- ◆ Manzoor Ghori
- ◆ Dr. Abdullah Idris ISNA

The following three individuals have been active since the founding of CAIR and were judged to be the most important members of this leadership based on factors such as length of service, public visibility, media attention, and other institutional affiliations. Their biographies as posted on the CAIR website do not reveal many details about their early backgrounds.

### 1. OMAR AHMAD (CHAIRMAN EMERITUS)

A publication known to be sympathetic to Arab and Islamic causes describes Mr. Ahmad's biography as follows:

“ Omar Ahmad was born in 1959 in the Al Wahdat Camp for Palestinian refugees in Amman. He grew up in a family of eight living in two rooms and a kitchen. His parents were 1948 refugees from Annaba village near Ramleh... Omar finished high school in Amman in 1978 and then graduated from Long Beach State University in Southern California in 1982 with a degree in computer engineering. From there he went to Northern California's Silicon Valley, where he worked for 13 years with Advanced Micro Devices (AMD), a company that makes semi-conductors, and of which he became a director. Since then he has worked with two other companies in Silicon Valley's San Jose area, while raising with his wife, Aisha, whom he met on a return visit to Jordan, their 11-year-old daughter, Israa, and three sons, Mohammad, 13, Osama, 9, and Khalid, 3. From the time he arrived in San

*Jose, Omar Ahmad was active in a major mosque in nearby Sunnyvale, sometimes delivering the Friday khutba, or sermon. He still delivers a sermon most Fridays, but over the years he has been increasingly in demand as a fill-in or guest speaker at many of the 74 mosques in the San Francisco Bay area. ... Mr. Ahmad also managed to earn his M.S. degree in computer engineering from Santa Clara University in 1987. After completing his 1991 to 1994 term as LAP president, Omar Ahmad founded CAIR. “<sup>111</sup>*

The article goes to states that Mr. Ahmad is also affiliated with the American Muslims for Jerusalem, a Palestinian organization described as “calling for a worldwide Muslim and Arab boycott of Burger King restaurants” in connection with franchises in the West Bank. According to tax records, Mr. Ahmad is also a board member of the California CAIR chapter located in Santa Clara, California.<sup>112</sup>

Real estate and address databases indicate that Mr. Ahmad is still living in Santa Clara, California and numerous sources describe him as President and CEO of SiliconExpert Technologies, a “Web-based provider of component information” with its R&D facility located in Egypt.<sup>113</sup>

### 2. NIHAD AWAD (BOARD MEMBER)

According to public records, Mr. Awad's legal name is Nehad Awwad Hammad and he was born in June 1961.11 There are conflicting reports about the circumstances of Mr. Awad's early life. According to a Voice of America report, Mr. Awad was born in Palestine and raised in a refugee camp in Jordan.<sup>114</sup> However, according an Arab News report, he is “a Palestinian born in Amman, Jordan who is now a U-S citizen.<sup>115</sup> In an article he authored, Mr. Awad stated that he came to the United States as a student from Jordan in 1984.<sup>116</sup> The article goes on to state that he attended the University of Minnesota where he became a “representative” of the Muslim Student Association. In November 1992, Mr. Awad wrote an article describing his one month long visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina where he wrote that he “drove from village to village to distribute food and medical supplies I had gathered in Minnesota.”<sup>117 118</sup> At that time, he described himself as a coordinator for the Bosnian Relief Committee and a member of the Muslim Student Association.” In the article he authored, Mr. Awad says that after the first Gulf War was over, he was offered a job with the Islamic

11 Aka Nehad A Hammond, Nehad A Hammad

12 His Social Security number was issued in Minnesota, probably sometime during 1984-1985.

Association for Palestine (IAP) as their public relations director.” He explains:

“ Since many Americans had been exposed to only one side of the story, my responsibility was to explain the Palestinian experience to the public and the media. In this effort I worked closely with IAP president Omar Ahmad.”

A March 1994 Dallas newspaper article also describes Mr. Awad as being associated with the Islamic Association of North Texas.<sup>119</sup> His CAIR biography states that he joined the Civil Rights Advisory Panel to the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security in 1997 and that during the 2000 Presidential election, he was a “key figure” in the American Muslim Political Coordinating Committee, described as “an umbrella organization of the largest American Muslim organizations, which helped to create the first Muslim voting bloc for a presidential election.”

<sup>120</sup> The biography goes on to state that Mr. Awad has “conducted over 100 public relations and media training seminars nationwide” and that he is a regular participant in the U.S. Department of State’s “International Visitors Program”, described as welcoming foreign dignitaries, journalists and academics who are currently visiting the President of the United States.

Public records indicate that Mr. Awad resides in Annendale Virginia and is an Executive Director of the Islamic Society of Baltimore.

### 3. IBRAHIM HOOPER (COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR)

According to the Washington Post, Ibrahim Hooper was born to a Presbyterian family in Canada sometime toward the end of the 1950’s.<sup>121</sup> An Islamic convert, Mr. Hooper’s name is listed in CAIR’s 2004 tax returns as Cary Douglas Hooper, likely the same individual listed in public records as born in January 1956. A media organization website provides the following biographical information:

“ Ibrahim Hooper grew up in Minnesota and Wisconsin. He has a bachelor’s degree from the University of Minnesota and a master’s in journalism and mass communications..... He worked for CBS and ABC TV affiliates as a news producer and field producer. His undergraduate work was also in history, focused on the Middle East. He has lived in and traveled extensively in the Muslim world.”<sup>122</sup>

A USA Today article states that Mr. Hooper holds an M.A. from the University of Minnesota.<sup>123</sup> An Islamic publication adds the following detail about Mr. Hooper’s professional life:

“ He was Director of International Marketing and Advertising for Computerworld Middle East, and PC World Middle East magazines in Cairo, Egypt. He was a field producer for WCCO-TV news in Minneapolis, MN. News producer for KSSP-TV in St. Paul, Minnesota. Manager of communications and media relations for Islamic Information of Bosnian Relief Committee. Former coordinator of The Islamic Council for Minnesota. Director of the Islamic Information Service, Minneapolis. Media relations advisor for several national Islamic organizations. Author of ‘Media Relations for Muslim Activists’ handbook. Member of the Cairo Foreign Press Association.”<sup>124</sup>

As noted above, Mr. Hooper became associated with CAIR at its inception in June 1994. Public records indicate that Mr. Hooper likely lives in Gainesville, Virginia, not far from the home of Nihad Awad.

### FUNDING

One organization has reported that CAIR’s combined revenues increased from \$2.5 million in 2000 to \$5.1 in 2004.<sup>125</sup> Other than a tax category of “direct public support”, there is no available evidence about the source of these funds.<sup>126</sup> In a November 2001 news release, CAIR stated;

“ We do not support directly or indirectly, or receive support from, any overseas group or government.”<sup>127</sup>

There is evidence however; that this statement was not true at the time it was issued:

- ◆ A journalist has posted documents and a statement on his website indicating that CAIR received unusual financing for its Washington, D.C headquarters that began with the Bank of Kuwait in June 1999.
- ◆ In August 1999, the President of the Saudi-based Islamic Development Bank announced “\$250,000 as a contribution to the purchase of land in Washington DC to be the headquarters for an education and research center under the aegis of the Council for American Islamic Relations”<sup>128</sup>
- ◆ In December 1999, Arab News reported that the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, a Saudi Arabian charity, was “extending both moral and financial support to CAIR in its effort to construct its own headquarters at a cost of

\$3.5 million in Washington, D.C. It would also introduce CAIR to Saudi philanthropists and recommend their financial support for its headquarters project.”<sup>129</sup>

These donations were all made following a 1997 visit CAIR Director Nihad Awad made to Saudi Arabia during the Hajj, to which he was personally invited by the Saudi Minister of Islamic Affairs, wherein Awad made public his desires to obtain Saudi funding for several “Islamic awareness projects,” including for a documentary film and additions to CAIR’s headquarters.<sup>130</sup> Following the November 2001 statement:

- ◆ A journalist has reported on his website that in September 2002, CAIR “entered into a ‘Deed of Trust’ contract with the Al-Maktoum Foundation of the United Arab Emirates, which put up the \$978,000 for the [CAIR headquarters] property and now holds the rights to sell it, manage it, and collect rents from other tenants in the multistory building on the property.”<sup>131</sup>
- ◆ An Arabic media source reported in November 2002 that CAIR received a \$500,000 donation from Saudi prince al-Walid Bin Talal for a media campaign and “3,000 collections of educational and cultural books about Islam that will be circulated on 3,000 public American libraries.”<sup>132</sup>
- ◆ In November 2002, the Arab News reported that CAIR and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth announced their cooperation on a \$1 million public relations campaign and that, Nihad Awad was expected to speak about the project at the WAMY headquarters in Riyadh.<sup>133</sup>
- ◆ In May 2006, an official website of the United Arab Emirates announced that the UAE Minister of Finance “has endorsed a proposal to build a property in the United States to serve as an endowment for the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR).” The report also stated that Nihad Awad briefed UAE leaders on the project during a meeting in the UAE and was quoted as stating “the endowment will serve as a source of income and will further allow us to reinvigorate our media campaign projecting Islam and its principles of tolerance.”

## EXTREMISM—GLOBAL AFFILIATIONS

CAIR has strong ties to both international and U.S. extremist organizations. The following section will examine some of these connections.

### SAUDI ARABIAN FUNDAMENTALISM

By their own admission, the Saudi government has spent “many billions of Saudi Riyals” in a massive effort to

propagate Islam around the world. According to a Saudi government newspaper:

“*The determination of the Kingdom to support Islam and Islamic institutions to the best of its ability was evident from the formation of the Kingdom by King Abdul Aziz but it was only when oil revenues began to generate real wealth that the Kingdom could fulfill its ambitions of spreading the word of Islam to every corner of the world, of assisting Muslim countries less well endowed economically and of alleviating the suffering of Muslim minorities wherever they might live.*”<sup>134</sup>

A former Treasury Department official estimated in 2004 that the Saudis had spent over \$75 billion in this effort.<sup>135</sup> A Council on Foreign Relations report identifies the nature of the Saudi campaign:

“*As a core tenet of its foreign policy, Saudi Arabia funds the global propagation of Wahabism, a brand of Islam that, in some instances, supports militancy by encouraging divisiveness and violent acts against Muslims and non-Muslims alike. We are concerned that this massive spending is helping to create the next generation of terrorists and therefore constitutes a paramount strategic threat to the United States. Through the support for madrassas, mosques, cultural centers, hospitals, and other institutions, and the training and export of radical clerics to populate these outposts, Saudi Arabia has spent what could amount to hundreds of millions of dollars around the world financing extremism.*”<sup>136</sup>

French scholar Gilles Keppel has documented the formation of Saudi Arabian institutions created to propagate Saudi fundamentalist Islam throughout the world. These include the Muslim World League that was established in 1962, followed by the International Federation of Student Organizations and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth.<sup>137</sup> <sup>138</sup> These and other such institutions were often staffed by members of the Muslim Brotherhood who had fled to Saudi Arabia from Egypt and other countries, both fleeing oppression in their home countries and seeking the wealth and employment offered by Saudi Arabia.

Numerous sources have provided evidence about the role that these Saudi organizations have continued to play in this global campaign that only began to draw government scrutiny after 9/11.<sup>13</sup> The following section presents evidence

13 For a comprehensive journalistic account of the Saudi ef-

that CAIR maintains close relations with two of the most important such Saudi organizations as well as other Saudi institutions, all of which continue to facilitate extremism.

### 1. MUSLIM WORLD LEAGUE

The Muslim World League (MWL), also known as the Rabita, is located in Mecca and reportedly has the following organizational objectives:<sup>139</sup>

- ◆ To disseminate Islamic Dawah and expound the teachings of Islam.
- ◆ To defend Islamic causes in a manner that safeguards the interests and aspirations of Muslims, solves their problems, refutes false allegations against Islam, and repels inimical trends and dogma which the enemies of Islam seek to exploit in order to destroy the unity of Muslims and to sow seeds of doubt in our Muslim brethren.

The Virginia U.S. offices of the MWL were raided by in 2002 and 2005 by Federal law enforcement agents reportedly looking for evidence that the organization was used to fund Al-Qaida.<sup>140</sup>

In September 2005, a U.S. Government Accounting Office (GAO) report cited State Department officials when it stated that the MWL was among the Saudi charities that have been linked to supporting Islamic terrorist organizations globally.”<sup>141</sup> “As recently as April of this year, an Assistant Secretary of State testified that:

“ We continue to stress the need for appropriate regulatory oversight of all charitable organizations headquartered [in Saudi Arabia], such as the World Muslim League, the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY).<sup>142</sup>

CAIR has various ties to the MWL which include:

- ◆ The Canadian MWL website lists CAIR as one of only a few North American Islamic organizations in a list of its “International Connections.” CAIR is the only Islamic organization in its list of Islamic websites.<sup>143 144</sup>
- ◆ In July 2002, the MWL Secretary-General Dr. Abdullah bin Abdulmohsin Al-Turki visited the CAIR headquarters in Washington D.C. as part of the MWL tour of the U.S. An online Arabic media source reported that

“Dr. Al Turki and members of his accompanying delegation conducted a tour of different sections of the CAIR, during which its Director General, Dr. Nihad Awad, briefed them.”<sup>145 146</sup>

- ◆ Public records indicate that Nihad Awad is associated with the same Fall Church Virginia Post Office Box used by Suliman al-Ali who in turn was associated with the U.S. office of the Muslim World League.<sup>14 147</sup>
- ◆ On September 14 2001, CAIR/Canada signed a petition condemning both the 911 attacks and expressing “alarm and concern with the growing number of anti-Muslim incidents documented in the last few days.” The MWL was also a signatory to this petition.<sup>148</sup>
- ◆ The Islamic Society of Finland, affiliated with the Muslim World League, has a link to CAIR on its website and is the only North American Islamic organization that it features.<sup>149 150</sup>

Additionally, CAIR has ties to the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) which U.S. government documents indicate is an arm of the MWL.<sup>151</sup> An archived web page of the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) describes itself as follows:

“ The International Islamic Relief Organization, Saudi Arabia (IIRO) was established in 1978 as a humanitarian non-governmental organization (NGO) in response to the increasing need to alleviate the suffering of human beings worldwide. Its headquarters is based in Jeddah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It has more than 100 offices in the Kingdom and abroad. The offices cover the humanitarian activities in more than 120 countries in different parts of the world.”<sup>152</sup>

U.S. government documents, including the aforementioned testimony from the Assistant Secretary of State, indicate that the IIRO has been implicated in the financing of a wide variety of terrorist organizations including Hamas and Al Qaida.<sup>153</sup>

Organizations that have been monitoring CAIR indicate that the organization received small amounts of funding from IIRO during the period 1994-1997.<sup>154 155</sup> As noted above, CAIR leader Nihad Awad has also shared a Fall Church Virginia Post Office Box used by Suliman al-Ali who in turn was associated with the U.S. offices of the Muslim World League and IIRO which according to U.S. court records operated from the same location.<sup>156</sup>

fort, see USNews.com: How billions in oil money spawned a global terror network [http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/031215/15terror\\_3.htm](http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/031215/15terror_3.htm)

14 360 S. Washington Street Falls Church, VA 22046

## 2. WORLD ASSEMBLY OF MUSLIM YOUTH

The World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) has described itself as:

“ *an independent international organisation and an Islamic forum that supports the work of Muslim organisations and needy communities the world over. WAMY’s headquarters are based in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.*” 15 157

According to the Saudi government, the work of WAMY includes building mosques, distributing religious literature, and humanitarian relief.<sup>158</sup> Although the above description states that WAMY is “an independent organization”, the current President of WAMY, Sheikh Saleh Al-Asheikh, is also the Saudi Minister of Islamic affairs.<sup>159 160</sup>

In 2005, the U.S. Government Accounting Office (GAO) issued a report which linked WAMY to:

“ *Saudi funding and export of a particular version of Islam that predominates in Saudi Arabia has had the effect, whether intended or not, of promoting the growth of religious extremism globally.*” 161 *As noted above, as recently as last April, U.S. officials expressed concern about WAMY and its activities.*

WAMY has been linked to fundamentalist and/or terrorist financing and activities in Bosnia, India, and in Israel through financial support of Hamas.<sup>162 163 164</sup> A 2002 study by two NGO’s found that:

“ *Saudi officials disseminate hate literature openly in the United States, through such entities as the Institute for Islamic and Arabic Sciences in America (IIASA), in Fairfax, Va. and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), in Alexandria, Va. They show that official Saudi representatives in the United States promote belief that Jews are the source of all conflicts in the world, that Shi’a Muslims are part of a Jewish conspiracy, and that Muslims, Jews, and Christians cannot live together.*” 165

CAIR’s ties to WAMY include:

- ◆ In July 1998, the Saudi Gazette reported that Nihad Awad addressed a press conference at the WAMY headquarters in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. According to the report, “He

[Awad] said CAIR needed funds to fight discrimination against Muslims, to promote the true image of Islam and to combat the anti-Islamic propaganda.” 166

- ◆ As noted above, in December 1999, Arab News reported that the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, a Saudi Arabian charity, was “extending both moral and financial support to CAIR in its effort to construct its own headquarters at a cost of \$3.5 million in Washington, D.C. It would also introduce CAIR to Saudi philanthropists and recommend their financial support for its headquarters project.” CAIR leader Nihad Awad was reported to have been present at the press conference which announced the project.<sup>167</sup>
- ◆ Also as noted above, In November 2002, the Arab News reported that CAIR and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth announced their cooperation on a \$1 million public relations campaign and that, Nihad Awad was expected to speak about the project at the WAMY headquarters in Riyadh.<sup>168</sup>
- ◆ Faisal Kutty, current Vice Chair of CAIR/Canada, was identified in a 2001 local media report as a Toronto lawyer for WAMY.<sup>169 170</sup>

## MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

A Washington Post article describes the Muslim Brotherhood as:

“ *a sprawling and secretive society with followers in more than 70 countries. It is dedicated to creating an Islamic civilization that harks back to the caliphates of the 7th and 8th centuries, one that would segregate women from public life and scorn nonbelievers. In some nations -- Egypt, Algeria, Syria, Sudan -- the Brotherhood has fomented Islamic revolution. In the Palestinian territories, the Brotherhood created the Islamic Resistance Movement, or Hamas, which has become known for its suicide bombings of Israelis. Yet it is also a sophisticated and diverse organization that appeals to many Muslims worldwide and sometimes advocates peaceful persuasion, not violent revolt. Some of its supporters went on to help found al Qaeda, while others launched one of the largest college student groups in the United States. For decades, the Brotherhood enjoyed the support of the government of Saudi Arabia and its oil billions, which helped the group expand in the United States.*” 171

Although the Egyptian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood is officially committed to “non-violence”, as the above article

15 Interestingly, the latest version of this description omits any mention of Saudi Arabia. See [http://www.wamy.co.uk/bd\\_about.htm](http://www.wamy.co.uk/bd_about.htm)

notes, it created the terrorist group Hamas and close relations between the two have persisted until the present time. In September 2005, Middle Eastern media reported that:

“Egypt’s banned but tolerated Muslim Brotherhood movement watched Friday as hundreds of armed militants from Hamas paraded through the ruins of a former Jewish settlement. Nizar Rayan, a Hamas leader, urged a huge crowd of supporters to welcome the Brotherhood visitors from Egypt, as more than a thousand Hamas militants marched, brandishing M-16s and rocket-propelled grenade launchers.”<sup>172</sup>

There are other reasons to suspect the group’s commitment to non-violence. In April 2005, A Council on Foreign Relations analyst wrote:

“One reason the Brotherhood’s commitment to nonviolence is unclear: The original Egyptian organization has spawned branches in 70 countries. These organizations bear the Brotherhood name, but their connections to the founding group vary and some of them may provide financial, logistical, or other support to terrorist organizations. Some terrorist groups—including Hamas, Jamaat al-Islamiyya, and al-Qaeda—have historic and ideological affiliations with the Egyptian Brotherhood. In addition, some of the world’s most dangerous terrorists were once Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood members, including Osama bin Laden’s top deputy Ayman al-Zawahiri. The organization is like “stepping stone,” says Evan Kohlmann, an international terrorism consultant. [For] someone who is interested in dedicating their lives to a radical Islamist cause, it can be a pathway up...to a more serious dealing with Islam.”<sup>173</sup>

In September 2004, the Washington Post reported that:

“For years federal agents paid little heed to the Brotherhood, but after Sept. 11 they noticed that many leads went back to the Brotherhood. ‘We see some sort of nexus, direct or indirect, to the Brotherhood, in ongoing cases,’” said Dennis Lormel, until recently a top FBI counterterrorism official.”<sup>174</sup>

In addition to terrorism, there is concern that Muslim Brotherhood fundamentalism poses a threat to democratic government. A recent Wall Street Journal article has warned about the potential threat posed by the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe:

“As Europe has become Islam’s new frontier, the Brotherhood has spread political Islam, which weds religion and politics into a potent force that clashes with pluralistic democracies.”<sup>175</sup>

Muslim Brotherhood leaders have also made a series of anti-Semitic statements centering on Holocaust denial. In December 2005, the Supreme Guide Muhammad Mehdi Akef was reported to have said that:<sup>176</sup>

“Western democracy has attacked everyone who does not share the vision of the sons of Zion as far as the myth of the Holocaust is concerned.”

