

Muslim American Society

THE INVESTIGATIVE PROJECT ON TERRORISM

DOSSIER

The Muslim American Society (MAS) is an organization with strong ties to the Muslim Brotherhood. The organization, founded in 1993, is headquartered in Alexandria, Virginia and has local chapters in 23 states.¹ MAS is headed by Esam Omeish and Souheil Ghannouchi, who serve as president and executive director respectively.² Shaker El Sayed served as the Society's secretary general until June 1, 2005, when he left the organization to become an imam at the Dar al-Hijrah mosque in Northern Virginia.³ MAS' political and public relations wing, the Freedom Foundation, is headed by Mahdi Bray.

I. MAS' Historical Roots in the Muslim Brotherhood

- **MAS was founded as the United States chapter of the Muslim Brotherhood, the international Islamist, anti-Western organization whose goal is the "introduction of the Islamic Shari`ah as the basis controlling the affairs of state and society."**⁴

The Muslim Brotherhood, founded by Hassan al-Banna in 1928, has provided the ideological underpinnings for almost all modern Sunni Islamic terrorist groups. When discussing Hamas, Al Qaeda and Islamic Jihad, Richard Clarke - the chief counter-terrorism adviser on the U.S. National Security Council under Presidents Clinton and Bush - stated before the Senate in 1993 that "The common link here is the extremist Muslim Brotherhood - all of these organizations are descendants of the membership and ideology of the Muslim Brothers."⁵

In fact, the Brotherhood plays an active role today in promoting terrorism against U.S. interests. In August 2004, the Brotherhood issued a public appeal of support for those fighting coalition forces in Iraq,⁶ and the following month, Muslim Brotherhood spiritual

¹ For a list of MAS local chapters see <http://www.masnet.org/chapters.asp> (accessed July 1, 2006).

² Muslim American Society, IRS Form 990, 2004.

³ Matthew Barakat, "Activist Makes Transition to Imam at Virginia Mosque," *Associated Press*, July 3, 2005, <http://www.wvec.com/sharedcontent/APStories/stories/D8B42FPG1.html> (accessed July 5, 2005).

⁴ "The Principles of The Muslim Brotherhood," The Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan) Official English Website, June 8, 2006, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=4584> (Accessed November 20, 2006).

⁵ Statement of Richard Clark, Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, October 22, 2003.

⁶ "The Muslim Brotherhood Movement in Support of Fighting Americans Forces in Iraq," *MEMRI Special Dispatch Series*, September 3, 2004.

leader Yusuf al-Qaradawi⁷ issued a fatwa deeming it a religious duty for Muslims to fight America in Iraq.⁸

The Brotherhood's violent religious ideology poses a particular danger to the United States because the extensive Brotherhood network has penetrated U.S. soil. In fact, the Brotherhood's presence in the United States can be traced back to 1963 when hundreds of Muslims came to the U.S. to study at American universities.⁹ Some of these students were members of the Brotherhood and formed the foundations of the movement in the U.S. After decades of underground activity, the founding of the the Muslim American Society (MAS) in 1993 marked a concerted attempt by Muslim Brotherhood leaders to establish a public branch of the secretive U.S. movement.

Muslim Brotherhood leaders both in the U.S. and in Egypt campaigned for the founding of MAS in 1993 in order to grant the Brotherhood prominence and greater influence than it had as a solely underground movement. While the leadership was instructed to deny their affiliation with the Brotherhood, their strategy was to operate under a different name but to promote the same ideological goals: the reformation of society through the spread of Islam, with the ultimate goal of establishing Islamic rule in America.¹⁰

The early leadership of MAS further confirms the leading role that the Brotherhood played in the Society's founding. Among the founding board members was Ahmad Elkadi, the self-professed leader of the Brotherhood in the U.S. from 1984-1994. Elkadi worked with Mohammed Mahdi Akef, head of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood since 2003, to push for more openness through the founding of MAS. According to the *Chicago Tribune*, "Akef says he helped found MAS by lobbying for the change during trips to the U.S."¹¹

While MAS denies it is a part of the organization, it acknowledges that its foundations are with the Muslim Brotherhood. In 2004, then-Secretary General of MAS Shaker Elsayed said that "Ikhwan [Brotherhood] members founded MAS..."¹² In addition, MAS' own websites trace the development of MAS through the Muslim Students Association, the Islamic Society of North America, and the North American Islamic Trust – all U.S.-based Muslim Brotherhood affiliated organizations.¹³

⁷ Muslim Brotherhood homepage, <http://www.ummah.org.uk/ikhwan/index.html> (accessed August 23, 2004).

⁸ "Cleric Says It's Right to Fight U.S. Civilians in Iraq," *Reuters*, September 2, 2004.

⁹ Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe and Laurie Cohen, "A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America," *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 2004.

¹⁰ Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe and Laurie Cohen, "A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America," *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 2004.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Id.

¹³ "What is MAS," Muslim American Society – Minnesota, Archived Website, http://web.archive.org/web/20021206132514/www.masmn.org/Other/About_Us.htm, (Accessed February 13, 2007).

Despite Elsayed's acknowledgement of MAS' origins in the Brotherhood, he attempted to minimize MAS' close ideological affiliation with the movement by saying that "...MAS went way beyond that point of conception." But Elsayed's own words seem to belie the fact that MAS has not developed its own moderated philosophy and mission. According to Elsayed, MAS, like the Brotherhood, espouses the teachings of Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna, which he called "the closest reflection of how Islam should be in this life."¹⁴

Interestingly, Elsayed even went so far as to admit that about 45 percent of MAS's active members belong to the Brotherhood.¹⁵

Beyond this, MAS' educational efforts provide further evidence of its continued proselytization of Brotherhood ideology. Membership training includes the study of Muslim Brotherhood luminaries al Banna and Sayyid Qutb.¹⁶ According to the *Tribune*, the Chicago chapter of MAS ran a summer camp in Wisconsin in 2003 for Muslim teenagers where they distributed study materials that included a discussion of the Brotherhood's philosophy.¹⁷ The same MAS chapter also included on its teen website "reading materials that say Muslims have a duty to help form Islamic governments worldwide and should be prepared to take up arms to do so."¹⁸

A senior Muslim Brotherhood official in Cairo, Mohamed Habib, seems to explain MAS' motivations for espousing Brotherhood ideology while simultaneously distancing itself from the movement that birthed it: "I don't want to say MAS is a [Brotherhood] entity. This causes some security inconveniences for them in a post-Sept. 11 world."¹⁹ It is in this perspective that the ideology, activities and goals of MAS must be considered.