He reportedly cited as evidence the cases of French convicted Holocaust denier French Roger Garaudy and the British historian David Irving who was also later convicted of Holocaust denial.<sup>16</sup>

In February 2006, Muslim Brotherhood leader Youssef Qaradawi said on Qatar TV:

“Can you mock the Jews?’ Here they stopped. The Jews are protected by laws – the laws that protect Semitism, and nobody can say even one word about the number [of victims] in the alleged Holocaust. Nobody can do so, even if he is writing an M.A. or Ph.D. thesis, and discussing it scientifically. Such claims are not acceptable. When Roger Garaudy talked about it, he was sentenced to jail, according to the laws.”<sup>177</sup>

On a number of occasions, CAIR has sponsored individuals associated with the Muslim Brotherhood:

- ◆ Sometime in 1994, a media report indicates that CAIR “worked with the Sudanese Embassy and with the American Muslim Council to try and obtain a visa for Rashid Ghannouchi, a Tunisian known to be associated with the Brotherhood.”<sup>178 179</sup>
- ◆ In May 1997, CAIR sponsored the speaking tour of Murad Hoffman, a German convert and former Ambassador who is known to be associated with the Muslim Brotherhood in Germany.<sup>180 181</sup>
- ◆ In July 2000, CAIR leader Nihad Awad was scheduled to meet with Qazi Hussain Ahmad, the leader of the Pakistani fundamentalist political party Jamaat-I-Islami, generally considered to be the Muslim Brotherhood in Pakistan.<sup>182</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Mr. Akef’s office later issued a denial that this statement was Holocaust denial.

- ◆ In August 2004, Islam Online reported that CAIR attacked the U.S. decision to deny Tariq Ramadan a visa in order to begin teaching at Notre Dame University. Mr. Ramadan is well known as the grandson of the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood and maintains close ties with the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood global network.<sup>183</sup>

The Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE) is also known to be close to the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>184</sup> CAIR also has ties to FIOE and its member organizations:

- ◆ Subscribers to the Muslim Association of Britain's (MAB) mailing list, called MABNET, often receive CAIR materials. The MAB is a member of FIOE.
- ◆ The 2001–2002 Annual report of a UK organization known as FAIR states that the organization produced “activist packs” based on packs produced by CAIR. An important Trustee of FAIR is Ahmed Al-Rawi, head of FIOE.<sup>185</sup>
- ◆ As noted above, The Islamic Society of Finland (ISOF) has a link to CAIR on its website and is the only North American Islamic organization that it features.<sup>186 187</sup> The ISOF is a member of FIOE.

Finally, CAIR is promoted actively by Qatari Sheikh Youssef Qaradawi, generally acknowledged to be an important Muslim Brotherhood leader.<sup>188</sup> The Wall Street Journal notes that Dr. Qaradawi:

“has also has issued fatwas backing suicide bombings against civilians in Israel and U. S. troops in Iraq. And he has defended the death penalty under sharia law for homosexuals, writing : “While such punishments may seem cruel, they have been suggested to maintain the purity of the Islamic society and to keep it clean of perverted elements.”<sup>189</sup>

In a November 2002 interview on al-Jazeera TV, Dr. Qaradawi referred to CAIR as “our brothers there [in America], in the Council of American-Islamic Relations.”<sup>190</sup> A search of Dr. Qaradawi's website, Islam Online, reveals 723 references to CAIR.<sup>191</sup>

## EXTREMISM—U.S. AFFILIATIONS

Within the United States, CAIR is part of a constellation of Islamic organizations that are connected to each other though their founders, current and interlocking boards of directors. These organizations include the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), the Muslim American Society (MAS) and the American Muslim Council (AMC). All are listed by the Muslim World League Canada website lists as only a

handful of U.S. Islamic organizations designated as MWL “International Connections.”<sup>192</sup> A recent statement by CAIR identified itself, ISNA, the MAS, and other related organizations as “mainstream Muslim groups.”<sup>193 194</sup> It is interesting to note that many of these same organizations shared the same Internet hosting service provided by InfoCom, a company operated by three brothers recently convicted on a variety of terrorist offenses and believed by the U.S. government to be “front for Hamas.”<sup>195</sup> Organizations using the service of InfoCom included ISNA, CAIR, and WAMY USA.<sup>196 197 198</sup>

## ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA

The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) describes itself as an umbrella organization for U.S. Islamic groups that is non-sectarian, moderate, and transparent. However, there is substantial public evidence that ISNA and its key leadership are, in fact, associated with Islamic fundamentalism, anti-Semitism, and support for terrorism. Despite a track-record of self-serving denials with regard to extremism, ISNA continues to function as an important component of the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood global network.

The connections between CAIR and ISNA are numerous and include:

- ◆ A December 2001 CAIR web page lists six out of ten CAIR Advisory Board members who are affiliated with ISNA including Jamal Badawi and Sayyid Syeed, two of ISNA's most important leaders and board members. Dr. Badawi is a CAIR/Canada board member and highly active in the organization.<sup>199 200</sup>
- ◆ According to CAIR's Form 990 for 2003, its California offices invested \$325,000 with ISNA affiliate the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT).<sup>201</sup>
- ◆ When the Fiqh Council of North America (FCNA), another ISNA affiliate, issued a fatwa against terrorism in July 2005. CAIR leader Nihad Awad was at the press conference to announce the fatwa and ISNA leader Muzzamil Siddiqi stated at the time that CAIR not only signed the fatwa but “CAIR has produced radio and TV public service announcements in English, Arabic and Urdu, to explain the ruling.”<sup>202 203</sup> In March 1998, a media report listed FCNA member Yaya Hendi as “community relations and development coordinator, Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR), Washington, DC.”<sup>204</sup>
- ◆ CAIR and ISNA leaders have often spoken at each other's respective conferences.<sup>205 206 207</sup>

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT

The International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) describes itself as follows:

“*The International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) is a private, non-profit, academic and cultural institution, concerned with general issues of Islamic thought. The Institute was established in the United States of America in 1981 (1401 AH). It is independent of local politics, party orientations and ideological biases. The headquarters of the Institute are situated in Herndon, Virginia, in the suburbs of Washington DC. Branches and offices have also been established in a number of capitals worldwide in order to carry out the Institute’s activities and programs.*”<sup>208</sup>

A full evaluation of IIIT in connection with extremism is beyond the scope of this report but it should be noted that the organization was founded to promote the “Islamization of knowledge.” It should also be noted that there is substantial evidence that IIIT supported the work of Sami Al-Arian who in May 2006 was sentenced to almost five years in prison in connection with his activity in support of Palestinian Islamic Jihad in the United States. During his sentencing, the Federal judge who heard the case made the following remarks to Dr. Al-Arian:

“*You looked your neighbors in the eyes and said you had nothing to do with the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. This trial exposed that as a lie...The evidence was clear in this case that you were a leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad...But when it came to blowing up women and children on buses, did you leap into action then?...No. You lifted not one finger, made not one phone call. To the contrary, you laughed when you heard about the bombings, what you euphemistically call “operations”...And yet, still in the face of your own words, you continue to lie to your friends and supporters, claiming to abhor violence and to seek only aid for widows and orphans. Your only connection to widows and orphans is that you create them, even among the Palestinians; and you create them, not by sending your children to blow themselves out of existence. No. You exhort others to send their children...You are indeed a master manipulator.*”<sup>209</sup>

A Federal search warrant identified the following ties between IIIT, Al-Arian, and Al-Arian’s organization known as the World and Islamic Studies Enterprise (WISE):<sup>210</sup>

- ◆ “A[hmed] Totonji is also referenced in another seized letter from Al-Arian to Alwani. In this letter, Al-Arian solicited more funding and referred to a meeting he had with Totonji where Totonji promised him another \$20,000. As recently as November 1, 2001, Totonji signed a check for \$10,000 to Al-Arian through Al-Arian’s organization known as the Tampa Bay Coalition for Justice and Peace, drafted on the account of Safa Group charity IIIT.”
- ◆ “Discovered in the Tampa searches in 1995 were letters indicating that in 1991 and 1992, IIIT contributed at least \$50,000 to PIJ front-group WISE. Moreover, another document seized during these warrants was a 1991 letter from Shallah – now the leader of PIJ – to an administrator of the University of South Florida, with a copy to Nafi, stating that IIIT was the largest contributor to WISE. connections between IIIT and both Al-Arian, and Nafi remained close even after WISE and ICP shut down operations”
- ◆ “Al-Arian sponsored Nafi into the United States in 1992 and 1995, on the grounds that Nafi was to be the Director of Research for WISE in Tampa, Florida. In July 1996, Nafi was removed from the United States pursuant to a deportation order based on allegations that included that although he was admitted as a worker for WISE, in October 1994 he was employed at IIIT, a Safa Group charity in Herndon, Virginia.”
- ◆ IIIT tax returns for 2003 and 2004 list numerous donations to CAIR and CAIR chapters. Other ties between CAIR and IIIT include:
- ◆ In March 2002, CAIR research director Mohamed Nimer presented a discussion session at IIIT entitled “Appreciating our Common Ground”<sup>211</sup>
- ◆ In August 2003, eleven CAIR interns visited the IIIT offices and “listened to presentations by IIIT vice presidents and directors, and presented their own reports on selected books they were assigned to review.”<sup>212</sup>
- ◆ In March 2005, CAIR and IIIT co-sponsored a meeting to discuss the “anti-civil rights Patriot Act, the apathy in the Muslim community and our divided organizations, illegitimate arrests of Muslims in a post 9/11 world and the long-awaited need for a Muslim grassroots civil rights organization.” One of the participants included Jennifer Nimer, identified as Civil Rights Director, CAIR/Ohio.<sup>213</sup>
- ◆ CAIR is listed on the IIIT website as third in a list of twenty Islamic organizations.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Possibly a relative of CAIR Research Director Mohamed Nimer

## MUSLIM AMERICAN SOCIETY

The Muslim American Society (MAS) describes itself as follows:

“*The Muslim American Society (MAS) is a charitable, religious, social, cultural, and educational, not-for-profit organization. It is a pioneering Islamic organization, an Islamic revival, and reform movement that uplifts the individual, family, and society.*”<sup>215</sup>

A full evaluation of the MAS in connection with extremism is beyond the scope of this report. However, it should be noted that the MAS is known to be closely associated with the Muslim Brotherhood, already identified as an important Islamic extremist organization.<sup>216</sup> It should be also noted that the MAS has recently been holding joint conferences with the Islamic Circle of North America, an organization that various sources have asserted is closely tied to the Jamaat-e-Islami organization of Southeast Asia, known also to be allied with the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>217 218 219 220</sup>

CAIR/Canada leader and board member Dr. Jamal Badawi was referred to in 2002 as the MAS Da’wah chairman for the on the website of an American Islamic organization.<sup>221</sup> In 2003, a local MAS chapter listed him as an MAS board member.<sup>222</sup> Dr. Badawi has also been speaking at numerous ICNA events since at least 1991.<sup>223 224 225</sup> Other ties between CAIR and MAS include:

- ◆ In December 2002, an MAS web page identified Ismail Royer as the MAS Communications Director.<sup>226</sup> According to an online biography, Mr. Royer had previously worked for CAIR as a communication specialist.<sup>227</sup>
- ◆ In 2002 an individual identified as Ghassan Hitto was listed as a member of the board of CAIR/Dallas.<sup>228</sup> The current MAS website lists a Ghassan Hitto as the contact person for the MAS Dallas chapter.<sup>229</sup>
- ◆ CAIR and the MAS participated in an October 2003 press conference called to oppose the nomination of CAIR critic Daniel Pipes to the United States Institute of Peace.<sup>230</sup>
- ◆ In early May 2006, CAIR and the Muslim American Society Freedom Foundation held a news conference in Washington, D.C., to announce a campaign in response to Wachovia Bank’s closure of a Virginia Muslim charity’s account.<sup>231</sup>
- ◆ In a May 2006 statement, CAIR joined together with the MAS and other related Islamic organizations in calling for immigration reform.<sup>232</sup>

## AMERICAN MUSLIM COUNCIL

In 2002, the American Muslim Council (AMC) described itself as:

“*The American Muslim Council was established in 1990 to increase the effective participation of American Muslims in the U.S. political and public policy arenas. The American Muslim population, estimated at seven million, comprises Americans of all races and ethnic backgrounds. AMC aims to promote ethical values that enhance the quality of life for all Americans and to catalyze the greater presence of American Muslims in mainstream public life. The American Muslim Council has played a key role in political advocacy for American Muslims throughout the 1990s, initiating many of the historic events marking the entrance of Islam into mainstream American culture.*”<sup>233</sup>

A full evaluation of the AMC in connection with extremism is beyond the scope of this report. However, it should be noted that in October 2004, Aldurahman M. Alamoudi, founder and former executive director of the AMC, pled guilty and was sentenced to 23 years in prison for his role in a Libyan plot to kill Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah.<sup>234</sup> Supplemental Federal documents also indicate that Mr. Alamoudi was involving the financing of Hamas.<sup>235</sup>

CAIR had been working closely with the AMC since the late 1990’s when together with two other Islamic organizations, they founded the American Muslim Political Coordinating Council–Political Action Committee (AMPCC-PAC), described as “an umbrella group that represents the political views of the groups.”<sup>236</sup> In June 2000, CAIR Director of Research Mohamed Nimer participated in the AMC annual conference and in May 2001, CAIR was listed along with the AMC and a number of other Islamic groups as members of the National Leadership Focus Group of Project MAPS, based at the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding (CMCU), Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.<sup>237 238</sup>

## SOLIDARITY USA

An archived webpage describes an organization known as Solidarity International for Human Rights (SIHR) as:

“*Solidarity USA is a civil liberties and human rights advocacy task force, which was established in the wake of the tragic attacks on September 11, 2001. Solidarity monitors human rights and civil liberties violations of Muslims, Arabs, South Asians and*

*others that have been affected by the Sept. 11th backlash... Solidarity USA is dedicated to protecting the civil liberties and legal rights of all Americans and is currently focusing on defending Muslims, Arabs, South Asians and anyone who has been a victim of Sept. 11th governmental lash. Solidarity USA's mission is to ensure a lawful due process is protected and taken into effect in any case of discrimination or "guilt" by association. Solidarity USA is focused on monitoring misconduct of law enforcement and documenting mistreatment of prisoners to bring the constitutional concerns of protecting our civil liberties."*<sup>239</sup>

The page goes on to state that the "parent" organization for SIHR was established in 1992.