In addition to profiles in praise of al Banna, MAS websites have also lauded Qutb, the Brotherhood's other prime ideological pioneer, in biographies.²⁰ According to the 9/11 Commission Report, Osama bin Laden "relies heavily" on Qutb's teachings.²¹ Other key Brotherhood adherents include Khalid Sheikh Mohammed,²² Abdullah Azzam,²³ Omar

¹⁴ Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah , Sam Roe and Laurie Cohen, "A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America," *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 2004.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah , Sam Roe and Laurie Cohen, "A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America," *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 2004.

¹⁷ Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah , Sam Roe and Laurie Cohen, "A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America," *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 2004.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Id.

²⁰ "Biographies of 20th Century Leaders," Muslim American Society – Minnesota, Archived Website, http://web.archive.org/web/20030109141902/www.masmn.org/Biographies/20th_Century/index.htm (Accessed February 13, 2007).

²¹ *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004), 51.

²² Ibid., 145.

²³ Jim Landers, "Muslim Extremists Justify Violence on Way to Restoring Divine Law," *The Dallas Morning News*, November 3, 2001.

Abdel Rahman (a.k.a. the blind sheikh),²⁴ and Hassan al-Turabi.²⁵ Rahman's speeches contained the ideas of Sayyid Qutb's book, *Milestones*.²⁶

In the July 2004 indictment for funding Hamas of Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF) and seven of its top leaders, federal prosecutors noted that, "Hamas was founded...as an outgrowth of the Muslim Brotherhood." The indictment added, "The Muslim Brotherhood...is committed to the globalization of Islam through social engineering and violent jihad (holy war)."²⁷

An internal Brotherhood memorandum, released during the HLF trial growing out of that indictment, illustrates that the Brotherhood's jihad can take more subtle and long range approaches.

"The Ikhwan must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and 'sabotaging' its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated and God's religion is made victorious over all other religions," the memo attributed to Mohamed Akram said.²⁸

And evidence presented in that trial indicates that the Muslim Brotherhood intended to tap MAS as a resource shortly after its creation to undermine the fledgling Oslo Accords. According to a meeting agenda dated July 30, 1994 for the Brotherhood's "Palestine Committee" in America, a response is needed to stem the tide of normalization between Muslim states and Israel.²⁹

- There must be an awakening for us, we who own the cause of Palestine and Islam, so that this normalization process does not pass us by and we become the only ones who are "extremists" and radical and that it will be said that "the Palestinian Muslims" reject while others agree, and this is a formidable danger that does not serve the Islamic aspect of the Palestinian cause.

- Confrontation work plan:

- A. The activation of the role of (MAS) to educate the brothers in all work centers, mosques, and organizations on the necessity of stopping any contacts with the Zionist organizations and the rejection of any future contacts. And it may be appropriate that we do not reject contact in one time but link between the Bosnian cause and the Palestinian cause so that if the Jews wanted to hold a demonstration against the Serbs in Bosnia, then we ask to have a demonstration against Israel for what it is doing in Palestine at the same time.

²⁴ James Jennings, "Lindh's Rebellion Drew on Violent Ideology," *Newsday*, March 29, 2002.

²⁵ Jim Landers, "Muslim Extremists Justify Violence on Way to Restoring Divine Law," *The Dallas Morning News*, November 3, 2001.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁷ *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation*, 04-CR-240, "Indictment." (NDTX July 27, 2004).

²⁸ *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation*, 04-CR-240 Government exhibit 3-85.

²⁹ *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation*, 04-CR-240, Government exhibit 3-78.

II. Mahdi Bray, Executive Director, MAS Freedom Foundation

- **Mahdi Bray represents the public face of MAS through his position as the executive director of its political/public relations wing, the Freedom Foundation.**

MAS claims it established the Freedom Foundation in part to combat “certain groups in and outside of America that have long used bigoted distortions of Islam, portraying Muslims in America as seditious, dangerous, and totally incompatible with American life.”³⁰ Its stated mission is “to build an integrated empowerment process for the American Muslim community through civic education, participation, community outreach, and coalition building; to forge positive relationships with other institutions outside of our community that will ensure and facilitate the protection of civil rights and liberties for American Muslims and all Americans.”³¹ Bray, who heads the Washington, D.C.-based foundation, is a former political director of the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC).³²

A former Baptist who converted to Islam in 1976,³³ Bray describes himself as a “long time civil and human rights activist” and as holding positions as executive director of the Muslim American Society (MAS) Freedom Foundation and president of the Coordinating Council of Muslim Organizations (CCMO).³⁴ During Bray’s career at MAS and MPAC, he has made a series of statements criticizing the foreign and security policies of the United States in a way that portrays the government as engaged in a war against Islam. In fact, at a Washington, D.C. press conference in 2003, Bray stated, “I am saddened today to say that the greatest purveyor of discrimination against Muslims is indeed my own government here at home. The war on terrorism is really becoming a war on Muslims.”³⁵

Bray’s Victimology

Through analyzing the individuals and organizations that Bray stands up for, it becomes clear that he consistently defends individuals and organizations that have been alleged, and in some cases proven, to have been directly involved with terrorist organizations and/or activities.

Bray has defended each of the organizations and individuals discussed in this section:

³⁰ Freedom Foundation Overview, <http://www.masnet.org/freedomfoundation.asp> (accessed June 29, 2006).

³¹ Ibid.

³² <http://www.masnet.org/freedomfoundation.asp> (accessed August 12, 2004).