Public records indicated in September 1992, an organization called Solidarity International for Human Rights was incorporated in the District of Columbia.<sup>240</sup> Public records also identify a Virginia corporation doing business by that name at a Washington D.C. address that matches the address provided on the SIHR website as a contact address.<sup>241 242</sup>

The SIHR website identifies a number of U.S. Arab/Islamic organizations as its "partners":

- ◆ Council on American Islamic Relations
- ◆ Muslim Civil Rights Center
- ◆ American Muslim Council

Also listed partners are U.S. organizations that can generally be described as left-wing:

- ◆ National Lawyers Guild
- ◆ American Civil Liberties Union
- ◆ American Immigration Law Foundation
- ◆ Center for National Security Studies
- ◆ National Black Police Association
- ◆ Desi Rising Up & Moving,
- ◆ Center for Constitutional Rights
- ◆ Human Rights Watch

Activities of SIHR have included:

- ◆ In October 2000, SIHR participated in a news conference called by a group of Islamic organizations demanding that Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon be tried as a war criminal.<sup>243</sup>
- ◆ In June 2002, SIHR participated in a news conference with the "Committee for the Defense of Guantanamo Bay Detainees and Prisoners of War."<sup>244</sup>

- ◆ SIHR initiated a lawsuit in July 2002 against President George Bush, Secretary of State Colin Powell and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon asking the President to "cease providing military assistance to Israel until they have reported to Congress the misuse of American military assistance by Israel."<sup>245</sup> The lawyer for the suit was identified as Stanley Cohen, generally known for representing extreme leftwing causes.
- ◆ In 2004, SIHR joined with the Muslim Student Association and others in a campaign seeking to reverse the French decision to ban the Hijab in public schools.<sup>246 247</sup>
- ◆ SIHR can be considered to be an extremist organization whose activities mirror those of CAIR examined in the next section of this report. Spokesman for SIHR have made statements including:
- ◆ In September 2001, SIHR joined with CAIR and other related organizations to demand impossible standards before the U.S. responded to the 911 attacks calling for "internationally accepted factual legal evidence beyond reasonable doubt" before any response plan is developed or executed.<sup>248</sup>
- ◆ In November 2001, compared the detentions following the 911 attacks to internment of Japanese-Americans during World War 2.<sup>249</sup>
- ◆ In August 2002 charging the Bush administration with using Sept. 11 "to put fear into the hearts of Arabs and Muslims in America."<sup>250</sup>
- ◆ In January 2002 reported to have joined organizations that "contended that anti-Muslim sentiment amplified by America's war against terrorism could send an innocent man to Georgia's death row."<sup>251</sup>

SIHR President Yasser Bushnaq also has connections to Palestinian terrorism. A 1996 local media article reported:

“*But audience members at the December 1989 conference of the Islamic Association for Palestine shouted "Allahu Akbar" ("God is great") when the masked Hamas spokesman talked about an ocean of blood. In a videotape of the conference, Yasser Bushnaq, a Dallas resident who was then president of the Islamic Association for Palestine, welcomed participants. A Hamas banner draped a table, from which one speaker after another praised Hamas. The conference was named after Abdullah Azzam, considered a Hamas martyr."*<sup>252</sup>

Also, a Federal law enforcement agent has identified Mr. Bushnaq as a participant at a 2001 Beirut conference where "reports that members of several terrorist organizations met and... pledged to work together against Israel. We

believe the participants included Hizballah and Palestinian rejectionist groups.”<sup>18 253</sup>

Ties between CAIR and SIHR include:

- ◆ As noted above, CAIR is identified on the SIHR website as a “partner organization.”
- ◆ Public records indicate that in 1990, SIHR President Yasser Bushnaq was President of the Middle Eastern League for Palestine, another name for the Islamic Association for Palestine.<sup>254</sup> Mr. Bushnaq also attended the 2001 IAP Annual convention.<sup>255</sup> As noted earlier, the leaders of CAIR were previously employed by IAP and the next section of this report will provide evidence that they continued to maintain relations with the organization after they had left.
- ◆ CAIR/Philadelphia board member Ijaz Chaudhry is listed on an SIHR archived webpage as the organization’s legal advisor.<sup>256 257</sup>
- ◆ SIHR has participated with CAIR and other related organizations in various actions during 2001-2002 including a sit-in in front of the White House, a meeting do discuss 9/11, and a letter to Attorney General John Ashcroft.<sup>258 259 260</sup>

It should be noted that public records indicate that Mr. Bushnaq lives in the same Maryland town as CAIR leader Nihad Awad and quite close to the home of Ismail Elbarasse, an associate of Hamas leader Mousa Abu Marzook.<sup>261</sup> It should also be noted that SIHR, along with CAIR, is one of only a handful of U.S. Islamic organizations listed on the Canadian Muslim World League website as MWL international connections.<sup>262</sup>

## BRIDGES TV

In April 2004, national media reported on the start-up of Bridges TV, described as “the first English-language cable television channel aimed at U.S. and Canadian Muslims.” The report indicated that the programming was available on satellite and internet and had plans to expand to cable. Chairman of Bridges TV was identified as Muzzammil Hassan, said to be a Pakistani-born ex-banker with no television industry experience who got the idea from his wife after she listened to a radio program with “a sharp, derogatory tone against Muslims.” The report described Bridges programming as ranging from “Koranic and Islamic religious content to news, documentaries, soap operas and shows geared toward women and children, in a bid to reflect many

facets of life.”<sup>263</sup> In April 2006, a press release stated that Bridges TV had “transitioned from a premium pay channel to basic cable on several cable and satellite systems.”<sup>264</sup>

The Bridges website describes one of its programs called “Prominent Scholars” and describes the following individuals as part of this programming:

- ◆ Rasha al-Disuqi
- ◆ Jamal Badawi
- ◆ John Esposito
- ◆ Siraj Wahaj
- ◆ Abdullah Idris

All are associated with the global Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood network. Jamal Badawi is a leader of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) and his extremist views and affiliations are well-documented in the public record. John Esposito is a Georgetown University professor well known for his sympathetic writings on the Muslim Brotherhood. Siraj Wahaj will be discussed later in connection with terrorism. Abdullah Idris is likely Abdullah Idris Ali, a leader in ISNA and a co-founder of the International Board of Educational Research and Resources (IBERR), which is part of an international Islamic educational network that includes many well-known Islamic fundamentalist organizations. Rasha al-Disuqi is described in an Islam Online biography as a full-time Professor at the Faculty of Languages and Translation, al-Azhar University. In testimony before the 9/11 Commission, she was reported to have attended the November 2000 the Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP) conference where she stated:

“ We’re so far behind. On behalf of sisters, I’d like us to collect as many donations as possible in order to support jihad in Palestine not only the food, not only the medications, but also the weapons to kill the Zionists. And, I know that I might be watched by some people, Alhumdillab, this is a word that I’d like to say and I’m not scared of anybody that’s here! Alhumdillab, I lost my job because I talked about Palestine more than once, and I have nothing to lose.”<sup>265</sup>

## ORGANIZATIONAL EXTREMISM— FUNDAMENTALISM

The introduction to this report introduced a definition of fundamentalism as a political ideology” based on a “selective and arbitrary politicization of religion”<sup>266</sup> CAIR and its key

<sup>18</sup> A picture of Mr. Bushnaq at the conference can be seen <http://www.minaret.org/beirutconference.htm>

leaders can be classified as fundamentalists based on this definition. Evidence for this determination is as follows.

## STATEMENTS OF LEADERS

The CAIR leadership are not theologians and do not appear to have made a great number of comments about matters of theology.<sup>19</sup> However, a number of CAIR leaders have made comments strongly indicating fundamentalist views that have been frequently cited by the organization's critics. On July 4, 1998, the San Ramon Valley Herald, a local California newspaper, published an article about an "Islamic School Study Session" entitled "How We Should Live As Muslims in America." The article stated that at this gathering, CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad: 20<sup>267</sup>

- ◆ "Urged Muslims not to...assimilate to American society but instead to 'deliver Islam's message.'"
- ◆ Urged "Muslims not to shirk their duty of sharing their faith with those with those who 'are on the wrong side.'"
- ◆ Said "Islam isn't in America to be equal to any other faiths, but to become dominant...The Koran, the Muslim book of scripture, should be the highest authority in America, and Islam the only accepted religion on Earth."
- ◆ Said "one of the challenges is understanding the totality of Islam. Don't come up with an opinion and find out the things that support it in Islam...Everything we need to know is in the Koran. We don't need to look somewhere else."

In April 1993, a Minneapolis newspaper cited CAIR leader Ibrahim Hooper's support for an Islamic state in the U.S:

“ Most non-Muslims believe in the separation between church and state. To have an Islamic society you must have Islamic rulers. We aren't allowed to take over (the United States and) other governments. What we fight for here and in the remainder of the world is to practice our beliefs. I wouldn't want to create the impression that I wouldn't like the government of the United States to be Islamic sometime in the future,' Hooper says. 'But I'm not

19 CAIR/Canada leader Jamal Badawi has been identified in the companion report on the Islamic Society of North America as espousing numerous fundamentalist as well as anti-Semitic views.

20 CAIR denies that Mr. Ahmad made some of these statements but the paper stands by its story. See WorldNetDaily: Should Muslim Quran be USA's top authority? [http://www.worldnet-daily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE\\_ID=32341](http://www.worldnet-daily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=32341)

*going to do anything violent to promote that. I'm going to do it through education.*"<sup>268</sup>

Ibrahim Hooper has also ought use of the term "fundamentalists" to describe those charged in the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center.<sup>269</sup>

A 1991 book on Muslims in America cited the following remarks by Ihsan Bagby, a CAIR board member:

Muslims "can never be full citizens" of the United States "because there is no way we can be fully committed to the institutions and ideologies of this country" as the United States is not a Muslim country.<sup>270</sup>

In February 2006, CAIR board member Parvez Ahmed was reported to have called for worldwide "blasphemy laws" in connection with the recent Danish cartoon controversy. At a CAIR-sponsored event at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. on February 16, titled "Religious and Political Perspectives on the Cartoon Controversy", he was reported to have said:

“ I think the next steps would be to broaden the scope of anti-hate laws and even contemplate about passing blasphemy laws, because blasphemy with such sacred icons, like the Prophet Mubammad, like the Koran, or the cross, or other religious symbols...So governments, legislatures, international bodies...must contemplate about what are the ways in which an anti-blasphemy law can be passed that can protect the right to exercise freedom of religion.”<sup>271</sup>

## ORGANIZATIONAL POSITIONS

A full review of CAIR's organizational positions is beyond the scope of this paper. However, a sampling of such positions supports the characterization of CAIR as fundamentalist. Many of the organizational stands taken by CAIR could be viewed as in line with orthodox social views. For example, much of CAIR's activities has centered on the Hijab, or head covering for women:

- ◆ A review of CAIR's 2004 "Anniversary Report" reveals that almost all women associated with CAIR that appear in the report are wearing a Hijab.<sup>272</sup>
- ◆ In December 2003, Islam Online reported that CAIR opposed the French ban on the Hijab in public schools.<sup>273</sup>
- ◆ In September 2005, a website critical of CAIR presented evidence that somebody within the organization appeared to have digitally altered a CAIR publicity photo in order

to make it appear that one of the women in the photo was wearing a Hijab.<sup>21</sup> <sup>274</sup>

In addition, CAIR has supported “gender privacy accommodation” in a fitness facility.<sup>275</sup> It should also be noted that while CAIR is a fervent supporter of Hijab rights, there are no women on either the executive or advisory boards of the CAIR national organization.

CAIR has also encouraged the Islamic community to take aggressive action at offenses that could be considered imaginary. The Washington Post reported in 1997 that Nike had “agreed to stop selling a new line of basketball shoes because they bear a logo resembling the Arabic word for Allah, or God, which some Muslims found offensive.” The report stated that the action resulted from “weeks of negotiation” with CAIR that had threatened a worldwide boycott of Nike products and that Nike had offered to withdraw the product from Islamic countries. The report also explained that the word “air” had been written in stylized letters that resembled flames and that CAIR leader Nihad Awad said that that he “doubted senior managers were aware of the “insult” the logo would cause.”<sup>276</sup> A picture of the logo posted on the Internet does clearly indicate the image of the word “air.”<sup>277</sup>

Another long-running CAIR campaign has been directed against prominent CAIR critic Daniel Pipes. In November 1999, Dr. Pipes complained about CAIR’s tactics in this campaign:

“ In mid-1999, I published articles in the *Los Angeles Times* and the *National Post* (Toronto) emphasizing the distinction between, on the one hand, traditional Muslims who go quietly about their business and ask only to be allowed to practice their faith, and, on the other, radical Islamists with their agenda of transforming society in the image of their beliefs. In reply, CAIR launched fifteen separate attacks on me in the space of two months. Many of these, reaching all the way back to 1983, cited random quotations from articles and books in order to indict me out of my own mouth, or resurrected unflattering appraisals of my work by others. One bulletin attempted to demolish an article I had written about the treaty of Hudaibiya – even though, contrary to other American commentators, I

*had found that “Muhammad was technically within his rights to abrogate the treaty.” The broadside was titled “Daniel Pipes Smears Prophet Muhammad”: fighting words for many Muslims. Reverberating through the Internet, CAIR’s attacks were also widely reprinted in Muslim publications, spurring dozens of letters, overwhelmingly negative, to the two newspapers that had carried my articles. One such letter urged me to enroll in sensitivity training (at CAIR, naturally), while others branded me with harsh names (“bigot and racist”), compared me to the Ku Klux Klan and the neo-Nazis, or characterized my writings as an “atrocious” filled with “pure poison” and “outright lies.” More alarmingly, the letters accused me either of perpetrating a hate crime against Muslims or of promoting and abetting such crimes. And they did not stop short of vague threats: “Is Pipes ready to answer the Creator for his hatred or is he a secular humanist . . . ? He will soon find out.”*<sup>278</sup>

Other examples of CAIR campaigns directed against individuals include:

- ♦ A 1996 CAIR newsletter reported that “In response to a CAIR action alert, Muslims worldwide contacted U.S. News & World Report to protest a June 10 editorial in which that magazine’s editor-in-chief, Mortimer Zuckerman, claimed the Prophet Muhammad had a “doctrine” of deceit in making treaties with enemies while he was weak and violating them when he was strong.”<sup>279</sup>
- ♦ In November 1996, Montreal Gazette cartoonist Terry Mosher drew a cartoon in response to the Luxor massacre of tourists by Islamic extremists. Mr. Mosher describes the cartoon as “over a line reading ‘In the name of Islamic extremism,’ I drew a terrorist in Arabic headgear as a raging dog with an accompanying line saying, ‘With apologies to dogs everywhere.’” Mr. Mosher reports that CAIR organized a protest campaign that resulted in hundreds of protest emails being received the newspaper from all over the world and a demonstration by local Islamic groups in the front of the newspaper office.<sup>280</sup> CAIR leader Nihad Awad was reported to have stated “This is an example of the current trend toward demonization of Islam and dehumanization of Muslims,. We share Mr. Mosher’s revulsion at the recent massacre in Egypt but that does not give him the right to incite anti-Muslim hatred and bigotry by equating all Muslims with mad dogs...His cartoon referred exclusively to Islam and made no mention of the massacre.”<sup>281</sup>

21 A source of unknown reliability states that a CAIR leader attributed the incident to an intern who had been admonished. See Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR): Information From Answers.com <http://www.answers.com/topic/council-on-american-islamic-relations-cair>

- ◆ In October 1997, Catholic scholar Richard Neuhaus wrote a review of a book by a well known critic of fundamentalist Islam.<sup>22</sup> Following a CAIR press release about the review, Mr. Neuhaus reported receiving “dozens and dozens of letters from as far away as Australia, some of them accompanied by hundreds of signatures of Muslims who claimed to be deeply offended by the review.” Mr. Neuhaus reported comments including “Venomous diatribe.” “Hateful xenophobia.” “Doing the work of Adolf Hitler.” “Agitating for a new crusade.” “Obviously mentally ill.”<sup>282</sup>
- ◆ In a December 1997 Washington Post op-ed piece, human rights advocate Nat Hentoff criticized Jesse Jackson for paying insufficient attention to Sudan and issues of slavery and forced Islamic conversion, using the term “Islamic enslavement.”<sup>283</sup> CAIR leader Ibrahim Hooper responded by defending Mr. Jackson labeling Mr. Hentoff’s comments “politically and religiously motivated sensationalism that plays on and amplifies existing Islamophobic tendencies in Western society.”

IDEOLOGICAL UNIFORMITY

CAIR also demonstrates its fundamentalist nature through ideological uniformity which can be seen in two areas. First, CAIR annual conferences do not appear to feature Islamic speakers outside the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood network. For example, the CAIR-CAN 2005 Annual Conference featured the following Islamic speakers, all known to be associated with this network:<sup>284</sup>

- ◆ Iqbal Sacranie  
Muslim Council of Britain
- ◆ Louay Safi  
Islamic Society of North America
- ◆ Louis Cantori  
Center for Study of Islam and Democracy
- ◆ Maher Hathout  
Muslim Public Affairs Council
- ◆ Mostafa Al Qazwin  
Islamic Education Center of Orange County
- ◆ Muzammil Siddiqui  
Islamic Society of North America

Second, CAIR has a history of mounting aggressive campaigns against Muslims who it deems to be outside of its ideological framework. In January 1999, Sheikh Hisham Kabbani, Chairman of the Islamic Supreme Council

of America (ISCA),] gave testimony before the State Department’s Open Forum.<sup>285</sup> During his testimony, Sheikh Kabbani said that “many Muslim organizations that claim to speak on behalf of the Muslim community but that in reality are not moderate, but extremist” and also warned that “the methodology or ideology of extremist has been spread to 80% of the Muslim population, but not all of them agree with it.” Sheikh Kabbani also claimed that Osama Bin Laden had acquired nuclear weapons as well as some other odd allegations that will not be detailed here.

In response, CAIR and a number of other closely affiliated organizations issued a statement labeling Sheikh Kabbani’s remarks “false and defamatory allegations.”<sup>286</sup> The statement attempted to use Sheikh Kabbani’s more unusual statements to discredit his warnings about Islamic extremism in the United States and, as was later noted by the ISCA, did take at least one of his remarks out of context. Following this statement, the ISCA complained:

“ They deliberately distorted the words and took phrases out of context from the speech, knowing it would incite furor and hatred towards the council and its chairman. In response, many emotionally-charged individuals have issued threatening statements to Shaykh Kabbani and his council members.”<sup>287</sup>

In the winter of 2002, well known Islamic author Khalid Duran complained that CAIR actions endangered his life:

“ On April 4, 2001, a self-described advocacy group based in Washington, D.C. by the name of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), issued a press release<sup>1</sup> attacking my forthcoming book, *Children of Abraham: An Introduction to Islam for Jews*.<sup>2</sup> CAIR’s attack snowballed into a campaign of personal vilification, which eventuated in a Jordanian political leader calling me an apostate (*murtadd*).<sup>3</sup> Neither CAIR nor Sheikh ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Abu Zant of Jordan’s Islamic Action Front had ever read or even seen my book, but the CAIR attack prompted the latter to issue an appeal to Muslims, asking them to unite to kill me. According to most interpretations of the Shari’a (Islamic law), an apostate from Islam must be executed. At the time, it was not clear whether Abu Zant’s outburst constituted a formal fatwa—a religious edict. But the sheikh was unequivocal in calling for my “blood to be shed.” For its part, CAIR denied that Abu Zant called for my death and claimed that my American publisher concocted the death threat in order to

22 Bat Ye’or’s, *The Decline of Eastern Christianity Under Islam: From Jihad to Dhimmitude* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press).

*increase sales,<sup>4</sup> even though the threat first had been reported in a Jordanian newspaper, Ash-Shahid. Abu Zant lay low for a time, but on July 22, he again called me an apostate, and declared it lawful (halal) to shed my blood. This time Ash-Shahid expressly called his statement a fatwa and bragged about the worldwide media coverage given to Abu Zant and Ash-Shahid.<sup>5</sup> The inflammatory language used by Nihad Awad, CAIR's executive director, to vilify my book, was bound to incite reactions like that of Abu Zant. Put differently, the accusations and the language used by CAIR in its statements, especially those in Arabic.”<sup>288</sup>*

In January 2006, a Philadelphia newspaper article reported on an individual identified as M. Zuhdi Jasser who:

“founded the American Islamic Forum for Democracy. This Phoenix organization was one of the first created by Muslims to promote a tolerant form of Islam compatible with a secular, democratic nation. The leaders of the new organizations say the established national Islamic groups promote a political strain of Islam that creates sympathy for the extremists – a charge the national groups deny.”<sup>289</sup>

In response the article cited CAIR leader Ibrahim Hooper as saying that criticism from Muslims such as Jasser was:

“providing others with an opportunity to advance an agenda that is hostile to the American Muslim community.”

## ORGANIZATIONAL EXTREMISM – ANTISEMITISM

CAIR and its key leadership have anti-Semitic statements and associated with anti-Semitic individuals.

### ANTI-SEMITIC STATEMENTS

In August 2000, an Arabic newspaper reported that CAIR leader Nihad Awad made remarks indicating that making movies showing Muslims in a bad light was part of

“[t]he Jews plan to distort Islam's image and have succeeded in their plans. This Jewish plan is the fruit of enmity for Islam and its distortion, giving a bad name to its adherents.”<sup>290</sup>

CAIR leaders have made numerous statements complaining about Jewish/Israeli influence in American public policy. In

February 1998, a University publication reported that Nihad Awad told a Muslim Student Association event that “U.S. policy is driven in part by the Jewish origin of many Clinton administration officials.”<sup>291</sup> He was also reported to have said:

“Now, of Clinton's advisors, who is now, who of his advisors, who...who is opposing the latest agreement with Iraq? Look at their names. Look at their ethnic, their ethnic or religious or racial background. You will see that these are the same groups that belong to the same interest groups in the Administration. These are the same people who are pushing the United States to go to war on behalf of a third party, and they are the same people who are opposing the peace process...”

A media source sympathetic to Arab causes reported that CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad told a CAIR's first annual “Meet-Your-Congressman dinner” in March 2001 that:

“Muslims in the U.S. are willing to be a catalyst to unite the Muslim world with Washington. It is the Israeli lobby that is demonizing Islam.”<sup>292</sup>

In May 2002, Mr. Awad complained about U.S. officials “pledging allegiance” to a foreign government::

“It is truly disturbing to see American elected officials falling over themselves in an unseemly attempt to ‘pledge allegiance’ to a foreign government and its domestic lobby. Perhaps these same politicians should be reminded that they were elected by American, not Israeli voters. At a time when the president and secretary of state are trying to encourage peace and stability in the Middle East, our elected representatives are undercutting that effort by engaging in crass political maneuvering that promotes their own prospects of re-election over America's national and security interests.”<sup>293</sup>

An anti-Semitism monitoring group reported that in February 2003, CAIR leader Ibrahim Hooper said on MSNBC that US investigations of terrorism were politically driven by support for Israel stating:

“The entire controversy began with the attack dogs of the pro-Israel lobby going after Sami Al-Arian... the Holy Land Foundation [and] other groups in the United States... The [pro-Israel lobby] wanted to shut them down because they oppose the occupation in Palestine.”<sup>294</sup>

In February 2003, Nihad Awad asserted on Islam Online that the “Christian Right” and the “Pro-Israel lobby” were carrying out a campaign against Islam and Muslims:

“ *Anti-Muslim attacks which took place immediately after 9-11 were spontaneous actions taken by misguided individuals. You can see this from the statistics published on our website. Now we see extremists, including the Christian Right and the pro-Israel lobby, carrying out a coordinated campaign against Islam and Muslims. The result of this is clearly apparent from the racist policies and practices being carried out by some branches of the U.S. government influenced by these groups, in contradiction to the assurances President Bush gave us on more than one occasion: that this war is not against Islam. We believe this anti-Muslim discrimination is contrary to the interest of our nation, the United States.*”<sup>295</sup>

CAIR as an organization has also issued numerous statements complaining of undue Jewish influence:

- ◆ A Jordanian newspaper reported that in January 2001, following the election of George W. Bush, CAIR leaders sent a letter to President Bush “warning the new administration to beware of penetration of Zionist voices in the American decision making.”<sup>296</sup>
- ◆ In August 2001, a CAIR chapter sent another letter to President Bush stating “Political intimidation by the domestic Zionist and pro-Israeli lobbying groups should never prevent the U.S., a ‘superpower,’ from upholding the basic standards of international law and human Rights.”<sup>297</sup>
- ◆ In April 2004, following the Israeli target killing of a Hamas leader, a CAIR press release again warned of foreign influences stating “Until our leaders act in America’s interests, and not just those of a foreign state or its domestic lobby, we will continue to be viewed worldwide as a party to oppression, not as a force for freedom or justice.”<sup>298</sup>
- ◆ In July 2004, A CAIR press release made a similar complain stating “How long will America’s international image and interests be held hostage by a powerful domestic lobby for a foreign government?”<sup>299</sup>
- ◆ In 2005, following the decision of the U.S. government to bar Tariq Ramadan from entering the country, a CAIR report stated “Although government officials have provided no explanation concerning Dr. Ramadan’s visa revocation, some noted scholars said they suspected the government’s Professor Tariq Ramadan decision to bar Ramadan could have been influenced by certain

right-wing pro-Israeli groups that have ‘waged a campaign’ against moderate Muslim scholars and intellectuals whose views on Islam and the Middle East conflict with their own.”<sup>300</sup>

CAIR has also issued statements attacking Jewish organizations using inflammatory language. In September 2001, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) reported a CAIR attack on the Simon Wiesenthal Center:

“ *On September 18, CAIR-LA issued an ‘action alert’ claiming that the Simon Wiesenthal Center ‘promotes intolerance and hate.’ According to CAIR-LA, the SWC ‘displayed an incredible amount of insensitivity’ by placing a wire photo of Palestinians celebrating the Sept. 11 attacks on its Web site. Rather than promoting tolerance and understanding, CAIR-LA claimed, the SWC is ‘unfortunately inciting a backlash against the American Muslim and Arab American communities.’ CAIR stated that because of the ‘increasingly violent hate incidents’ that are taking place against the American Muslim community, religious and media institutions should make efforts to avoid contributing to ‘an atmosphere of intolerance and Islamophobia.’*”<sup>301</sup>

In November 2001, CAIR issued a press release claiming that U.S. Jewish organizations were conducting a “smear campaign” against the organization:

“ *CAIR should be judged on its work, not on a few false and distorted slurs promoted by those who would seek to bar Muslims from political participation and influence. In the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, a number of groups and individuals alarmed at the growing prominence of Muslims are taking shameless advantage of those tragic events to push for their long-term goal of marginalizing and delegitimizing the American Muslim community and its leadership.*”<sup>302</sup>

CAIR’s statement continued:

“ *This smear campaign is unfair, un-American and outrageous. It is based on distortions, fabrications, outdated and out of context information, and guilt by association. It relies on the amplification of prejudice and stereotyping that resulted from the justifiable rage expressed by the American people, including Muslims and Arab-Americans, following the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks. Every major American Muslim group and leader,*

*without exception, has been the target of these unjustified and politically motivated smears.*

*dog wagged by its tail, that is Tel Aviv, our public relations efforts will remain an uphill battle.”*<sup>306</sup>

In November 2001, CAIR also launched an attack on the ADL following what it said was a demand by the ADL to exclude a Muslim representative from a panel discussion at an annual civil rights conference. A CAIR Florida press release cited CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad as stating:

“ *This malicious attempt at exclusion, which is ironically aimed at a conference on multicultural inclusion, is just one small part of a nationwide campaign by the ADL to marginalize and disenfranchise the Muslim community in America. We thank the FCHR for refusing to be intimidated.*”<sup>303</sup>

#### ANTI-SEMITIC SPEAKERS

CAIR has an extensive history of participating in and/or sponsoring events at which anti-Semitic individuals also participated. An organization that monitors CAIR states that a September 1994 issue of CAIR News reports that:

“CAIR coordinated a series of meetings for Bassam Alamoush, a Jordanian Islamic militant, with U.S. government officials. At the Muslim Arab Youth Association (MAYA) conference in Chicago in December 1994, Alamoush called for the killing of Jews. According to a video of Alamoush’s speech, he said, ‘Somebody approached me at the mosque (in Amman) and asked me, ‘if I see a Jew in the street, should I kill him?’” After pausing a moment with a dumbfounded face, Alamoush answered the question to a laughing crowd: ‘Don’t ask me. After you kill him, come and tell me. What do you want from me, a fatwa (legal ruling)? Really, a good deed does not require one.’ Later in the speech, Alamoush was interrupted by an aide with a note ‘good news...there has been a suicide operation in Jerusalem’ killing three people. Thunderous applause followed his statement”<sup>304</sup>

As noted earlier, in May 1997 CAIR sponsored the speaking tour of Murad Hoffman, a German convert and former Ambassador who is known to be associated with the Muslim Brotherhood in Germany.<sup>305</sup> According to an organization that monitors CAIR, Dr. Hoffman stated at a May 18, 1997 CAIR fundraiser at Buena Park, California:

“ *Today, the defamation of Islam and Muslims serves., a political purpose, because Israel, and the Zionist lobbies, and media around the world believe that Israel will fare better, the worse Islam fares. And as long as this is so, and as long as the most powerful country in the world seems to act like a*

According to an Internet posting, an all-day program was held on May 24 1998 at Brooklyn College in Brooklyn, New York sponsored by eleven Islamic organizations, including the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), the Islamic Society of North America, the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development and the Islamic Circle of North America.<sup>307</sup> At the event, Wagdi Ghoneim, a militant Islamic cleric from Egypt spoke in Arabic about the “infidelity,” “stealth” and “deceit.” of Jews.<sup>23</sup> He stated that “The conflict with the Jews, he said, was not over land but one of religion. “The problem of Palestine is not a problem of belief. . . suppose the Jews said ‘Palestine--you Muslims can take it.’ Would it then be ok? What would we tell them? No! The problem is belief, it is not a problem of land.” “Ghuniem also reportedly led the audience, in song, the audience responsively repeating each refrain: “No to the Jews Descendants of the Apes We Vow to Return Despite the Obstacles.”

A counter-terrorism journal reported that on May 29, 1999, the American Muslims for Jerusalem sponsored a conference and fund-raiser in Santa Clara, California. The event was co-sponsored by twenty-six organizations including ISNA and CAIR. At the event, Hatem Bazian, Director of the Al-Qalam Institute of Islamic Sciences at the University of California at Berkeley and one of the conference’s featured speakers reportedly stated:

“ *in the Hadith, the Day of Judgment will never happen until you fight the Jews. They are on the West side of the river, which is the Jordan River, and you’re on the East side...until the trees and the stones will say, oh Muslim, there is a Jew hiding behind me. Come and kill him! And that’s in the Hadith about this, this is a future battle before the Day of Judgment.*”<sup>308</sup>

In October 2002, CAIR-Austin scheduled a picnic to featuring a musical group identified as “Al-Nojoum, an Arab musical band from Dallas.”<sup>309</sup> According to a CBS news investigation, a member of the band identified as Mufid Abdulqader, a former Dallas city engineer. According to the investigation:

“ *When government prosecutors this summer handed down a 42-count terrorism indictment against the [Holy Land] foundation, they included several*

<sup>23</sup> Another common spelling of his name is Wagdy Ghoneim.

*brief details about Abdulqader...The indictment noted that the city of Dallas engineer was a "top fundraiser" who "performed skits and songs which advocated the destruction of the State of Israel and glorified the killing of Jewish people."*<sup>310</sup>

In May 2003, CAIR leader Nihad Awad and CAIR-LA head Hussam Ayloush were scheduled to speak at a Sacramento California conference which also featured Wagdi Ghoniem, described above in connection with anti-Semitic remarks made at a Brooklyn conference.<sup>311 312</sup> Also scheduled to speak was Abdul Malik, likely the same individual identified by the Anti-Defamation League of making "many hateful and virulently anti-Semitic speeches" that center around Zionist control and conspiracies.<sup>313</sup> Also scheduled to speaker were several individuals affiliated with Saudi institutions known to be centers for "Wahhabi" teachings.

In August 2003, CAIR held a conference in Fort Lauderdale, which featured Rev. William Baker, as well as CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad and CAIR Operations Director Khalid Iqbal.<sup>314</sup> Local media has detailed the right-wing extremist and anti-Semitic background of Dr. Baker that included the following:<sup>315</sup>

- ◆ "In 1984, Baker was national chairman of Costa Mesa-based Holocaust denier Willis Carto's Populist Party."
- ◆ "Baker delivered a 1983 speech to the racist Christian Patriot Defense League in Licking, Missouri, in which he made several references to Carto's neo-Nazi newspaper, *Spotlight*. A 23-page transcript of that rambling speech reveals a number of anti-Semitic remarks."
- ◆ "During the same period, Baker wrote and published *Theft of a Nation*, a 1982 book whose salient feature is its unrelenting pro-Arab, anti-Israel and anti-Jewish politics."

In November 2003, CAIR again held a dinner in Northern Virginia featuring Dr. Baker.<sup>316</sup>

CAIR-Florida head Altaf Ali was scheduled to speak along with Wagdi Ghoneim at a December 2003 Florida conference entitled "Islam for Humanity" sponsored by the Universal Heritage Foundation where ISNA leaders Dr. Muzzamil Siddiqi, Dr. Sayyid M. Syeed, and Dr. Abdullah Idris Ali were also scheduled to participate.<sup>317 318</sup> The keynote speaker for the conference was originally to be Sheikh Abdur-Rahman Al-Sudais, a Saudi cleric who was quoted in various newspapers in April 2002 as having "prayed for the Jews to be terminated" and calling Jews "the scum of humanity, the rats of the world, the killers of prophets and the grandsons of monkeys and pigs."<sup>319</sup> According to another media report,

al-Sudais' name disappeared from conference materials following the media exposure and later ISNA board member Siraj Wahhaj's name was also dropped.<sup>24 320</sup> The conference moderator announced that the address by Egyptian cleric Sheikh Wagdy Ghoneim would be rescheduled but would take place according to the report. Mr. Ghoneim later left the country in connection with immigration violations and a government website indicates that he was suspect of being involved with fundraising for terrorism including for Hamas.<sup>321</sup>

## OTHER ANTI-SEMITIC ACTIVITIES

In October 2004, the Anti-Defamation League reported on CAIR's association with Neturei Karta, a group often employed by anti-Semites such as Youssef Qaradawi in an attempt to disprove allegations of anti-Semitism:

“ *The MSA and the Los Angeles chapter of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) facilitated a speaking tour by the Neturei Karta, a tiny group of ultra-Orthodox rabbis with a record of hostility to the existence of the state of Israel. In June 2004, during a stop at California State University in Los Angeles sponsored by the Muslim Student Alliance, Neturei Karta members rehashed their basic beliefs, including the idea that the land used to create the state of Israel contradicts the principles laid out in the Torah. Several days later, at the University of California, Irvine, Neturei Karta reportedly voiced its support for suicide bombings. CAIR has claimed its association with the Neturei Karta was to "focus on ways for Muslims and Jews to cooperate."*<sup>322</sup>

Sometime following false allegations of Koran desecration at Guantanamo, the CAIR website announced that was:

“ *proud to announce a new campaign intended to promote understanding of the Quran by distributing complimentary copies to any interested member of the American public. This campaign, titled *Explore the Qur'an*, serves as a response to those who would defame and desecrate the holy book of Muslims without full knowledge of its teachings.*"<sup>323</sup>

However, a media report indicates that the version of the Koran being distributed by CAIR was "previously was banned by the Los Angeles school district because commentary

<sup>24</sup> Mr. Wahhaj will be discussed later in connection with terrorism.

notes accompanying the text were regarded as anti-Semitic.”

<sup>324</sup> The report also states:

“*Khaleel Mohammed, an assistant professor of religious studies at San Diego State University, says the Saudi-approved edition was first published by Abdullah Yusuf Ali in 1934 at “a time both of growing Arab animosity toward Zionism and in a milieu that condoned anti-Semitism.” Ali, according to the professor, constructed it as a “polemic against Jews.”*”

Until recently, he said, it’s been the most popular version among Muslims. Yet, despite revisions over the years, Mohammed added, the footnoted commentary about Jews “remained so egregious” that in April 2002 the Los Angeles school district banned its use at local schools.”

The report also adds that:

“*The Council on American-Islamic Relations has included the edition in the Islamic book-package it offers libraries nationwide and now is giving it away to help “improve America’s image” through a program called “Explore the Quran.”*”

## ORGANIZATIONAL EXTREMISM— STATEMENTS ON TERRORISM

### WEAK AND QUALIFIED CONDEMNATIONS

CAIR leader Nihad Awad has stated that “CAIR’s principled position on terrorism has always been evident...”<sup>325</sup> However a “principled position on terrorism” could reasonably be expected to include unequivocal condemnations of terrorist individuals, actions and groups. CAIR does not have a record of such condemnations.

In April 1995, the media reported that CAIR was one of the co-sponsors of a “summit” which drafted a statement on proposed anti-terrorist legislation prompted by the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. The statement reported said:

“*As American Muslims, we condemn all forms of terrorism by any party” and “will support legislation protecting America from it.”*<sup>326</sup>

However, at a press conference held to discuss the legislation, the summit leaders were reported to be opposed to the legislation because it “unfairly stereotypes Muslims, Arab-Americans and mosques and singles them out for investigation, surveillance and prosecution without adequate

evidence.” CAIR spokesman Ibrahim Hooper was quoted as stating that “Existing laws are adequate weapons against terrorism within the United States if fully enforced.”

The report went on to indicate that material distributed at the news conference contained suggestions that the bill was “inspired” by American Jewish organizations.