³³ Bob Lewis, “U.S. Muslims Struggle Over Islam’s Image,” *Associated Press*, April 5, 2003, <http://www.miami.com/mld/miamiherald/5567610.htm>, accessed April 27, 2005.

³⁴ “Mahdi Bray, Executive Director of MAS Freedom Foundation,” http://www.masnet.org/pressroom_biography.asp?id=170 (accessed June 29, 2006).

³⁵ Mahdi Bray, quoted in, “Activists plan huge protest in Washington to demand US troop withdrawal from Iraq,” *Channel NewsAsia*, October 22, 2003.

The Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development was an Islamic charity based in Texas, whose assets were frozen in December 2001 by FBI and Treasury Department based on allegations that it had raised funds for Hamas. On July 27, 2004, Holy Land Foundation (HLF) and seven of its leaders were named in a 42-count indictment for providing material support to Hamas, engaging in prohibited financial transactions with a Specially Designated Global Terrorist, money laundering, conspiracy and filing false tax returns.³⁶ Among HLF's founders was Mousa Abu Marzook, political leader of Hamas.³⁷ On the day of HLF's 2004 indictment, MAS issued a press release in which Bray said: "I am concerned about more than the presumption of innocent until proven guilty. I am deeply concerned that these indictments might be politically motivated. Given the critical 9/11 report, the election year atmosphere and terrorism hysterics, it is important that the community and the general public does not rush to judgment in this matter."³⁸

In December 2004 a federal judge ruled that HLF (along with IAP) was liable for a \$156 million dollar lawsuit for aiding and abetting the terrorist group Hamas in the murder of a 17-year old American citizen.³⁹ The U.S. Appeals Court in the Seventh Circuit overturned the award in December 2007 after determining the Boims had not done enough to establish that the groups' support for Hamas contributed, even indirectly, to their son's murder. The case was sent the case back to the district court to allow for additional proceedings.

After many delays, in July 2007, HLF's trial for the charges presented in the July 2004 indictment commenced. Bray criticized the case at a news conference on the trial's opening day. "We're all being lumped into one main aggregate of supporting terrorists," Bray said. "A sizable portion of the American Muslim community is concerned the government has overreached."⁴⁰ On October 22, after 19 days of deliberation, the jurors in the HLF case were unable to reach a unanimous verdict on almost all the charges against the defendants, and the judge ordered a mistrial. Defendant Mohammed El-Mezain was acquitted on all but one count; that of conspiracy to provide material support to terrorists. The prosecution says it intends to retry the case.⁴¹

Infocom was run by the five Elashi brothers (one of whom, Ghassan, was involved in HLF and a founding member of CAIR Texas). Infocom sold computer systems, networking, telecommunications and Internet services, and exported computers to the Middle East.⁴² In September 2001, the FBI raided Infocom's offices,⁴³ froze two of its

³⁶ *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation*, 04-CR-240, "Indictment," (ND TX July 27, 2004).

³⁷ "Shutting Down the Terrorist Financial Network." *U.S. Treasury Department Press Release*. Dec. 4, 2001. <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/po841.htm> Accessed Jan. 9, 2006.

³⁸ "Muslims Arrested in Holy Land Foundation Raid," *MAS Press Release*, July 27, 2004.

³⁹ David Boim v. Quranic Literacy 00 C 2905. "Judgment in a Civil Case." Dec. 10, 2004.

⁴⁰ David Koenig, "Prosecutor says group's goal was to destroy Israel," *Associated Press*, July 25, 2007.

⁴¹ The jury has found Defendant Mohammad El-Mezain NOT GUILTY on Counts 2-32. [Verdict available here](#). Chief Judge Fish has declared a mistrial as to Count 1 for this defendant and on all counts for the remaining defendants., <http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/notable.html>

⁴² *U.S. v. Elashi*, 02-CR-052, "Superseding Indictment." (ND TX December 17, 2002).

⁴³ David Koenig, "FBI Raids Dallas-Area Internet Business as Part of Terrorism Investigation," *Associated Press*, September 6, 2001.

accounts, and subpoenaed the records of both HLF and the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP).⁴⁴ Shortly after the Infocom raid, Bray and representatives of a number of Islamic “advocacy groups” held a press conference outside the company’s headquarters and released a statement that read: “American Muslims view yesterday’s action as just one of a long list of attempts by the pro-Israel lobby to intimidate and silence all those who wish to see Palestinian Muslims and Christians free themselves of a brutal Apartheid-like occupation. We believe the genesis of this raid lies not in Washington, but in Tel Aviv.”⁴⁵

In December 2002, the government followed up the Infocom raid by indicting Infocom, the Elashi brothers, senior Hamas figure Mousa Abu Marzook (now based in Damascus with Khalid Mishal, the head of Hamas), and Nadia Elashi. Infocom and the Elashi brothers were charged with illegally sending computer equipment to Libya and Syria and with engaging in financial transactions with Marzook, a Specially Designated Terrorist.⁴⁶ On July 7, 2004, Infocom was found guilty on the sanctions-related charges.⁴⁷ On April 14, 2005, the Elashi brothers and Infocom were found guilty of conspiracy to deal in the property of Hamas and conspiracy to commit money laundering.⁴⁸ Two of the brothers, Ghassan and Bayan Elashi, were convicted on ten counts of dealing in the property of Hamas and nine counts of money laundering.⁴⁹

Abdurrahman Alamoudi was indicted in September 2003 for illegal financial dealings with Libya.⁵⁰ According to court documents, he also provided financial support to Hamas and Al Qaeda.⁵¹ In December 2003, Mahdi Bray said denying Alamoudi bail showed, “Justice is turned on its head when alleged murderers, rapists, and pedophiles can get bail and sail, and respected Muslim leaders, smeared as terrorists without any charges, get jail and legal hell.”⁵²

Alamoudi and Bray were on stage together in 2000 as Alamoudi announced his support for Hamas and Hizballah.⁵³ Bray signaled his support for the terrorist organizations, pumping his fist up in the air and grinning as the crowd cheered.⁵⁴ In May 2004, five months before Alamoudi pleaded guilty, Bray presented him with a Freedom Foundation award in absentia at a MAS Freedom conference. The award recognized an “outstanding

⁴⁴ Steve McGonigle, “Local Firm’s Accounts Frozen,” *Dallas Morning News*, September 26, 2001.

⁴⁵ “Raid on Texas Business is ‘Anti-Muslim Witch Hunt’ Say Muslim Leaders,” *PR Newswire*, September 6, 2001.

⁴⁶ *U.S. v. Elashi*, 02-CR-052, “Indictment.” (ND TX December 17, 2002).

⁴⁷ “Elashi Brothers Convicted,” *U.S. Department of Justice Press Release*, July 8, 2004.

⁴⁸ “More Federal Convictions for Elashi Brothers” *U.S. Department of Justice Press Release*, April 14, 2005.

⁴⁹ “More Federal Convictions for Elashi Brothers and Infocom Corporation at Second Trial,” Justice Department Press Release, April 14, 2005.

⁵⁰ *U.S. v. Alamoudi*, 03-M-10009, “Indictment.” (ED VA September 23, 2003).

⁵¹ *U.S. v. Alamoudi*, 03-M-10009, “Supplemental Declaration in Support of Detention.” (ED VA October 22, 2003).

⁵² “MAS Freedom Expresses Serious Concern on Legal Grounds for Muslim Leader’s Bail Denial,” *MAS Press Release*, December 3, 2003.

⁵³ Jerusalem Day Rally, October 28, 2000.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

American Muslim who has courageously stood in defense of freedom and justice.” Bray told the crowd, “I don’t care what they say, we’re gonna continue to work with him, and the other detainees, Abdelrahim, and we are gonna continue to fight back. Let our people go! Let our people go!”⁵⁵

Alamoudi pleaded guilty to engaging in prohibited transactions with a foreign country⁵⁶ and was sentenced to 23 years in jail in October 2004.⁵⁷ He also has admitted his involvement in a plot, masterminded by Libyan leader Muammar Qadaffi, to assassinate Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia.⁵⁸

In the February 2004 edition of *The American Muslim*, several months before Alamoudi’s guilty plea, Bray said: “It is not uncharacteristic for America to go through these stages. We have to understand that the arrest of people like Abdulrahman Alamoudi and the arrest of other activists is also an attempt to stifle dissent, and that this is not the first time that America has betrayed its lofty principles and values in times of hysteria.”⁵⁹ Bray says that the “current witch-hunt” is the work of the pro-Israeli lobby and the Christian Right, both of which want to keep Muslims on the sidelines and exploit a post-9/11 anti-Muslim bias.⁶⁰ He adds, “These arrests are an attempt to marginalize the tremendous potential the Muslim community has, especially since we’re growing every day in this country.”⁶¹

Ali al-Timimi, the spiritual leader of the Virginia Paintball Jihad group, was convicted of inducing others to conspire to use firearms, soliciting others to levy war against the United States, inducing others to levy war against the United States, and attempting to contribute services to the Taliban.⁶² Bray questioned the jury’s guilty verdict against al-Timimi, stating: “What he said was perhaps repugnant and inflammatory, but was it really his intent to have people go and take his words and translate that into going and killing other human beings, specifically Americans?”⁶³ Trying to make al-Timimi’s exhortations for jihad a free speech issue, Bray stated that the conviction “bodes ill” for the First Amendment.⁶⁴

Ahmed Omar Abu Ali was convicted in November 2005 Alexandria, Virginia for conspiracy to provide material support and resources to terrorists, contribution of services

⁵⁵ MAS Freedom Foundation and AMIN Radio Freedom Awards and Fundraiser, Arlington, VA, May 15, 2004.

⁵⁶ *U.S. v. Alamoudi*, 03-CR-513, “Plea Agreement.” (ED VA July 30, 2004).

⁵⁷ “Abdurahman Alamoudi Sentenced to Jail in Terrorism Financing Case,” *Department of Justice Press Release*, October 15, 2004.

⁵⁸ *U.S. v. Alamoudi*, 03-CR-513, “Plea Agreement.” (ED VA July 30, 2004). See also Patrick Tyler, “Two Said to Tell of Libyan Plot Against Saudi,” *New York Times*, June 10, 2004.

⁵⁹ Falasten M. Abdeljabbar, “Alamoudi: What His Case Means to Muslims,” *American Muslim*, February 2004, 20-21.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *US v. Ali Al-Timimi*, 04-CR-00385-001 “Judgment,” (ED VA, July 13, 2005).

⁶³ Timothy Dwyer, “Prosecution Called Overzealous; Guilty Verdict in Terror Case Angers Muslims Who Know Lecturer,” *Washington Post*, April 27, 2005.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

to al Qaeda, receipt of funds and services from al Qaeda, conspiracy to assassinate the President of the United States, conspiracy to commit aircraft piracy, and conspiracy to destroy aircraft.⁶⁵ In February of 2005, Bray, who knew Abu Ali from the Dar Al Hijrah Islamic Center in Falls Church, Virginia, rejected the terrorism charges against Abu Ali: “The characterization of him being a member of Al Qaeda, trying to assassinate the president of the United States is ludicrous to those of us who know Abu Ali, both at his mosque and in his neighborhood.”⁶⁶ Bray described Abu Ali as “a really great kid, moderate in his views and not an extremist.”⁶⁷ At a MAS fundraiser in Virginia in May 2005, he added that Abu Ali was a “freedom fighter.”⁶⁸

Sami Al-Arian, a University of South Florida Computer Science professor, was indicted in February 2003,⁶⁹ after a ten-year investigation on charges of establishing and operating the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) network in the United States. Al-Arian created a charity and a think tank that brought Ramadan Abdullah Shallah to the United States under a pseudonym. Shallah later became the secretary general of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

At a Solidarity International USA⁷⁰ event at the Dar Al Hijrah Islamic Center in Fairfax, Virginia, Bray introduced Al-Arian as the “keynote fundraiser” for the event. Describing him as a tireless advocate of civil rights, he denounced the use of secret evidence to implicate Al-Arian and his brother-in-law, Mazen Al Najjar in a deportation case:

“...He’s worked tirelessly, going back and forth, and, trying to gather people in the Congress, to defeat this thing, this scourge, stain on the Constitution; this stain on the concept of due process called ‘secret evidence.’ As a result of that he’s worked tirelessly for that and he continues to work. His brother-in-law is none other than Mazen Al Najjar, who was also a victim of secret evidence and now has been rearrested in light of 9/11. So please brothers and sisters, at this time, keynote person here, uh, keynote fundraiser here, brother Sami Al-Arian, Director of the Tampa Bay Coalition for Justice and Peace. Coming all the way from Tampa, Florida to be with us.”⁷¹

In December 2005, after a six month trial, Al-Arian was acquitted of eight charges, while the jury deadlocked on the nine other counts,⁷² including conspiracy to provide material support to PIJ.