In 2001, shortly after the 9/11 attacks, CAIR official Ibrahim Hooper defended Hamas saying, “If someone carries out terrorist attacks, they should be labeled as a terrorist ... if they don’t they shouldn’t... if Hamas kills innocent civilians we condemn them. But I’m not going to condemn legitimate resistance to Israeli occupation.”<sup>327</sup>

A Lexis/Nexis search for media reports from 1995 until September 10, 2005 found no reports of any condemnation by CAIR of terrorism committed by group or individuals acted in the name of Islam. One media report does state that CAIR spokesman Ibrahim Hooper was asked in August 1998 in an America Online-sponsored “chat” in August 1998 who was responsible—the terrorists or America—for the East Africa Embassy bombings. Mr. Hooper was reported to have replied:

“*although he condemned the bombings, ‘a great deal of what happened is responsible due to misunderstandings on both sides.’*”<sup>328</sup>

Following the 9/11 attacks, CAIR alone and together with other Islamic organizations, issued condemnations of the attacks and following assertions of conspiracies to blame Muslims for the attack issued by the head of CAIR/NY, CAIR National issued a statement in December 2001 acknowledging the role of Osama Bin Laden.<sup>25 329</sup>

On July 28 2005, the Fiqh Council of North America (FCNA) issued a fatwa against terrorism that was drew national attention and wide scale media coverage.<sup>26 330</sup> The fatwa was issued at the National Press Club by Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) leader Muzzamil Siddiqi who was accompanied by CAIR leader Nihad Awad as well as leaders from other Islamic organizations associated with ISNA and CAIR.<sup>27</sup> The FCNA fatwa was criticized by a

25 The conspiracy theories are discussed below.

26 The fatwa can be found online at <http://www.cair-net.org/downloads/fatwa.htm>

27 The list of leaders at the press conference was drawn from various media reports and may not be accurate. None of the media reports included a list of the participants in the press conference.

number of Islamic and non-Islamic commentators.<sup>331 332 333</sup>  
<sup>334</sup> The criticism included the following observations:

- ◆ The fatwa was not specific and mentioned neither specific groups or individuals
- ◆ The act of terrorism was designated only as haram (unlawful) rather than a stronger designation such as apostasy
- ◆ The term civilians was undefined, leaving open the possibility that Israeli citizens, for example, might be excluded as Youssef Qaradawi has rule in his fatwas
- ◆ No Arabic translation was provided
- ◆ The fatwas did not include the armed forces of the United States given that FCNA is an American organization
- ◆ The fatwas provided insufficient theological justification necessary to compete with the fatwas issued by so-called Salafist clerics.

One observer contrasted the FCNA fatwa to:

“ a fatwa issued in March by the Spanish Muslim Council, on the first anniversary of the Madrid train bombings, which declared Osama Bin Laden an apostate and urged other Muslims to denounce the Al Qaeda leader. The Spanish ruling marked the first time Muslim clerics had denounced terrorism in religious vocabulary, invoking genuine Islamic instruments, such as fatwa and apostasy, instead of the qualified, secular, and arguably ineffective condemnations that had been issued in the past.”<sup>335</sup>

Similar criticism has been made of a 2005 CAIR ad campaign which featured a spot on national networks ostensibly condemning terrorism.<sup>336 337</sup>

In May 2005, following the beheading in Iraq of an American civilian contractor, CAIR issued an action alert publicizing “an online petition drive designed to disassociate the faith of Islam from the violent acts of a few Muslims.”<sup>338</sup> The alert said that the petition “allows Muslims around the world to help correct misperceptions of Islam and the Islamic stance on religiously-motivated terror.” The online petition stated that

“ those who commit acts of terror, murder and cruelty in the name of Islam are not only destroying innocent lives, but are also betraying the values of the faith they claim to represent.”

However, once again no individual terrorist groups or individuals are identified.

As late as June 2006, following the arrest in Canada of individuals allegedly planning acts of terror, the director of CAIR/Canada Karl Nickner issued yet another generalized condemnation:

“ As Canadian Muslims, we unequivocally condemn terrorism in all of its forms”<sup>339</sup>

However, Mr. Nickner also appeared to blame the Canadian political system for the problem:

We cannot just expect that the youth are going to know how to participate in society... A large part of the population in Canada is already alienated by our political system. It's no different in the Muslim community.”<sup>340</sup>

Despite generalized condemnations, CAIR and its leaders have declined to condemn terrorist groups such as Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad. When asked about condemnations of such groups, Ibrahim Hooper replied in a November 2001 Washington Post interview:

“ We resent this whole inquisitorial position that you have to answer this and that and then we'll let you into society....It's not our job to go around denouncing, that when they say jump, we say how high.”<sup>341</sup>

When CAIR President Omar Ahmad was asked in a May 2003 deposition whether he has “ever taken a position with respect to...[Hamas] ‘martyrdom attacks,’” he replied that he had not.<sup>342</sup>

It is likely that CAIR resists such condemnations because the organization and its leaders do not appear to define terrorism in the same manner as the U.S. Government. Consistent with the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood affiliations of CAIR, the organization and its leaders have made statements that are supportive of terrorism in Israel and Iraq. One media report indicates that at the Islamic Association for Palestine's third annual convention in Chicago in November 1999, CAIR President Omar Ahmad gave a speech praising suicide bombers who “kill themselves for Islam” stating:

“ Fighting for freedom, fighting for Islam -that is not suicide. They kill themselves for Islam.”<sup>343</sup>

Several reports state that during a November 2001 interfaith event, CAIR/NY Executive Director Ghazi Khankan stated:<sup>344 345</sup>

“From a religious point of view, [Palestinians] have the right to defend themselves. Such self-defense cannot be equated

with Bin Ladin. The people of Hamas who direct their attacks on the Israeli military are in the correct position. Those who attack civilians are wrong,”

He also added:

“ *Who is a soldier in Israel and who is not? Anyone over 18 is automatically inducted into the service and they are all reserves. Therefore, Hamas in my opinion looks at them as part of the military. Those who are below 18 should not be attacked.*”

In April 2002, a media report indicates that CAIR spokesman Ibrahim Hooper defended Saudi payments to families of suicide bombers in Israel stating:

“ *The families of suicide bombers are just as needy as those killed by military attacks, he said. They want to make it sound like (all the money is for) the families of suicide bombers.*”<sup>346</sup>

In October 2002 Congressional testimony, CAIR leader Nihad Awad appears to refer to Hamas and other terrorist organizations as “indigenous independence movements” when he stated:

“ *In the West Bank and Gaza, Israel has used the war on terrorism to step up its brutal suppression on indigenous independence movements.*”<sup>347</sup>

In March 2002, CAIR issued a rare condemnation of an attack by Hamas in which a suicide bomber killed 20 and wounded 100 during a Passover celebration in Israel.<sup>348</sup> The statement did not mention Hamas by name and at the same time condemned Israeli actions in greater detail and with far harsher language than the condemnation of the suicide attack:

“ *We condemn this attack and all other attacks on innocent civilians. Illegitimate and counterproductive tactics must not be used in the legitimate struggle to end Israel’s brutal occupation. This attack is of particular concern coming as it did during a religious observance in which the focus is remembrance of God. We ask the international community to similarly condemn actions by the Israeli armed forces that also target civilians and impose daily humiliation and suffering on an entire population through blockades, home demolitions, assassinations, indiscriminate shooting, torture, land confiscations and a wide variety of Apartheid-like and oppressive practices. To break this cycle of violence and*

*counter-violence, all parties must focus on a political solution based on justice and equality, not force of arms.*”

CAIR has frequently mentioned this press release as proof of its condemnation of terror.

In a February 2003 TV interview, Ibrahim Hooper was asked about Palestinian Islamic Jihad in connection with terror. He replied:

“ *Well, obviously, I’m not going to support some tactics of the Islamic Jihad, but they’re in a world apart from al Qaeda. They’ve never threatened anyone outside of Israel and the occupied territory.*”<sup>349</sup>

In March 2004, CAIR issued a statement condemning the mutilation, but not the killings, of Four American civilian contractors who were “ambushed in their SUV’s, burned, mutilated, dragged through the streets and then hung from a bridge spanning the Euphrates River.” In the statement, CAIR refers to the “parties to the conflict” rather than to the terrorist who were responsible for the event:

“ *The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) today condemned the mutilation of those killed in Iraq on Wednesday according to news reports. CAIR said the mutilations violated both Islamic and international norms of conduct during times of war and called on all parties to the conflict to respect the sanctity of the dead and the sensitivities of their families.*”<sup>350</sup>

## ENCOURAGING VICTIMIZATION

Instead of truly strong and unequivocal condemnations of terrorism, CAIR instead has repeatedly attempted to portray anti-terrorist efforts as an attack on Muslims and on Islam. This can be seen in a variety of venues. From the inception of the organization, CAIR has attempted to minimize and/or reject any connection between Muslims and terrorism. In a June 1996 newspaper interview, CAIR spokesman Ibrahim Hooper was reported to have cited:

“ *statistics from the U.S. Justice Department, the FBI and the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms that show Muslims rank pretty far down the list when it comes to anti-American terrorism. Most domestic bombings have nothing to do with Muslims, and the international hotspots for anti-American violence are actually Latin America and Europe, not the Middle East... So the obvious*

*question is why are Muslims always blamed when the actual numbers go against that...It goes again to the stereotyping and bias.*"<sup>351</sup>

Following 911, the New York CAIR office encouraged its membership to write to the New York Times to suggesting that Muslims could not have been involved:

“ If three of the 19 suspected ‘hijackers’ are still alive, who were the other 16? The important questions are: Who is impersonating these three Muslim Arabs? Why are Muslim Arabs been implicated in this terrorism? And, who could ‘benefit’ from this horrific tragedy? Definitely mainstream Muslims by the consensus of Islamic religious scholars since the dawn of Al-Islam could NOT be the culprits, because the Islamic teachings state: ‘Do not kill the life that God made sacred.’ Suicide and killing innocent people are sinful acts punishable on the Day of Judgment, nay even before that, in the grave.”<sup>352</sup>

On October 18 2001, New York Executive Director Ghazi Khankan again suggested a conspiracy directed towards Muslims:

“ At least two of the supposed hijackers are still alive in Saudi Arabia...I spoke with the Saudi ambassador recently and he confirmed that. So who stole their identities and for what purpose? And who really benefits from such a horrible tragedy that is blamed on Muslims and Arabs?” Definitely, Muslims and Arabs do not benefit. It must be an enemy of Muslims and Arabs.”<sup>353</sup>

Even four years later, CAIR/Canada board member Jamal Badawi was reported to have told the Saudi Gazette:

“ 9/11 was un-Islamic,’ and ‘I strongly condemn the September 11 attacks...whoever did it.’ He added that it is not confirmed yet who is actually behind the attacks.”<sup>354</sup>

Dr. Badawi added his belief that the U.S. was behind car bombings in Iraq:

“ This has to be investigated as to who is actually behind this...There have been allegations that I cannot confirm that people going to the market to buy vegetables are stopped in the name of inspecting their cars by [American] forces, their hands are tied and they are blindfolded. There have been cases and I want a clarification from American officials

*to these allegations. After inspecting their cars they are allowed to go and when the car reaches [the] checkpoint it explodes and they call them suicide bombers, perhaps the occupants of the car were not even aware that they are carrying a bomb in their car. Such incidents should be thoroughly probed.”*

Following the publication of the 911 Commission report in July 2004, CAIR leaders criticized the commission for allegedly associating Islam with terrorism. In an August Dallas newspaper op ed piece, CAIR legal director, Arsalan Iftikhar complained that speaking of Islamist terror “seem[ed] to stigmatize anyone with ties to Islam.”<sup>355</sup> CAIR spokesman Ibrahim Hooper also criticized the commission for using the word “Islamist”:

“ ‘Islamist’ is one of those hot-button terms that are ill-defined or not defined at all...They’re basically saying this is a label for Muslims we don’t like or agree with.”<sup>356</sup>

Nihad Awad has blamed the media for association Islam with terrorism. In May 2006, he told a media source:

“ The kind of coverage that the American audience has been receiving about Islam and Muslims leads one to just one conclusion, that Islam is bad and Muslims are violent...The media has failed to capture the reality of the Muslim world and only focused on the actions of the few.”<sup>357</sup>

Also in May 2006, CAIR board chairman Parvez Ahmed also blamed the media stating in a CAIR press release:

“ Unfortunately, all too often ‘Islam’ and ‘terrorism’ are juxtaposed in news reports and editorials. A word search on news stories published in major newspapers over the past decade shows that reporters are hundred times more likely to associate Islam with terrorism or militancy than all other faiths combined. Such lopsided portrayal is indicative of deep-seated misunderstandings about Islam, and sometimes just plain prejudice. Surely all terrorists are not Muslim, neither are all Muslims terrorists.”<sup>358</sup>

While attempting to disassociate Muslims from terrorism, CAIR and its leaders have also consistently described anti-terror efforts as a war against Muslims and Islam. Examples of such CAIR statements include:

- ◆ Following the freezing of the Holy Land Foundations assets in December 2001, CAIR and related organizations

issues a press release stating “We ask that President Bush reconsider what we believe is an unjust and counterproductive move that can only damage America’s credibility with Muslims in this country and around the world and could create the impression that there has been a shift from a war on terrorism to an attack on Islam.”<sup>359</sup>

- ◆ Following the closure of more Islamic charities in December 2001, CAIR National issued a press release stating “American Muslims are now under a cloud of suspicion produced by a drumbeat of anti-Muslim rhetoric from those who are taking advantage of the 9-11 tragedy to carry out their agenda of silencing our community and its leadership once and for all.”<sup>360</sup>
- ◆ In May 2002 Riad Abdelkarim, Western Region Communications Director for CAIR wrote following federal raids on Islamic charities in Northern Virginia “One thing, however, is certain: if American Muslims allow their charities and institutions to be destroyed without defending them with their words, actions, and funds, those organizations already targeted will not be the only American Muslim institutions eliminated in this war against American Muslims. Indeed, many fear that HLF and the other charities were just the first casualties of a national smear campaign to marginalize, delegitimize, and ultimately silence our American Muslim community”<sup>361</sup>
- ◆ Following the December 2002 arrest of the now convicted Elashi brothers, CAIR Dallas issued a press release stating “Lastly, we are concerned that these charges result from what appears to be a “war on Islam and Muslims” rather than a “war on terror.”<sup>362</sup>
- ◆ In July 2003, Ibrahim Hooper asserted that “The Justice Department seems to have a general policy of targeting Muslims because they are Muslims... We’re only beginning to see the abuses that have been prompted by the hysteria after Sept. 11.”<sup>363</sup>
- ◆ In April 2003, following the nomination of CAIR critic to the United States Institute of Peace, national media reported that according to Mr. Hooper, “If Pipes is actually appointed... it would confirm suspicions in that the war on Iraq and the war on terrorism ‘is really a war on Islam.’”<sup>364</sup>
- ◆ In May 2004, following the publication of the Abu Ghraib photos, CAIR/LA leader Hussam Ayloush told his congregation during Friday prayers that the war on terrorism has become “a war on Muslims.”<sup>365</sup>

CAIR has also used its annual reporting of alleged civil rights cases involving U.S. Muslims to portray anti-terror efforts as directed against Muslims. In the latest available CAIR annual report, the executive summary implies that Muslims

in the U.S experienced an increased wave of “harassment, violence and discriminatory treatment” during 2004:

“ Since the 9/11 attacks, the most disturbing legal trend is the growing disparity in how American Muslims are being treated under the law on many different levels. In order to fully understand the status of civil rights in the post-9/11 era, it is essential that this report offer a documented historical overview of major federal law enforcement initiatives, high-profile national cases and statistical evidence of anti-Muslim discrimination in the United States, particularly those incidents that occurred during the last calendar year of 2004. In 2004, CAIR processed a total of 1,522 incident reports of civil rights cases compared to 1,019 cases reported to CAIR in 2003. This constitutes a 49 percent increase in the reported cases of harassment, violence and discriminatory treatment from 2003 and marks the highest number of Muslim civil rights cases ever reported to CAIR in our eleven year history. In addition, CAIR received 141 reports of actual and potential violent anti-Muslim hate crimes, a 52 percent increase from the 93 reports received in 2003.”<sup>366</sup>

However, an analysis of the statistics used by CAIR to make this claim shows another picture. In its report, CAIR breaks down its case reports by “Type of Alleged Abuse.” For purposes of this analysis, there are three broad categories of incident. First, there are “hate crimes” which CAIR says increased in their reporting from 93 in 2003 to 141 in 2004. The FBI crime reports for 2004 list 156 reported “Anti-Islamic” incidents.<sup>28</sup> However, in 2003, the FBI reports list 149 such incidents. In fact, anti-Islamic incidents as reported by the FBI statistics to not appeared to have varied from this level in the last few years and if anything, it could be said that CAIR underreported the 2003 incidents.

The second category of incidents reported by CAIR can be characterized as “discrimination” and includes problems with religious accommodation and employment. CAIR reported 708 cases in this category. It is difficult to evaluate this category because it is not clear that CAIR does any investigation of these complaints or simply reports them as received. Critics have taken note of this reporting issue but further analysis is beyond the scope of this report. However, it should be noted that a media report indicates that in 1996, CAIR included the trial of Abdul-Rahman, which ended with his conviction for conspiring to blow up the Lincoln

<sup>28</sup> In comparison, the FBI reported 954 hate crimes incidents directed against Jews.

Tunnel and other New York City on a list of “incidents of bias and violence” because Abdul-Rahman’s lawyers said that his trial had been “far from free and fair.”<sup>367</sup>

Most relevant to this discussion is the category “unreasonable arrests, detentions, searches/seizures and interrogations” which lists 385 incidents in 2004. CAIR commented in the report:

“By far the greatest increase from last year, in both real and proportional terms, occurred in the area of unreasonable arrests, detentions, searches/seizures and interrogations. In 2003, complaints concerning law enforcement techniques accounted for only 7 percent of all reported incidents. In 2004, however, these reports rose to almost 26 percent of all reported cases to CAIR.”

The report goes on to posit five possible reasons for this increase:

- ◆ “An ongoing and lingering atmosphere of fear since the September 11 attacks against American Muslims, Arabs and South Asians.”
- ◆ “The growing use of anti-Muslim rhetoric by some local and national opinion leaders;”
- ◆ “Local Muslim communities, through the opening of new CAIR chapters and regional offices, now have more mechanisms to monitor and report incidents to CAIR at the grassroots level;”
- ◆ “Following the infamous legacy of the USA PATRIOT Act, other federal legislation and policies which severely infringe on the civil and constitutional rights of all Americans continue to be passed.”
- ◆ “Increased public awareness about civil liberties and the impact of federal law enforcement initiatives on constitutional and civil rights.”

All of these explanatory factors are consistent with CAIR portrayal of anti-terror efforts as a war against Muslims. It should be noted that the categorization of “unreasonable” as applied to the various law enforcement actions again does not appear to have been subject to any investigation by CAIR. It is just as likely that CAIR’s long history of portraying anti-terror efforts as directed against Muslims has produced the surge of reporting.

## COUNTER COUNTER-TERROR

CAIR has also used the same themes in making statements opposing virtually all efforts of the U.S. government to fight terrorism. As noted above, CAIR has portrayed the Patriot

Act as a potential catalyst for “unreasonable” lawn enforcement actions directed against Muslims. CAIR has vigorously opposed all aspects of the Patriot Act as it has opposed virtually all anti-terrorist legislation dating back to the period following the first World Trade Center attack in 1993. In its latest efforts against such legislation, CAIR has cast its opposition in terms of a threat to civil liberties although the support of CAIR’s board chairman for “blasphemy” laws, as noted above, calls into question CAIR’s credentials as a civil libertarian organization.