Bray, who testified as a character witness in the case, called the initial acquittal on eight charges a “wonderful and tremendous victory for those of us who believe just because the government calls you a criminal and terrorist, it does not necessarily make it true, and

⁶⁵ *USA v. Abu Ali*, 05-CR-53, “Judgment.” (EDVA April 17, 2006).

⁶⁶ Sheldon Alberts, “America Charged in Plot to Kill President,” *Times Colonist*, February 23, 2005.

⁶⁷ Frank Davies, “Suspect Held in Plot to Kill Bush: Former VA High School Valedictorian Accused of Planning Terror Cell,” *The Charlotte Observer*, February 23, 2005.

⁶⁸ “Standing for Justice,” 2nd Annual MAS Freedom Foundation and Muslim Civil Rights Center Fundraising Dinner, Tysons Corner, VA, May 22, 2005.

⁶⁹ *USA v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, “Indictment,” (MD FL February 20, 2003).

⁷⁰ Solidarity International USA is a group formed after September 11 to protect the rights of Muslim Americans.

⁷¹ Solidarity International USA Event, Dar Al Hijrah Islamic Center, Fairfax, Virginia, March 8, 2002.

⁷² *USA v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, “Verdict Form,” (MD FL December 6, 2005).

that we must be willing to publicly challenge these false government assertions.”⁷³ Bray further declared that MAS remained “steadfast and committed” toward “decriminalizing the political participation of Muslims who disagree with the government” and “to resist the government’s hysteria that falsely criminalizes and subverts the constitutional rights of leaders, institutions and members of our community.”⁷⁴

On April 14, 2006, after more than a decade of denying any involvement with PIJ, and five months after the conclusion of his jury trial, Al-Arian pleaded guilty to “conspiracy to make or receive contributions of funds, goods or services to or for the benefit of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a Specially Designated Terrorist.” Conditions of his guilty plea included his submission to ICE for deportation proceedings.”⁷⁵

As part of the plea agreement, Al-Arian admitted that he “performed services for the PIJ in 1995 and thereafter” and that he was “aware that the PIJ achieved its objectives by, among other means, acts of violence.”⁷⁶ The agreement states that the services Al-Arian performed “included filing for immigration benefits for individuals associated with the PIJ, hiding the identities of individuals associated with the PIJ, and providing assistance for an individual associated with the PIJ in a United States Court proceeding.”⁷⁷

Ten days after the plea agreement, Bray issued a press release stating “Dr. Al-Arian’s prosecution was political, pure and simple. Entities whose loyalties lie beyond America and are hostile to the just liberation struggle of the Palestinian people unfortunately found willing allies in our own U.S. Department of Justice and this administration. They pursued a political prosecution in hopes of silencing one of America’s most prominent Palestinian academics and activists.”⁷⁸ Bray went on to call the count that Al-Arian did plead guilty to of conspiring to make or receive contributions of funds, goods or services to or for the benefit of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, as “watered down.”⁷⁹ By portraying the Al-Arian case as a free speech issue, Bray ignores the non-speech related activities of Al-Arian that were, in fact, crimes that contributed services to a terrorist organization.

Bray referred to the plea agreement as “nefarious” and accused U.S. District Judge James S. Moody of “refusing to honor the terms of the plea agreement: “This is a horrific miscarriage of justice. Obviously today, a jury’s verdict has little value to Judge Moody when a Muslim activist is on trial....Clearly, the government, unable to win its case legitimately, had to resort to legalistic shenanigans that are reminiscent of the sham proceedings of the Jim Crow south when African Americans were legally lynched and Klansmen walked free.”⁸⁰

⁷³ “Breaking News: Dr. Sami Al-Arian Acquitted of Major Charges,” *MAS Press Release*, December 6, 2005.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *USA v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, “Plea Agreement,” 1563 (MD FL April 14, 2006).

⁷⁶ *USA v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, “Plea Agreement,” 1563 (MD FL April 14, 2006).

⁷⁷ *USA v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, “Plea Agreement,” 1563 (MD FL April 14, 2006).

⁷⁸ Mahdi Bray, “Justice Delayed and Denied for Professor Sami Al-Arian,” MAS Freedom Foundation, April 24, 2006, http://www.masnet.org/pressroom_release.asp?id=3299 (Accessed May 9, 2007).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ “Sami Al-Arian Sentenced to An Additional Eighteen Months in Prison,” *MAS Press Release*, May 1, 2006.

On January 22, 2007, Al-Arian began a hunger strike in protest of his continued detention after being charged with civil contempt for his refusal to testify before a grand jury in the Eastern District of Virginia.⁸¹ The MAS Freedom Foundation released a press statement the following day entitled “Never Convicted Muslim Professor Lingers in Prison and Harassed by the Government.”⁸² Concerning the civil contempt charge, Bray stated “The government, after years of incarcerating Dr. Al-Arian and spending millions of the taxpayers' dollars, was unable to get a single conviction by a federal jury in this case. In short they lost the case. Yet they've used every trick in the book to persecute Dr. Al-Arian and his family.”⁸³ In response, the MAS Freedom Foundation encourages people to organize “rolling hunger strikes” for justice in support of Al-Arian.⁸⁴

Nadeem Hassan, a gastroenterologist at the Maricopa Medical Center in Phoenix, Arizona, was detained at New York's Kennedy International Airport in January 2006 by U.S. customs officials upon his return from Saudi Arabia, where he had traveled for Hajj. U.S. authorities had earlier denied Hassan's application for permanent residency in the United States based on allegations that he was tied to Jamaat al Tabligh (JT), a conservative Islamist organization based in Pakistan.⁸⁵

Following Hassan's detention, MAS issued a press release in his defense, which asserted that “The Jamaat al Tabligh is not on the State Department or Federal Bureau of Investigation terrorism list, and is well known for its peaceful propagation of Islam.”⁸⁶

But in rejecting Hasan's green card application, the Department of Homeland Security described Jamaat al Tabligh as “a terrorist organization (that)...provides material support...to members of a designated terrorist organization - al Qaeda; and provides the same types of material support...to an undesignated terrorist organization – the Taliban”⁸⁷ The rejection continued: “You are found to have engaged in terrorist activity by providing material support to an undesignated terrorist organization.”⁸⁸ In an affidavit for the Hassan case, Special Agent Jill Tikalsky of the Phoenix Division of the FBI stated:

The Jamaat al-Tabligh (JT) is a Pakistan-based international Islamic missionary group founded in rural India 75 years ago. It is one of the most widespread and conservative Islamic movements in the world and often attracts individuals who

⁸¹ “Never Convicted Muslim Professor Lingers in Prison and Harassed by the Government,” January 23, 2007 <http://www.masnet.org/takeaction.asp?id=3987>

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ “Thousands Join Rolling Hunger Strike for Justice in Support of Dr. Al-Arian,” MAS INFO Email, February 9, 2007.

⁸⁵ Beth DeFalco, “Pakistani Doctor Detained at New York Airport Had Terrorist Ties,” *Associated Press*, January 20, 2006

⁸⁶ “MAS Freedom Defends Arizona Muslim Doctor Detained Returning from Hajj,” *MAS Press Release*, January 19, 2006.

⁸⁷ Dennis Wagner, “Feds: Arizonan tied to terror.” *The Arizona Republic*, January 19, 2003. <http://img.azcentral.com/arizonarepublic/news/articles/0119hassan19.html> (accessed 1 August 2007).

⁸⁸ Ibid.

are seeking an escape from the modern world. The conservative school of Islamic thought said to have influenced the Taliban, is also closely associated with the JT. The name "Tabligh al-Jammat" is Arabic for the "group that propagates the faith," and its members visit mosques and college campuses in small missionary bands, preaching a return to purist Muslim values and recruiting other young Muslim men to join them for a few days or weeks on the road. The missionary group looks to recruit new members by offering financial scholarships for travel and study.

The JT has been tied to several recent high profile terrorism cases. John Walker Lindh traveled to Pakistan with Tabligh missionaries after converting to Islam. Once in Pakistan, he signed up for a military training camp and fought for the Taliban. The six Yemeni-American men from Lackawanna revealed that they were traveling to Pakistan for religious training with the JT, but once in Pakistan, the men admitted to signing up for military training at an al Qaeda camp in Afghanistan. The JT offers a large young conservative group for identifying and recruiting potential terrorists. Therefore, the JT is believed to be vulnerable to being used by Islamic extremists as a cover to recruit members to engage in acts of terrorism against the United States.⁸⁹

Special Agent Tikalsky added:

Given that HASSAN's name and home telephone number were included on a list of JT contacts discovered with two individuals who are reasonably believed to be associated with a known terrorist group, HASSAN's leadership role in the Masjid el-Noor mosque and its connections to Tabligh al-Jammat and a visiting Imam who was identified as a known or suspected terrorist, the FBI is unable to rule out the possibility that HASSAN poses a threat to the national security of the United States.⁹⁰

Said Bray in the MAS press release, "Clearly, the government is not dealing with our community in good faith."⁹¹

Bray's Public Comments

In reviewing Bray's public comments, it can be reasonably argued that his Islamist activism serves to portray the United States, the West, and Israel as being engaged in a war against Islam.

- In October 2002, at the 2nd National Student Conference at the University of Michigan, Bray said that Israel had a predominantly mercenary interest in occupying the Palestinian territories and described the Palestinians as "the new niggers of the

⁸⁹ SA Jill Tikalsky, "RE: NADEEM HASSAN (A# 95 293 995)," Affidavit, July 21, 2005.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

Middle East”:⁹² He casts Israel as an apartheid state, and in such a structure, those with power

want to maintain a certain control, a certain power, there’s a certain vested interest, usually it’s economic interest. We might see it play itself out in religious context but ultimately, the bottom line is economics. Economics. And I said, and I’ve always said I think that the region has always wanted, and excuse my politeness [sic] and my bluntness, the Palestinians to be the new niggers of the Middle East. They’ve always wanted them to be the cheap labor force.⁹³

- In organizing an October 2003 protest demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq, Bray said, “I am saddened today to say that the greatest purveyor of discrimination against Muslims is indeed my own government here at home. The war on terrorism is really becoming a war on Muslims.”⁹⁴ Bray also opposed the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan after 9/11.⁹⁵
- KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development is an Islamic charity that was incorporated in Toledo, Ohio in 2002.⁹⁶ KindHearts is registered in other states including Colorado,⁹⁷ Pennsylvania,⁹⁸ Oklahoma,⁹⁹ Nevada,¹⁰⁰ and Indiana.¹⁰¹ Its website describes KindHearts as “a non-profit charitable organization providing immediate disaster relief and establishing programs to improve the quality of life and foster future independence for those in need.” The organization claims that its “program emphasis” is emergency relief; water and general sanitation; sheltering refugees; sponsorship of orphans, widows, and poor families; medical and health care; rehabilitation and renovation; vocational training and education; and independent income generation and economic growth.¹⁰²

The U.S. Treasury Department froze the assets of KindHearts on February 19, 2006. Treasury Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence Stuart Levey stated, “KindHearts is the progeny of Holy Land Foundation and Global Relief

⁹² 2nd National Student Conference on Palestine, University of Michigan, October 22, 2002.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Gaiutra Bahadur, “Muslims Meet on Activism, Liberty Issues,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 6, 2003, B1.