CAIR has also fought actions to deport or prevent individuals associated with extremism from entering the United States by suggesting those actions are directed against Muslims rather than an effort to fight terrorism. In September 2004, the well-known singer Yusuf Islam, formerly known as Cat Stevens, was removed from a plane bound for Washington from London Tuesday when his name showed up on a U.S. watch list. CAIR immediately issued a press release asserting that Mr. Islam was a “mainstream and moderate Muslim”: 29

“Treating mainstream and moderate Muslims like Yusuf Islam as if they are criminals or terrorists, without bringing charges or allowing for due process, sends the message to the Islamic world that even those who seek peace and condemn terror are not fit to enter the United States.”<sup>368</sup>

In August 2004, CAIR issue a press release following the revocation of Tariq Ramadan’s visa to enter the United States to begin teaching at Notre Dame University. The statement asserted that the reason for Mr. Ramadan’s exclusion was fear of intellectual debate:

“The best way to improve deteriorating relations with the Muslim world is by listening to mainstream Islamic political and religious voices, not by censoring respected scholars whose views are apparently feared by those who seek a monopoly on intellectual debate.”<sup>369</sup>

Wagdy Ghoneim, a former imam at the Islamic Institute of Orange County, has already been identified in this report in connection with anti-Semitism. In January 2005, Mr. Ghoneim agreed to be voluntarily deported based upon Department of Homeland Security concerns that his past speeches and participation in fund-raising activities could be supportive of terrorist organizations.<sup>370</sup> CAIR/LA leader

29 In fact, Mr. Islam has many associations with the Muslim Brotherhood.

Hussam Ayloush asserted that Mr. Ghoneim was treated unfairly because he was Muslim:

“*The whole Muslim community today is under a microscope of scrutiny,*” Ayloush said. *“Committing a mistake that would invite a slap on the wrist for anyone else could lead to prison or deportation for a Muslim.”*<sup>371</sup>

It is in the area of terrorist financing, however, where CAIR has most often attempted to employ the notion that there is a “war on Islam and Muslims” to call into question government anti-terrorism efforts. As early as January 1995, CAIR spokesman Ibrahim Hooper attacked the freezing of the financial assets of a dozen Middle Eastern groups and 18 individuals stating:

“*We’ve been fearing something like this for a long time...there have been some elements in the pro-Israeli lobby accusing Muslim groups of raising money for these kinds of purposes with no evidence whatsoever of diversion of funds...It’s just a who’s who of Middle Eastern groups. I have never heard of these groups [being active] in America, so one wonders what the reasoning behind this is.*”<sup>372</sup>

In January 2001, CAIR issued a press release asking President Bush to reconsider his decision to freeze the assets of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development which was linked to financing of Hamas terrorism. In the press release, CAIR stated that HLF has been “targeted by pro-Israel organizations” and said:

“*We ask that President Bush reconsider what we believe is an unjust and counterproductive move that can only damage America’s credibility with Muslims in this country and around the world and could create the impression that there has been a shift from a war on terrorism to an attack on Islam.*”<sup>373</sup>

In March 2002, shortly following a series of federal raids on Islamic charities and organizations in Northern Virginia, CAIR Governmental Affairs Director Jason Erb said:

“*The Muslim community is deeply concerned about what appears to be a fishing expedition by federal authorities using McCarthy-like tactics in a search for evidence of wrongdoing that does not exist.*”<sup>374</sup>

In January 2004, CAIR called a Senate investigation into the financing of U.S. Islamic organizations and charities a “McCarthyite witch hunt” stating:

The Senate Finance Committee’s investigative net has been cast so wide that it seems to target all American Muslims as terrorism suspects. Its indiscriminate scope smacks of a McCarthyite witch hunt and creates the impression that the presumption of innocence no longer applies to Muslims. “As in the past, the real test of America’s commitment to equality before the law comes at times of national insecurity. We will pass that test if we reject demands, from any source, to single out Americans based on their race, religion or national origin.”<sup>375</sup>

CAIR has also joined with far-left organizations in coalitions to oppose anti-terrorism efforts, frequently employing the same inflammatory language. Examples include:

- ◆ In July 2002, CAIR/NY was listed among organizations supporting a “national day of protest called by an organization known as the “October 22 Coalition to Stop Police Brutality, Repression and the Criminalization of a Generation.” Other members of the coalition included groups such as the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Freedom Socialist Party, and Refuse & Resist. The statement alleged that “Since September 11th thousands of Muslims, Arabs and South Asians have been rounded up, detained and disappeared.”<sup>376</sup>
- ◆ In April 2002, CAIR joined a Washington D.C. rally sponsored by the Marxist group International A.N.S.W.E.R. An ISNA press release on the rally explained that “In addition to the crisis in the Middle East, other issues were addressed, such as the curtailing of civil liberties, as evidenced by recent government actions against Muslim charities, and the indefinite detention of hundreds of Muslim immigrants.”<sup>377</sup>
- ◆ In February 2002, CAIR was a signatory to a petition posted by the far left group Refuse and Resist that has often been said to have ties to the Revolutionary Communist Party.<sup>378</sup> The petition stated claimed that thousands of Muslim immigrants were being “rounded up” and implied that concentration camps were forthcoming.<sup>379</sup> Other signatories to the petition included the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party/Georgia Chapter, the Freedom Socialist Party, the October 22 Coalition to Stop Police Brutality, Repression, and the Criminalization of a Generation, and the National Lawyers Guild.

## ORGANIZATIONAL EXTREMISM – TIES TO PALESTINIAN TERRORISM

## PUBLIC DEFENSE OF HAMAS INFRASTRUCTURE

This report has documented the origins of CAIR in the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), considered by the U.S. government to have been the early Hamas infrastructure in the United States. In 1994, consistent with CAIR's origins in IAP and probably shortly before or after the founding of CAIR, former IAP employee and CAIR founder Nihad Awad made statements in support of Hamas. Mr. Awad was reported to have stated at a 1994 University meeting "I am a supporter of the Hamas movement."<sup>380</sup> When interviewed on 60 Minutes in November 2004, the following exchange took place four weeks after a Hamas suicide bombing in Israel:

“ Mike Wallace: What do you think of the military undertakings of Hamas?

Nihad Awad: Well, I think that's -- that's for the people there to judge.

Wallace: I'm asking you.

Awad: The -- the United Nations Charter grants people who are under occupation to defend themselves against illegal occupation."<sup>381</sup>

CAIR has consistently and publicly defended a variety of individuals and organizations that were part of the U.S. Hamas infrastructure, frequently using the same themes discussed above. As noted earlier in the report, from 1995 through 1996, CAIR participated in the defense of Hamas political leader Mousa Abu Marzook in his legal difficulties with the U.S. government. According to documents filed in U.S. District Court, in August 1995, CAIR protested the arrest and extradition to Israel of Mr. Marzook stating that:

“ [t]he arrest, detention and extradition is politically motivated...[and] this campaign has been orchestrated to serve as a wedge between America and Islamic countries."<sup>382</sup>

The documents also state that in June 1996:

“ [t]CAIR signed an open letter to then Secretary of State Warren Christopher that railed against 'the injustice that has prevailed against Dr. Marzook' and alleged that 'our judicial system has been kidnapped by Israeli interests.' The letter additionally

stated, "Dr. Abu Marzook is a political leader; no more, no less than any other political leader in the world."

As also noted earlier, CAIR included Mr. Marzook in its April 1996 allegations of religious persecution.

In December 2001, the U.S. Treasury Dept designated the HLF as a Specially Designated Terrorist identifying Mr. Marzook as a Hamas political leader.<sup>383</sup> Following this designation, CAIR asserted that the government's actions were directed against Muslims. In December 2001, CAIR issued a press release about a statement issued by CAIR along with other U.S. Islamic organizations closely tied to CAIR. The CAIR press release stated that HLF "charity had been targeted by pro-Israel organizations and individuals for several years because of what they said was the group's support for Palestinian militants." The joint statement called the campaign against HLF "a politically-motivated smear campaign by those who would perpetuate Israel's brutal occupation" and asked President Bush to:

“ reconsider what we believe is an unjust and counterproductive move that can only damage America's credibility with Muslims in this country and around the world and could create the impression that there has been a shift from a war on terrorism to an attack on Islam."<sup>384</sup>

In July 2004, the U.S. government indicted HLF and its key leadership on charges of providing material support to a foreign terrorist organization.<sup>385</sup> Following the indictments, a CAIR press release accused the government of using "tainted" Israeli evidence:

“ We will monitor the progress of these indictments to help ensure that the defendants are accorded all of their constitutional rights. The government should not use evidence apparently tainted by foreign intelligence sources from a nation that has its own political agenda."<sup>386</sup>

In September 2004, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement deported Ayman Sabri Ismail, a fund-raiser and Web site designer who worked for HLF on the basis that he "supported a known terrorist organization."<sup>387</sup> Following an April 2004 TV report on Mr. Ismail that identified him as a "terrorist suspect," CAIR/Dallas issued a statement accusing the TV station of fostering "anti-Muslim" hysteria:

“ *The Dallas Fort Worth chapter of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR-DFW) is urging the Muslim community to call KTVT CBS Channel 11 to protest the misuse of government records. CBS-11 distorted the decision of an immigration judge to promote the campaign of a few government agents who are abusing their positions of authority to whip up anti-Muslim hysteria within our community...In fact, there is no such evidence, but only the conclusion of a handful of government officers who we believe are motivated by racial and religious prejudice.*”<sup>388</sup>

In September 2001, following a raid on the offices of Dallas-based Internet service provider InfoCom Corp in connection with Hamas financing, CAIR leader Nihad Awad told a media source:

“ *This is an assault and an insult to Muslims in America. We don't see that there is a good probable cause for this except stereotypes... government officials have opened a sad chapter in the history of our country. It takes us back to the McCarthy era.*”<sup>389</sup>

In December 2002, following the indictment of Mousa Abu Marzook, members of the Elashi families, and other InfoCom principals on charges related to terrorism financing, Mohamed Elmougy head of CAIR/Dallas told a local newspaper:

“ *We are concerned that these charges result from what appears to be a war on Islam and Muslims rather than a war on terror.*”<sup>390</sup>

A press release issued by the CAIR/Dallas office went further, expressing “shock and dismay at yesterday's arrest of four prominent, respected members of our community.” The statement implied that the timing of the arrests were designed to coincide with a PBS documentary on the life of Muhammad and expressed concern that these charges result from what appears to be a “war on Islam and Muslims” rather than a “war on terror.” The statement added:

“ *The significance of these arrests is clearly exaggerated for political purposes. One is left wondering whether these arrest orders were issued from Tel Aviv or Washington, D.C!*”<sup>391</sup>

Also following the convictions, CAIR/Dallas board member Khalil Meek told local media:

“ *We believe that these convictions indicate a growing disparity and climate of injustice for Muslims, who we feel are being selectively prosecuted and given unfair sentences precisely because they are Muslim or Arab... This is not justice.*”<sup>392</sup>

In December 2004, following the denial of a continuance in the civil lawsuit of the Boim family against organizations financing Hamas in connection of with the death of their son at the hands of Hamas terrorists, CAIR /Chicago's Executive Director Yaser Tabbara told a local TV station:

“ *At the end of the day... what we are witnessing is a modern day lynching and a mockery of justice.*”<sup>393</sup>

## ORGANIZATIONAL LINKS TO HAMAS INFRASTRUCTURE

At the same time it was publicly defending the U.S. Hamas infrastructure and attacking law enforcement efforts as a “war against Muslims,” CAIR was maintaining links to the same organizations comprising this infrastructure.

### 1. ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE

As documented earlier in this report, both CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad and CAIR leader Nihad Awad were employed by the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) until 1994. Rafeeq Jaber, a founding director of CAIR, served as the President of IAP until its apparent demise in 2005.<sup>394 395</sup> Links between CAIR and IAP continued long after Mr. Ahmad and Mr. Nihad began working for CAIR. As late as 2001, Mr. Ahmad was listed as President of the American Middle Eastern League for Palestine (AMELP), another name by which the IAP operated and shared the same office and officers.<sup>396 397 398 399</sup> Ghassan Hitto was a CAIR/ Dallas-Fort Worth Board Member and AMELP Secretary/Treasurer during the same time period.<sup>400 401 402</sup> Also, Abdulrahman Barajkii has served as a member of CAIR's national Board of Directors and as director of the Islamic Association for Palestine's Texas office.<sup>403 404</sup> Other links between CAIR and IAP include:

- ◆ On April 19 1995, leaders of 15 national Islamic and Arab organizations issued a joint statement in response to the Oklahoma City bombing. Among the signatories were CAIR and the IAP.<sup>405</sup>
- ◆ A media source reported that CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad attended the IPA third annual convention in 1999 where he gave a speech at a youth session praising suicide bombers.<sup>406</sup>

- ◆ In March 2001, CAIR sponsored a “Conference on Palestine” at the University of Michigan along with the IAP, the far left International Action Center, and other Islamic groups.<sup>407</sup>
- ◆ In September 2001, following the federal raids on InfoCom, CAIR and IAP along with a number of other affiliated groups held a press conference at which they blamed the “pro-Israel” lobby for InfoCom’s legal troubles.<sup>408</sup>
- ◆ In January 2003, CAIR issued a press release implying that “Chicago-area Muslim activist” Sabri Samirah was unfairly treated when he was preventing from entering the U.S. after a trip to Jordan.<sup>409</sup> Mr. Samirah is a former Chairman and longtime IAP board member.<sup>410</sup>
- ◆ In September 2003 Congressional testimony, CAIR leader Nihad Awad defended IAP stating “The Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) is a grassroots organization which continues to function legally and has only been ‘linked’ through allusion and no charge of criminality has been brought against the organization.”<sup>411</sup>

In July 2004, a federal judge found the IAP liable in the death of David Boim, a teenager killed by Hamas terrorists.<sup>412</sup>

## 2. HOLY LAND FOUNDATION

This report has documented the early connections between the Holy Land Foundation (HLF), IAP, and the U.S. Hamas infrastructure. Connections between CAIR and HLF continued after Mr. Ahmad and Mr. Nihad began working for CAIR:

- ◆ CAIR assisted in fundraising for HLF in 1996.<sup>413</sup>
- ◆ In 1998, HLF Chairman Ghassan Elashi was a founding board member of CAIR/Texas.<sup>414</sup>
- ◆ Media reports identify Riad Abdelkarim as both a HLF board member and Western Region communications director for the CAIR.<sup>415 416</sup>
- ◆ A organization that monitors CAIR reports that “beginning on or about September 13, 2001, and continuing through September 24, 2001, the CAIR website contained a section titled “What you can do for the victims of the WTC and Pentagon attacks” that solicited contributions for “the NY/DC Emergency Relief Fund.” The “NY/DC Emergency Relief Fund” did not exist; instead, the link in question led directly to the HLF website.<sup>30</sup>

30 This can be confirmed at <http://web.archive.org/web/20010927183312/http://www.cair-net.org> and <http://web.archive.org/web/20010921174136/http://www.cair-net.org>

In July 2004, The U.S Department of Justice announced indictments against HLF, Ghassan Elashi, Mohammed El-Mezain, and others accusing them of raising funds on behalf of Hamas and “violent jihad” in Israel:

“ *The indictment, which was unsealed earlier today, alleges the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (“HLF”), of Dallas, Texas, was an organization created by, among others, defendants Shukri Abu-Baker, Mohammed El-Mezain, and Ghassan Elashi to provide financial and material support to the HAMAS movement. It is also alleged that, since 1995, HLF and its members have illegally sent \$12.4 million to support HAMAS and its goal of creating an Islamic Palestinian state by eliminating the State of Israel through violent jihad. In addition to the charges of providing material support to a foreign terrorist organization, the 42-count indictment also charges the defendants with engaging in prohibited financial transactions with a Specially Designated Global Terrorist, money laundering, conspiracy and filing false tax returns. The indictment also seeks the forfeiture of \$12.4 million in HAMAS assets.* ”<sup>417</sup>

Mr. Elashi and his brothers have already been convicted of supporting Hamas by funneling money to Hamas leader Abu Mousa Marzook.<sup>418</sup>

## 3. KINDHEARTS

On February 19 2006, the U.S Treasury Department announced that it was freezing the accounts of a Toledo, Ohio charity known as KindHearts stating:

“ *The U.S. Department of the Treasury today blocked pending investigation accounts of KindHearts, an NGO operating out of Toledo, Ohio, to ensure the preservation of its assets pending further investigation. KindHearts is the progeny of Holy Land Foundation and Global Relief Foundation, which attempted to mask their support for terrorism behind the façade of charitable giving.* ”<sup>419</sup>

The Treasury Department cited KindHearts financial assistance to Hamas in Lebanon and in the West Bank as reasons for its action. There are substantial reasons why potential donors should have been suspicious of KindHearts.