⁹⁵ Marc Fisher, “Muslim Radio a Workout for 1st Amendment,” *Washington Post*, December 4, 2001, B1 (“Bray argues vigorously against U.S. military action in Afghanistan”).

⁹⁶ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Ohio Secretary of State, filed January 22, 2002.

⁹⁷ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Colorado Secretary of State, filed September 29, 2003.

⁹⁸ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Unified Registration Statement for Charitable Organizations, filed September 9, 2002.

⁹⁹ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Oklahoma Secretary of State, filed September 29, 2003.

¹⁰⁰ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Nevada Secretary of State, filed August 18, 2003.

¹⁰¹ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Indiana Secretary of State, filed October 17, 2003.

¹⁰² “Mission Statement and Objectives,” *Kind Hearts Website*. http://www.kind-hearts.org/ramadhan/KH_mission.htm.

Foundation, which attempted to mask their support for terrorism behind the façade of charitable giving.”¹⁰³

Bray described KindHearts’ closure and asset freeze as being “highly politically motivated.”¹⁰⁴ He termed the action “yet another encroachment on the religious freedom of American Muslims by its own government.”¹⁰⁵

In a February 2006 press release, Bray accused the government of “stealing from poor American Muslims and calling it a war on terrorism,” stating that the government was violating the constitutional rights of Muslims and “calling it the spread of democracy.”¹⁰⁶ He further charged, “The government interruption of Muslim charitable giving, and their refusal to release the funds to the needy, while claiming such activities are being investigated for terrorist ties, are not just unacceptable; they’re illegal.”¹⁰⁷

- In September 2005, the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* published editorial cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad. The cartoons were perceived as anti-Islamic by Danish Muslim organizations, leading to large-scale public protests in the country. The controversy took on international dimensions after a prominent Danish imam named Abu Laban toured the Middle East, meeting with prominent political and religious leaders and showing them the cartoons printed in the Danish newspaper in addition to other, more insulting and crude cartoons which were never printed in the Danish press. Publications in other Western countries reprinted the original cartoons, exacerbating tensions and sparking protests by Muslims around the world, many of which threatened violence and terrorism. Protests in the Middle East turned violent. At the National Press Club in Washington, Bray called the cartoons “blasphemous.”¹⁰⁸ He criticized the *Philadelphia Inquirer* for reprinting them, declaring “This has nothing to do with free speech, its pure sensationalism that reeks of religious disrespect What the *Philadelphia Inquirer* has done is irresponsible, provocative and reckless.”¹⁰⁹ Bray also supported the boycott of Danish goods, asserting, “Personally, I don’t think we would have received such a prompt response for a meeting if the Danish economy wasn’t losing millions of dollars daily due to the boycott of Danish products throughout the Muslim world.”¹¹⁰

Bray and WWTL

Bray has hosted a show on the AM radio station WWTL’s broadcasts. The *Washington Post* has reported on the experiences of Peter Hebert, a Montgomery County technology

¹⁰³ “Treasury Freezes Assets of Organization Tied to Hamas,” Department of Treasury, February 19, 2006, <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/js4058.htm>

¹⁰⁴ “KindHearts vs. Hardhearts,” *MAS Press Release*, February 28, 2006.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ James Morrison, “MAS in the News—Embassy Row,” *The Washington Times*, February 15, 2006.

executive and religious Jew, in listening to the station, which first got his attention when he heard a speaker on one broadcast state, “Rabbis are idolators, slay them.”¹¹¹ In the following weeks, Hebert “heard hosts and guests talk about Jewish control of the media and a Jewish conspiracy to attack the World Trade Center and blame Muslims for the assault. And he’s heard Bray defending Hizballah, which the State Department labels a terrorist organization.”¹¹²

The *Washington Post* writer went on to describe some content that he personally heard on the station: “I, too, have had some startling moments listening to WWTL, awakening, for example, to hear Koran readings such as this: ‘As for those who disbelieve, theirs will be a boiling drink and painful death,’ and, ‘Those who desire the world . . . their home will be the fire.’ Now there’s a bracing wake-up show.”¹¹³

The *Washington Post* article quotes Hebert as saying, “I’ve also heard lengthy discussions about ‘the influence of capital’ and the ‘how the media are twisted by their particular ownership’ -- a leftist critique commonplace on any college campus but one that turns more pointed on Bray’s show: ‘We know who the owners are,’ one guest said, prompting another to reply, ‘They answer to the Zionist regime.’ A few days later, another guest pronounced Zionism ‘more than racism’ and said ‘America is dripping with the blood of our people.’ Bray laughed, responding: ‘This is the only show with two disclaimers. When I go off the air, they play two disclaimers.’”¹¹⁴

III. MAS Affiliate’s Continuing Relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood

The Islamic American University (IAU)

According to MAS’ website, IAU is its subsidiary and “one of its main projects.”¹¹⁵ IAU offers “education, training, Da’wa and studies in the fields of Islamic Shari’a, its fundamentals, linguistics, and sciences,” the MAS website says.

In addition, “The IAU board of trustees is headed by internationally renowned scholars such as Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi who serves as chairman and Dr. Jamal Badawi who serves as vice chairman,” the MAS website says.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Marc Fisher, “Muslim Radio a Workout for 1st Amendment,” *Washington Post*, December 4, 2001, B1.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ <http://www.masnet.org/university.asp> (accessed July 1, 2006).

¹¹⁶ <http://www.masnet.org/university.asp> (accessed July 1, 2006). See also “The American Islamic University from a Vision to Reality,” *American Muslim*, Vol. 1, No. 4, October 2000, <http://www.americanmuslim.org/4education4c.html> (accessed July 1, 2006). “Dr. Jamal Badawi, Dr. Salahudin Sultan, and Dr. Souheil Ghannouchi, the head of the MAS Shura Council, met with Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi to discuss the project. Sheikh al-Qaradawi encouraged the project and agreed to serve as the head of the University’s Board of Trustees.” See section on later sections on MAS website links and radical Islamic leaders featured in the *American Muslim* for more information on Qaradawi.