- ◆ KindHearts and the HLF foundation were strongly connected. The founder and CEO of KindHearts is an individual identified as Khaled Smaili who established

KindHearts from his residence in January 2002.<sup>420 421</sup> According to the Treasury Department, Mr. Smaili was a former official of the Global Relief Foundation, designated by the U.S. government a terrorist organization for its support of both Hamas and Al Qaida. Other KindHearts leaders and fundraisers also once held leadership or other positions with HLF and GRF according to the government.<sup>422</sup>

- ◆ The KindHearts fundraising coordinator was identified as Mohammed El-Mezain, as noted above indicted by a federal grand jury in Dallas, Texas on charges of providing material support to Hamas. According to the Treasury Department, Mr. El-Mezain spoke and encouraged donations at a September 2003 KindHearts fundraising event at which a “KindHearts fundraiser spoke and encouraged the crowd to appreciate the efforts of the terrorist group Hizballah in supporting Hamas. The fundraiser then encouraged the crowd to give money and manpower as support against Israel.”<sup>423</sup>
- ◆ KindHearts had a strong relationship to the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP). KindHearts listed the IAP as its “Fundraiser Organizer” in its tax filings.<sup>424</sup> Also, the IAP displayed an ad for KindHearts on its website and according to one organization, IAP distributed an email from KindHearts CEO Khaled Smaili.<sup>425 426</sup>
- ◆ According to its spring 2004 newsletter, KindHearts presented the Bridgeview Mosque Foundation with its “Mosque of the Year” award in recognition of their members’ tremendous support” and KindHearts President Khaled Smaili presented the award to Mosque Foundation President Osama Jammal. The newsletter stated that “this community as a whole donated \$195,000 for KH to fund its relief efforts for the innocent victims of home demolitions in Rafah Refugee Camp, Gaza.”<sup>427</sup> The Chicago Tribune has documented extensive connections of the Bridgeview mosque to support of terrorism.<sup>428</sup>

Despite the above, CAIR maintained a variety of connections to KindHearts:

- ◆ In March 2004, CAIR/Houston sponsored a fundraising workshop given by Dr. Khalifah Ramadan, identified as Division Director for Kindhearts based and as a training and evaluation consultant for CAIR.<sup>429</sup>
- ◆ In April 2004, Nihad Awad and Omar Ahmad attended a CAIR/New York event at which KindHearts fundraiser Mohammed El-Mezain helped to raise over \$100,000 for CAIR.<sup>430</sup>
- ◆ In September 2004, CAIR announced the formation of a “Muslim Hurricane Relief Task Force” in connection with Hurricane Katrina that included CAIR and

KindHearts as well as a variety of other groups closely tied to CAIR.<sup>431</sup>

- ◆ In February 2006, following FBI raids on KindHearts offices and homes of board members, CAIR posted a statement by KindHearts denying any wrongdoing.<sup>432</sup>
- ◆ In 2002, KindHearts contributed \$20,000 to another organization known as KinderUSA. Serving as Chairman of the KinderUSA board is Riad Abdelkarim, identified above as both a HLF board member and Western Region communications director for the CAIR.<sup>433 434 435</sup>

### 3. UNITED ASSOCIATION FOR STUDIES AND RESEARCH

A March 2004 Washington Post article identifies the United Association for Studies and Research (UASR) as an organization which “federal prosecutors and congressional investigators have linked it to...terrorist groups, primarily the Islamic Resistance Movement, or Hamas, court records and interviews show.”<sup>436</sup> The association with the USAR and Hamas stems originally from the 1993 Israeli interrogation of Arab-American Hamas operative Mohamed Salah who according to news reports said:

“ the political command of Hamas in the United States is at the United Association for Studies and Research, in Springfield, Va. He identified the Hamas leader in the United States as the head of the institute, Ahmed Youssef, a writer whose code name he said was Abu Ahmed.”<sup>437</sup>

The current CAIR Director of Research, Mohammad Nimer, was a USAR board member during 1992-1993 when Hamas political leader Musa Abu Marzook was also employed and current CAIR board member Nabil Sadoun helped found the UASR with Mr. Marzook.<sup>438 439 440</sup> More current connections between CAIR and the UASR include:

- ◆ An Islam Online biography refers to Dr. Anisa Abdel Fattah as a CAIR board member.<sup>441</sup> A March 2004 Washington Post article refers to her as director of public affairs for UASR.<sup>442</sup>
- ◆ In October 2001 CAIR and a group of related organizations issued a statement on Afghanistan and 911 which was also co-signed by the UASR.<sup>443</sup>

### 4. MOSQUE FOUNDATION

A Chicago newspaper investigation revealed that in 1985, Jordanian Sheikh Jamal Said became the new mosque prayer leader for a mosque in Bridgeview Illinois associated with the Mosque Foundation.<sup>444</sup> Sheikh Said was reported to

have been inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood, educated at a Saudi Arabian University, and noted for his sermons espousing strict Islamic fundamentalist views and critical of America as “a land of disbelievers.” Part of his salary was paid by the government of Saudi Arabia. Evidence of support for Hamas at the mosque under Sheikh Jamal’s directions included:

- ◆ One of the mosque’s eight-member executive committee was Muhammad Salah, a Muslim Brotherhood member who was arrested in Israel in 1993 and has since been identified as a Hamas military commander.
- ◆ Sheikh Jamal raised as much as \$1 million a year from mosque members which was then sent to overseas Muslim charities. In 2000, he raised money at one national Islamic conference by “asking people to donate in the memory of a Palestinian suicide bomber.”
- ◆ The Mosque donated money to the Holy Land Foundation.
- ◆ Mosque leaders were also leaders of the Al Aqsa Educational Fund, the Quranic Literacy Institute, and the Islamic Association for Palestine, all known to be associated with Hamas financing.

Recent activity indicates that CAIR/Chicago has recently been developing a relationship with the Mosque Foundation. Such activity includes:

- ◆ In January 2006, CAIR/Chicago designated the Mosque Foundation as one of the three Chicago-area mosques to be visited as part of its outreach program.<sup>445</sup>
- ◆ In February 2006, the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) reported that an individual identified as Sheikh Kifa from the Mosque Foundation spoke at a “Town Hall Meeting and Press Conference” on the Danish cartoon controversy sponsored by CAIR/Chicago and ICNA.<sup>446</sup>
- ◆ In May 2006, CAIR/Chicago reported in a press release that they had hosted a panel of US government representatives at the Mosque Foundation of Bridgeview.<sup>447</sup> The release indicated that the panel included Mosque Foundation Associate Director Sheikh Kifah Mostafa, probably Kifah Mustapha, and CAIR-Chicago Executive Director Ahmed as well as DHS and FBI representatives.
- ◆ In May 2006, CAIR/Chicago also reported that they had sponsored a tour of the Mosque Foundation for Saudi Ambassador to the U.S. Prince Turki Al-Faisal.<sup>448 449</sup> The letter written by Prince Al-Faisal to CAIR thanking the organization for the tour commented, “I was glad to be able to visit such a vibrant Islamic community and see the work it is doing to build bridges of understanding between Muslims and members of other faiths

It should also be noted that the President of the Mosque Foundation board is Rafeeq Jaber, identified earlier in this report as a founding director of CAIR and long time President of the Islamic Association of Palestine.<sup>450</sup>

## PUBLIC DEFENSE OF PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD

### 1. SAMI AL-ARIAN

In May 2006, Kuwaiti-born Sami Al-Arian was sentenced to almost five years in prison in connection with his activity in support of Palestinian Islamic Jihad in the United States. As noted earlier in this report, Mr. Al-Arian was one of the founders of the Islamic Association for Palestine. CAIR leaders vigorously defended Mr. Al-Arian both prior and after his conviction, once against suggesting political motivations for his prosecution. Following his arrest in February 2003, CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad stated:

“ We are very concerned that the government would bring charges after investigating an individual for many years without offering any evidence of criminal activity. This action could leave the impression that Al-Arian’s arrest is based on political considerations, not legitimate national security concerns.”<sup>451</sup>

CAIR spokesman Ibrahim Hooper stated in a television program:

“ Well, I think [John Ashcroft is] more than capable of bringing political charges. I’m not saying false, but politically motivated charges. They’ve been investigating Sami Al-Arian for more than a decade, innumerable investigations. Nothing has been brought forward to indicate any criminal activity. Now suddenly we’re in orange alert. We’re about to go to war. Everybody’s tense. And now they suddenly decide, oh, he’s the devil incarnate. It just -- it smells to me.”<sup>452</sup>

Following his conviction, CAIR leaders portrayed the decision as a “victory.” One media reported cited Ahmed Bedier, CAIR/Central Florida director, who:

“ characterized the plea deal as a victory because Al-Arian did not admit to directly financing acts of violence, which was his story all along. ‘We welcome the resolution, and it’s consistent with the jury’s verdict that there wasn’t enough evidence (to support) the allegations against him.’”<sup>453</sup>

Mr. Bedier told a local news paper that Mr. Al-Arian:

“*stayed true to his convictions – he stayed true he wasn’t going to plead to those issues...there is no conspiracy to support terrorism.*”<sup>454</sup>

CAIR board chairman Parvaz Ahmed wrote an Op Ed for the CAIR news service entitled “Al-Arian Verdict a Victory for Common Sense” stating:

“*The jurors sent a clear message that even in the post 9/11 era, and despite rising Islamophobia, Americans can be fair and are not ready to shred the Constitution. Benjamin Franklin’s warning, that those who seek temporary safety by giving up their liberties deserve neither safety nor liberty, may ring hollow in the halls of power, but were clearly understood by the jurors. The Al-Arian verdict is not a loss in the war on terror. It is a victory for the American judiciary and for common sense. One does not have to share Al-Arian’s sometimes controversial views to support his and every American’s, right to hold opinions not shared by the majority.*”<sup>455</sup>

The same piece by Mr. Ahmed said:

“*Al-Arian joins the ranks of other Muslims who have been wrongly accused of being terrorists.*”

During his sentencing, the Federal judge who heard the case made the following remarks to Dr. Al-Arian:

“*You looked your neighbors in the eyes and said you had nothing to do with the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. This trial exposed that as a lie...The evidence was clear in this case that you were a leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad...But when it came to blowing up women and children on buses, did you leap into action then?...No. You lifted not one finger, made not one phone call. To the contrary, you laughed when you heard about the bombings, what you euphemistically call ‘operations’...And yet, still in the face of your own words, you continue to lie to your friends and supporters, claiming to abhor violence and to seek only aid for widows and orphans. Your only connection to widows and orphans is that you create them, even among the Palestinians; and you create them, not by sending your children to blow themselves out of existence. No. You exhort others to send their children...You are indeed a master manipulator.*”<sup>456</sup>

## 2. FARWAZ DAMRA

In June 2004, national media reported on the conviction of an Ohio Islamic leader for concealing his membership and fundraising for Palestinian Islamic Jihad as well as other groups linked to terrorism:

“*The Palestinian-born leader of Ohio’s largest mosque was convicted Thursday of lying about his connections to terrorist organizations when he applied for U.S. citizenship. Farwaz Damra, imam of the Islamic Center of Cleveland, showed no emotion as the verdict was read in federal court...Prosecutors claimed that Damra, 41, concealed ties to Afghan Refugee Services, the Islamic Committee for Palestine and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, groups the government classifies as terrorist organizations. Prosecutors showed video footage of Damra raising money for an arm of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, which has been listed as a major terrorist group by the State Department since 1989. Jurors also were shown footage in which Damra called Jews ‘the sons of monkeys and pigs’ during a 1991 speech and said ‘terrorism and terrorism alone is the path to liberation’ in a 1989 speech.*”<sup>457</sup>

Following Mr. Damra’s indictment in January 2004, Jad Humeidan, executive director of the CAIR/Ohio chapter, told local media that the Damra case:

“*is part of a pattern of attacking the Muslim community, its leaders and its institutions.*”<sup>458</sup>

Just prior to the trial, Ibrahim Hooper stated:

Of course we’re concerned that all of his due process is maintained and evidence be free of religious or ethnic stereotyping...We’re always concerned when prominent leaders of the American Islamic community are charged, or detained or harassed.”<sup>459</sup>

Following the trial, Mr. Humeidan was reported by the media to have said that he believed jurors “got it wrong,” describing Mr. Damra as a “great interfaith leader in the Cleveland community.”<sup>460</sup>

## ORGANIZATIONAL EXTREMISM – TIES TO AL-QAEDA

## PUBLIC DEFENSE OF INDIVIDUALS RELATED TO AL-QAEDA

CAIR's public defense of individual and organizations linked to Al Qaeda is less far-reaching than their defense of Palestinian terrorism and CAIR has never publicly defended any of the major Al Qaeda figures. CAIR has strongly condemned the 9/11 attacks but it is not clear if any of the CAIR condemnations have ever included Osama Bin Laden or Al Qaeda by name. It has already been noted that the fatwa on terrorism sponsored by CAIR did not mention any group or individual by name. In June 2006, CAIR did describe Abu Musab al-Zarqawi after his death as a "terrorist" leader but once again failed to mention Al Qaeda.<sup>461</sup>

Condemnations notwithstanding, following the recent conviction of Zacarias Moussaoui, the only individual tried for 9/11, CAIR issued a news bulletin in which Mohamed El-Sharkawy, chairman of CAIR/Phoenix criticizes Moussaoui but once more hints at injustice:

“ Regarding the sentencing of Zacarias Moussaoui: For the sake of the families of the 9/11 victims, we are glad this sad chapter of this trial is finally closed. I can't imagine how painful it must have been for them to watch Moussaoui making a mockery of their tragedy. Although not all jurors were convinced that Moussaoui had a significant part in the attacks (despite his boastful claims that he did), he is certainly guilty of extremism, insensitivity toward the victims and their families, and he may be mentally incompetent. As an American Muslim, I would like to reiterate that Moussaoui stood in court as Moussaoui, the deranged fanatic. He was never a representative of Muslims or Islam. If anything, he represented the very opposite of what Islam teaches.”<sup>462</sup>

In several cases, CAIR has publicly defended individuals accused of ties to Al Qaeda. It should be noted that in some of these cases, there are legitimate civil rights concerns but CAIR once again portrayed the actions as directed against Muslims and Islam.

## 1. VIRGINIA JIHAD

In March 2004, the U.S. Justice Department announced the conviction of three men in the so-called Virginia Jihad case, on charges including conspiracy to levy war against the United States and conspiracy to provide material support to the Taliban and Lashkar-e-Taiba.<sup>31</sup> <sup>463</sup> Two of the men received sentences of life and 85 years following which CAIR announced in a press release:

“ It is the near universal perception in the Islamic community that these men would never have been charged had they not been Muslims, and that once convicted, prosecutors would never have sought such draconian sentences.”<sup>464</sup>

The statement went on to say:

“ Under the current administration, we are quickly approaching a state of affairs in which there is a two-tier prosecutorial system in America; one system for Muslims, and one for all other Americans. This disturbing trend should be of concern to everyone who values America's centuries-long tradition of equal justice under the law. We call on Congress to conduct hearings into the selective prosecution of Muslims since the 9/11 terror attacks.”

In 2005, the federal judge who had complained about Federal sentencing guidelines which mandated the long sentences reduced the sentence of the two men by 20 years each.<sup>465</sup> CAIR did not reveal that one of its own employees was a defendant in the case who had pled guilty in January 2004 to a variety of charges in the case.<sup>466</sup>

In July 2004, Federal agents raided the Institute for Islamic and Arabic Sciences in Fairfax Virginia that was reported to have been “the target of a joint U.S.-Saudi crackdown over allegations that it promoted an intolerant brand of Islam.”<sup>467</sup> Islam Online reported that the raid may have been connected to the Virginia Jihad case because some of those convicted in the case had studied and regularly visited the Institute.<sup>468</sup>

Following the raid, Arsalan Iftikhar, a CAIR lawyer who was present during the raid after being called by an Institute employee, told TV news “It's as though this is some sort of anti-Muslim dragnet.”<sup>469</sup> Mr. Iftikhar also told Islam online: “This is damaging to the reputation of American Muslims, and [pushes] the American public to unfairly associate Islam with terrorism.”<sup>470</sup>

31 Lashkar-e-Taiba is closely tied to Al Qaeda.

CAIR spokesman Ibrahim Hooper complained that “We are concerned that this could be nothing but a fishing expedition.”<sup>471</sup>

## 2. NURADIN ABDI

In December 2005, local media reported that Somali Nuradin Abdi was still in jail after being arrested two years earlier on charges of plotting to blow up a Columbus-area shopping mall, lying to procure travel documents and attempting to attend a terrorist training camp in Ethiopia in 1999, all in support of Al Qaeda.<sup>472</sup> Following a court hearing in the case Ahmad Al-Akhras, president of CAIR/ Ohio said the organizations condemn terrorism but that the indictment of Abdi:

“ raises questions of whether the U.S. government is covering up its troubles in Iraq and elsewhere by reasserting the threat of domestic terrorism and again using immigrants and minorities as scapegoats.”<sup>473</sup>

The December 2005 media report indicated that the case was mired in legal technicalities regarding admissibility of evidence.

## 3. ALBANY STING

In August 2004, the New York Times reported that two leaders of a mosque in Albany had been arrested in a government sting operation on charges that they took part in what they thought was a plot to import a shoulder-fired missile and assassinate a Pakistani diplomat in New York City. In fact, the arrest was part of a “sting operation” involving an undercover informer for the FBI and a disabled weapon owned by the federal government. The report also suggested that there was evidence of ties to Al Qaeda.<sup>474</sup>

Following the arrests, CAIR/NY issued a press release stating:

“ All too often, these types of cases are used by those with political or religious agendas to smear Muslims and to demonize Islam. We should stick to the facts of the case and avoid generalizations and stereotypes that only serve to create societal divisions and promote anti-Muslim bigotry.”<sup>475</sup>

## PUBLIC DEFENSE OF CHARITIES RELATED TO AL QAEDA

CAIR has also defended charities and their leaders who have been accused/or or convicted of using the charities to support Al-Qaeda related terrorism:

## 1. BENEVOLENCE INTERNATIONAL

In February 2003, the U.S. Justice Department announced a plea agreement involving Enaam Arnaout who admitted using the proceeds of his charity, Benevolence International Foundation, to supply fighters in Bosnia and Chechnya with basic supplies:

“ With today’s plea agreement, the government has secured the cooperation of Arnaout in the critical investigation into the funding of violence and violent acts overseas. The guilty plea also makes clear that we will prosecute and we will imprison those who would exploit the generosity of charitable donors to provide financing for violence overseas. We will shut down terrorist funding sources, we will ensure that terrorist sympathizers who fund violence or terrorism will meet swift and certain justice. Arnaout defrauded donors by using their money to fund Jihad fighters in Chechnya and Bosnia. He provided fighters with anti-mine boots, uniforms, tents and even an ambulance. All of these were purchased with funds that donors thought were going for peaceful purposes. While Mr. Arnaout has not admitted to supporting al Qaeda in this plea agreement, the government stands strongly behind those allegations. We are prepared to prove that he did support al Qaeda when that issue is addressed at sentencing.”<sup>476</sup>

One media report indicated that “evidence submitted by the government included communications between Arnaout and Osama bin Laden showing Arnaout to be a senior al Qaeda lieutenant, involved in coordinating weapons purchases, financial transactions, and training camps” but that the evidence had been excluded on a legal technicality.<sup>477</sup>

Following charges of perjury against Mr. Arnaout in connection with the civil action locking the assets of Benevolence, CAIR Spokesman Jason Erb stated:

“ You’re going to be charged with perjury for declaring your innocence...I think it really makes American Muslims feel that they are not going to get a fair shake in the justice system.”<sup>478</sup>

Benevolence International was declared a Special Designated Terrorist by the U.S. Treasury in November 2002.<sup>479</sup> National media reported that Faisal Kutty, current Vice Chair of CAIR/Canada, was an attorney who represented the charity.<sup>480 481</sup>

## 2. GLOBAL RELIEF FOUNDATION

In July 2003, local media reported that Rabih Haddad, the cofounder of the Global Relief Foundation (GRF), had been deported to his native Lebanon.<sup>482</sup> Mr. Haddad had been arrested in December 2001 on the same day that federal agents had raided GRF.<sup>32</sup> In a hearing, government lawyers questioned Mr. Haddad about links between GRF and with Sheikh Abdallah Azzam, generally known to be a mentor to Osama Bin Laden. Mr. Haddad was never charged with a terrorism offense but was deported on the basis that he overstayed his visa. An Immigration court was reported to have ruled that Mr. Haddad was “a substantial risk to the national security of the United States.”<sup>483</sup>

Following a January 2002 court hearing on the case, CAIR helped sponsor a demonstration on behalf of Mr. Haddad where Haaris Ahmad, executive director CAIR/Michigan was reported to have said that the this was a “clear case of racial profiling” stating:

This is a high-profile case, but it has been done, unfortunately, to over 700 people that we know of, some of them as young as 19-years-old—kids who happened to be working at a gas station to make some extra money.”<sup>484</sup>

## 3. ISLAMIC RELIEF AGENCY

On October 13 2004, the U.S Treasury designated the worldwide network of the Islamic African Relief Agency (IARA), along with five senior officials, as a Specially Designated Terrorist stating that the IARA had provided support for Osama Bin Laden, the Taliban, and Hamas.<sup>485</sup> On October 17 2004, local media reported that the FBI searched the home of Majeed Shari president of the United Muslim Mosque in Waterbury, Connecticut in connection with the federal investigation into the Islamic American Relief Agency, an affiliate of IARA.<sup>486 487</sup>

Following the raid, Hamza Ismail Collins, CAIR/Connecticut’s civil rights director was reported to have called the raid an “election ploy” stating:

“The more irons you get in the fire, the more people are going to listen and say we have terrorism in this country. Since 9/11, we haven’t had a terrorist cell here that we know of. All of a sudden, here it is an election year, we’re rounding up so called Al-Qaida operatives. This is a blatant attempt by the FBI

*to single him out...These are funds that help with children who are starving, people who are jobless... What happened to brother Sharif is a blatant violation of his civil rights. They’re targeting our faith, targeting certain races.”<sup>488</sup>*

## ORGANIZATIONAL LINKS TO AL QAEDA

Connections between CAIR and Al Qaeda are indirect and require further investigation.

### 1. CAIR EMPLOYEES

This report has already documented the activities and conviction of individuals associated with the so-called Virginia Jihad network as well as other organizations and plots, but there are other individuals with deep ties to CAIR, whose arrests and subsequent guilty pleas are equally noteworthy. In January 2004, national media reported that an individual identified as Randall Royer had pled guilty to various charges in connection with the case:

“Randall Royer and Ibrahim al-Hamdi, who entered their pleas in Alexandria, Va., had ties to the Lashkar-e-Taiba group seeking to drive India out of Kashmir. A federal indictment said the Northern Virginia group also had broader goals of helping the al-Qaeda network; Afghanistan’s former ruling militia, the Taliban; and rebels in Chechnya. Both Royer, 30, and al-Hamdi, 26, pleaded guilty to using and discharging a firearm during, and in relation to, a crime of violence; and with carrying an explosive during commission of a felony. ....In the agreement, Royer admitted helping four people gain entry to a terrorist training camp in Pakistan operated by Lashkar-e-Taiba. He also admitted helping al-Hamdi get into the camp. Additionally, Royer said he was committed to helping terrorists gain entry to the camp after a meeting on Sept. 16, 2001. Documents said an unindicted co-conspirator said at the meeting that the terror attacks five days earlier, on Sept. 11, would be used as an excuse to trigger a global war against Islam. The time had come, the man said, for fighters to go abroad and, if possible, join in a holy war.”<sup>489</sup>

The Washington Post reports that Mr. Royer participated in military warfare with a “combat unit of Muslim irregulars in Bosnia-Herzegovina.”<sup>490</sup> Mr. Royer and the other men reportedly possessed “AK-47-style rifles, telescopic lenses, hundreds of rounds of ammunition and tracer rounds,

<sup>32</sup> GRF was listed as a Specially Designated Terrorist in October 2002.

documents on undertaking jihad and martyrdom, [and] a copy of the terrorist handbook containing instructions on how to manufacture and use explosives and chemicals as weapons.”<sup>491</sup>

According to a biography posted on Islam Online, Mr. Royer was a Communications officer for CAIR where he has worked in research and civil rights since 1997. A September 2001 national media article refers to him as an employee of CAIR which indicates that he was employed by CAIR at the time of his unlawful activities.<sup>492</sup>

In September 2003, national media reported that Bassem Khafagi, an Egyptian, pled guilty to bank and visa fraud in connection with his activities at the Islamic Assembly of North America (IANA), a charity that he headed and helped to found.<sup>493</sup> <sup>33</sup> The report indicated that the charity helped provide websites for radical Saudi sheikhs that had contact with Osama Bin Laden, funneled money to activities supporting terrorism, and published material advocating suicide attacks on the United States.<sup>494</sup> National media reported that at the time of his arrest, Mr. Khafagi was CAIR’s Director of Community Relations.<sup>495</sup>

Finally, CAIR Advisory Board member Siraj Wahaj was a character witness for Omar Abdel Rahman, the so-called “blind-sheikh” convicted in connection with the 1<sup>st</sup> World Trade Center bombing. The Federal prosecutors have listed Mr. Wahaj as one of the “unindicted persons who may be alleged as co-conspirators” in the sheikh’s case.<sup>496</sup> <sup>497</sup> <sup>498</sup> CAIR spokesman Ibrahim Hooper has called Mr. Wahaj “one of the most respected Muslim leaders in America” and in October 2004, Mr. Wahaj spoke at CAIR’s 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary banquet dinner.<sup>499</sup> <sup>500</sup>

## 2. INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC RELIEF ORGANIZATION

This report has already documented the relationship of the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) to the Muslim World League and that IIRO has been implicated in the financing of a wide variety of terrorist organizations including Hamas and Al Qaeda.<sup>501</sup> A national media investigation into Saudi charities provided a summary of IIRO involvement with terrorism that included:<sup>502</sup>

- ◆ In the early 1990s, the Manila branch of IIRO funneled cash to Abu Sayyaf and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front;
- ◆ In 1996, the CIA reported funding of jihadists in Balkans and Afghanistan, and ties to Algerian and Egyptian extremists, as well as al Qaeda;
- ◆ In 1998, the FBI traced suspected Hamas money in Chicago to IIRO;
- ◆ In 1999, an IIRO staffer was suspected in bomb plot and admits IIRO funds Afghan terror training camps.

Organizations that have been monitoring CAIR indicate that the organization received small amounts of funding from IIRO during the period 1994-1997.<sup>503</sup> <sup>504</sup> As noted earlier in this report, CAIR leader Nihad Awad has also shared a Fall Church Virginia Post Office Box used by Suliman al-Ali who in turn was associated with the U.S. offices of the Muslim World League and IIRO which according to U.S. court records, operated from the same location.<sup>34</sup> <sup>505</sup>

According to a national media reports, Mr. al-Ali had numerous links to Al Qaeda including:

“ *al-Ali channeled at least \$4 million of this money to BMI investments run by [Soloman] Biheiri... The FBI discovered that the true principals behind BMI were actually Musa abu Marzook and Yasin Qadi. Marzook was a powerful Hamas leader who resided in the United States until he was arrested and finally deported in 1997. Qadi has been described as a terrorist financier by the U.S. Treasury Department. As head of the Muwafaq relief organization, he is alleged to have funneled millions of dollars to al Qaeda in Eastern Europe, Africa and South East Asia. By executive order, both Marzook and Qadi are now designated terrorists.*”<sup>506</sup>

“ *In the two years before the embassy attacks, al-Ali disclosed that he sent almost \$200,000 to Mercy International in Canada, a branch of the Michigan-based Mercy International. The legal name of the Canadian office is actually Mercy International Relief Agency... Additionally, al-Ali and IIRO funneled millions of dollars to a Chicago-based chemical company run by a director of Mercy International. The company was raided by the FBI in 1997 amidst allegations of terrorism support and suspicious chemical compounds. The Mercy director is currently serving a 51-month sentence for fraud. IIRO’s offices in Virginia were also raided as part of*

<sup>33</sup> It is worth noting that the Islamic Assembly of North America has come under federal investigation for suspected links to al-Qaeda. The Michigan offices of IANA were raided in February 2003, and an FBI agent testified in Idaho federal court that FBI evidence “clearly points” to IANA’s role in promoting terrorism.

<sup>34</sup> 360 S. Washington Street Falls Church, VA 22046

*the investigation...At the 2001 embassy-bombing trial, federal prosecutors identified several companies and charities that served as fronts to aid the attackers, including Mercy International Relief Agency.”<sup>507</sup>*

“ In a 1991 tax filing, al-Ali disclosed that he had a ‘strong relationship’ with Lajnat al-Dawa, Kuwait, an agency involved in ‘assisting the Afghan Refugees in Pakistan.’ Lajnat al-Dawa has since been listed by the Treasury Department as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT) as a result of their financial and operational support of al Qaeda. September 11 mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammad and his older brother Zahed headed the Lajnat al-Dawa operations in Peshawar, Pakistan. Lajnat al-Dawa’s sister organization, Lajnat al-Alam, was identified in the 1996 CIA report as a supporter of Arab mujahedeen training camps in Bosnia.”<sup>508</sup>

It cannot be said at this time that Mr. Awad had any connection to these activities and the nature of his relationship with Mr. al-Ali, if any, is subject to further investigation.

### 3. THE MOSQUE FOUNDATION

This report has already documented that in May 2006, CAIR/Chicago reported that they had both hosted a panel

of US government representatives last Thursday at the Mosque Foundation of Bridgeview as well as sponsored a tour of the foundation for Saudi Ambassador to the U.S. Prince Turki Al-Faisal.<sup>509 510</sup> Also documented was that a Chicago newspaper investigation revealed that in 1985, Jordanian Sheikh Jamal Said became the new mosque prayer leader for a mosque in Bridgeview Illinois associated with the Mosque Foundation.<sup>511</sup> Sheikh Said was reported to have been inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood, educated at a Saudi Arabian University, and noted for his sermons espousing strict Islamic fundamentalist views and critical of America as “a land of disbelievers.” Part of his salary was paid by the government of Saudi Arabia and there was substantial evidence of support for Hamas at the mosque.

The newspaper investigation also indicated that the Mosque Foundation had possible ties to Al Qaeda. Abdullah Azzam, Osama bin Laden’s mentor, visited the mosque in the mid-1980s as part of a national tour to recruit supporters for the Afghan war against the Soviet Union. Also, Sheikh Jamal raised as much as \$1 million a year from mosque members which was then sent to overseas Muslim charities. The mosque donated money to three Islamic charities that have since been identified as involved in financing terrorism—the Holy Land Foundation, Benevolence International, and the Global Relief Foundation, already discussed in relation to Al Qaeda financing.

# Conclusions

This report has set out to establish whether or not Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) should be considered a moderate Islamic organization. Based on substantial public evidence, the following can be concluded:

## 1) CAIR AND ITS KEY LEADERSHIP ARE ASSOCIATED WITH EXTREMISM.

The introduction to this report stated that an organization could be considered moderate if it is reasonably free of fundamentalism, anti-Semitism, and support for terrorism. This report has examined more than sufficient evidence to suggest that CAIR and its key leadership are associated with all three. It should be noted that this review considered only the public evidence. It is reasonable to surmise that further, non-public material may exist that would further support this conclusion.

## 2) CAIR FUNCTIONS AS AN IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF THE U.S. SAUDI/MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD GLOBAL NETWORK.

This report has documented CAIR's ties to the Saudi charities Muslim World League and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, both believed by the U.S. government to be major factors in the global spread of Islamic extremism. CAIR has received Saudi funding while at the same time attempting to deny or obscure that it has done so. Also documented were CAIR's ties to both the Muslim Brotherhood and the constellation of organizations in the United States that comprises the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood network in the U.S. The role that CAIR has played in supporting Hamas infrastructure in the U.S. is entirely consistent with its role in this network.

## 3) CAIR HAS ATTEMPTED TO OBSCURE ITS AGENDA.

Ostensibly a civil rights organization, CAIR sometimes appears to genuinely fulfill this function. However, CAIR and its leaders seem to be attempting to obscure the origin of the organization in the U.S. Hamas infrastructure. A report by the U.S. Institute for Peace, an organization that has

CAIR on its advisory board, makes the following statement about CAIR:

“ After the 1991 Persian Gulf War and before CAIR became a formalized organization, the founding members met informally to promote a positive image of Islam and Muslims in America by providing the media with accurate information on Islamic beliefs, practices, and cultures.”<sup>512</sup>

It is more accurate to say that before CAIR became a formalized organization, the founding members were part of the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) and worked in support of Hamas including fund-raising for the organization. This report has documented how CAIR and its leaders continued to maintain a relationship with IAP as they both publicly defended and maintained ties to the U.S. Hamas infrastructure of which IAP was a part. These activities suggest that at least one of the purposes behind the founding of CAIR was to provide organizational “cover” for these activities on behalf of Palestinian terrorism. Such speculation is supported by a Justice Department document which states that during the 1993 Philadelphia meeting of Hamas leaders at which then Islamic Association for Palestine President Omar Ahmad likely attended, participants advocated: “In essence, a very broad active measures effort to influence public opinion and to effect change.”<sup>513</sup>

## 4) CAIR HAS CONSISTENTLY DELIVERED A MESSAGE OF VICTIMIZATION.

Throughout this examination of CAIR and extremism, this report has documented numerous statements by CAIR and its leaders that claim that Muslims and Islam are under attack and that governmental efforts to fight terrorism are in fact just a ruse under which to carry on this assault. Frequently, CAIR and its leaders have suggested that Jews, “Zionists”, and or the “Israeli lobby” are behind this attack and that the U.S. government acts under their influence. There are a few public statements by CAIR leaders suggesting that their ultimate wish is to see the establishment of an Islamic state in the U.S., presumably which would be free of such influence.

5) THE U.S STATE DEPARTMENT SHOULD REVIEW ITS POLICY OF PROMOTING CAIR AS A MODERATE ORGANIZATION.

It is unclear why the State Department has characterized CAIR as a moderate Islamic organization. In light of the findings of this report, it is clear that this characterization needs to be reevaluated. It is also clear that CAIR seeks the legitimacy bestowed by government agencies to further its agenda. In October 2001, CAIR spokesman Ibrahim Hooper demonstrated the use of this legitimacy in a letter sent in response to a magazine article critical of CAIR:

“ Now if ‘law enforcement’...has a problem with CAIR, it has never been brought to our attention. CAIR representatives meet regularly with officials from the Department of Justice, State Department and FBI. Some of these meetings have taken place since the horrific events of Sept. 11. (Does [CAIR critic] Tapper know more than President Bush, who met with CAIR representatives twice in the past two weeks?)”<sup>514</sup>

As noted earlier in this report, CAIR has been seeking such legitimacy since as early as 1995 when Nihad Awad met

with FB officials and suggested “sensitivity training” for FBI agents, training which CAIR is now providing.<sup>515 516</sup>

Such legitimacy has been used by CAIR and other components of the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood to accomplish two critical tasks. First, by virtue of superior spending and organizational ability, the network has managed to supplant other variants of Islam, creating the impression and perhaps the reality that its form of political Islam is both “mainstream” and the only legitimate interpretation of Islam that need be considered. Second, through a near constant drumbeat of distortion and manipulation, the network has convinced significant portions of the Muslim community in Western countries that anti-terrorism efforts are in fact an assault on Muslims orchestrated by “Zionist” forces using the United States government for their own nefarious purposes.

By hindering or preventing the development of other, non-politicized variants of Islam, the Saudi/Muslim Brotherhood network is a serious obstacle to the successful integration of Muslim communities in Western countries. Though manufacture and nurturing of grievances, the network plays a role in developing a climate conducive to the emergence of terrorists who are in part motivated to address these grievances.

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Company Name: ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE  
Date of Incorporation/Qualification: 11/12/1986  
Registered Agent: GHASSAN ELASHI  
Corporation Number: 1391253
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DBA Name: ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE IN NORTH AMERICA  
Business Address: 13931 N CENTRAL EXPWY DALLAS, TX 75243  
Type: ASSUMED NAME Filing Date: 3/8/1993
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DBA Name: ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE IN NORTH AMERICA  
Business Address: 13931 N CENTRAL EXPWY DALLAS, TX 75243  
Type: ASSUMED NAME Filing Date: 3/8/1993
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Company Name: AMERICAN MIDDLE EASTERN LEAGUE FOR PALESTINE  
Type: DOMESTIC NONPROFIT CORPORATION  
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Business Address: IAP 6730 LBJ FRWY DALLAS, TX 75240  
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Company Name: SOLIDARITY INTERNATIONAL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, INC  
Type: CORPORATION (NON-PROFIT)  
Status: ACTIVE  
Filing Date: 9/2/1992  
Date of Incorporation/Qualification: 9/2/1992  
State or Country of Incorporation: DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
Filing Number: 923142DNP
- 258 VIRGINIA STATE CORPORATION COMMISSION  
Company Name: SOLIDARITY INTERNATIONAL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, INC.  
Business Address:  
1220 L ST NW #100-400  
WASHINGTON, DC 20005  
Type: CORPORATION  
Status: ACTIVE;FEE DELINQUENT  
Status Date: 2/1/2006  
Filing Date: 1/31/2005  
Duration: PERPETUAL  
State or Country of Incorporation: DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
Registered Agent:  
YASER BUSHNAQ  
Status: ACTIVE  
Creation Date: 1/31/2005
- Registered Office:  
4654 COUNTRY VALE CT  
ANNANDALE, VA 22003
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Company Name: AMERICAN MIDDLE EASTERN LEAGUE FOR PALESTINE  
Business Address:  
P O BOX 741805  
DALLAS, TX 75374  
Type: DOMESTIC NONPROFIT CORPORATION  
Status: IN EXISTENCE

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# APPENDIX A

## CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY CAIR OFFICIALS

Contributor	Occupation	Date	Amount	Recipient
Nihad Awad	CAIR, Director	9/20/2000	\$500	Spencer Abraham
Nihad Awad	CAIR, Director	9/11/2001	\$500	Cynthia McKinney
Nihad Awad	CAIR, Director	6/18/1999	\$1000	David Bonior
Nihad Awad	CAIR, Director	2/13/2000	\$1000	Tom Campbell
Nihad Awad	CAIR, Director	8/19/2000	\$1000	Tom Campbell
Muthanna Hanooti	CAIR, Director	3/7/2001	\$800	Arab American PAC
Laura Ann Jaghlit	CAIR, Civil Rights Coordinator	7/22/2002	\$250	Cynthia McKinney
Mohamed Nimer	CAIR	6/18/1999	\$250	David Bonior
Mohamed Nimer	CAIR	2/13/2000	\$250	Tom Campbell
Abdussalam Chouia	CAIR, Northern CA	1/16/2000	\$360	Tom Campbell
Parvez Ahmed	CAIR, Chairman	7/25/2006	\$250	Keith Ellison
Parvez Ahmed	CAIR, Chairman	8/7/2006	\$250	Keith Ellison
Parvez Ahmed	CAIR, Chairman	10/17/2006	\$250	Keith Ellison
Nehad Hammad	CAIR, Executive Director	7/22/2006	\$2000	Keith Ellison