The university's former president, Salah Sultan is a well-known figure in Islamist circles and, according to the resume he posted on his personal website, he is involved with a number of organizations. In addition to being the president, a professor, and Trustee at IAU from 1999 to 2004, he is the founder and president of the Ohio-based American Center for Islamic Research, the Islamic Education Consultant at the Islamic Center of Greater Columbus, a member of the Fiqh Council of North America, and a member of Yusuf al-Qaradawi's European Council for Iftaa' and Research (more on Qaradawi below). Also on his CV, he notes that his "vision" is, "To live happily. To die as a martyr."¹¹⁷ After the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) reported on Sultan's vision statement¹¹⁸ that wording on martyrdom was removed from his resume.¹¹⁹ The MEMRI dispatch also reported that, on May 17, 2006 on Al-Risala TV in Saudi Arabia, Sultan praised Yemenite religious scholar Abd-al-Majid Al-Zindani.¹²⁰ Al-Zindani was named a specially designated global terrorist by the U.S. State Department two years earlier due to his "long history of working with [Osama] bin Laden, notably serving as one of his spiritual leaders. In this leadership capacity, he has been able to influence and support many terrorist causes, including actively recruiting for al-Qaeda training camps. Most recently, he played a key role in the purchase of weapons on behalf of al-Qaeda and other terrorists."¹²¹

Sultan ridiculed the designation of Zindani, whom he described as "known worldwide for his refinement, virtue, and broad horizons."¹²²

Sultan has presided over several "Live Fatwa" sessions on Qaradawi's website, Islamonline.net. In these sessions, people write in questions regarding theological, social, and political issues, which are answered by a religious scholar. On September 14, 2005, Sultan presided over one of these sessions to mark the occasion of the 15th night of Sha'ban, the eighth month of the Islamic calendar year.¹²³ In response to a question about the lessons of this night, Sultan recited three lessons. One of the lessons was, "The role of Jews in sowing anxiety among Muslims as learned from their saying: 'Allah's decision is subject to change.'"¹²⁴

¹¹⁷ D Salah Eldeen Soltan, English Resume, http://web.archive.org/web/20070106055135/www.salahsoltan.com/main/index.php?_5nm, June 2006 Archive (Accessed August 3, 2007).

¹¹⁸ "Columbus, Ohio Muslim Leader Says 9/11 Planned by Americans, Praises the Wanted Al-Qaeda-Linked Yemenite Sheikh Al-Zindani," *MEMRI*, Special Dispatch Series - No. 1168, May 19, 2006, <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP116806> (Accessed August 3, 2007).

¹¹⁹ The current version of his resume, found at http://www.salahsoltan.com/main/index.php?_5nm, no longer has any wording about martyrdom, but interestingly, "public relations" remains listed as one of his skills.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ "United States Designates bin Laden Loyalist," US Treasury Department Press Release, February 24, 2004, <http://www.treasury.gov/press/releases/js1190.htm> (Accessed August 3, 2007).

¹²² <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP116806>

¹²³ This date is commemorated by Muslims for various reasons outside the scope of this dossier.

¹²⁴ "Fatwas on the 15th Night of Sha'ban," Live Fatwa, IslamOnline.net, September 14, 2005, <http://www.islamonline.net/livefatwa/english/Browse.asp?hGuestID=6guPY2> (Accessed August 5, 2007).

IAU Board of Trustees Chairman Qaradawi's views and statements are striking.

Qaradawi issued a *fatwa* stating that Muslims killed fighting American forces in Iraq are martyrs. "Those killed fighting the American forces are martyrs given their good intentions since they consider these invading troops an enemy within their territories but without their will," Qaradawi stated in an interview with Al-Quds Press Agency. "Although they are seen by some as being wrong, those defending against attempts to control Islamic countries have the intention of Jihad and bear a spirit of the defense of their homeland."¹²⁵

Criticizing religious rulings against suicide bombings, Qaradawi stated, "I am astonished that some sheikhs deliver fatwas that betray the mujahideen, instead of supporting them and urging them to sacrifice and martyrdom."¹²⁶ Regarding one of these fatwas issued by the the imam of Mecca's Grand Mosque, Qaradawi said, "It is unfortunate to hear that the grand imam has said it was not permissible to kill civilians in any country or state, even in Israel."¹²⁷

In 1995, at a conference held by the Muslim Arab Youth Association (MAYA) in Toledo, Ohio, Qaradawi said, "Our brothers in Hamas, in Palestine, the Islamic resistance, the Islamic Jihad, after all the rest have given up and despaired, the movement of the Jihad brings us back to our faith."¹²⁸

At that same conference, he declared what he saw as the fate and goals of his faith. He said:

What remains, then, is to conquer Rome. The second part of the omen. "The city of Hiraq [once emperor of Constantinople] will be conquered first", so what remains is to conquer Rome. This means that Islam will come back to Europe for the third time, after it was expelled from it twice... Conquest through Da'wa, that is what we hope for. We will conquer Europe, we will conquer America! Not through sword but through Da'wa.

...

But the balance of power will change, and this is what is told in the Hadith of Ibn-Omar and the Hadith of Abu-Hurairah: "You shall continue to fight the Jews and they will fight you, until the Muslims will kill them. And the Jew will hide behind the stone and the tree, and the stone and the tree will say: 'Oh servant of Allah, Oh Muslim, this is a Jew behind me. Come and kill him!' The resurrection will not come before this happens." This is a text from the good omens in which we believe.

¹²⁵ "Those Who Die Fighting U.S. Occupation Forces Are Martyrs," Islam For Today, www.islamfortoday.com/qaradawi04.htm (Accessed August 9, 2007).

¹²⁶ Haim Malka, "Must Innocents Die? The Islamic Debate Over Suicide Attacks," *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2003.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Yusuf al-Qaradawi, MAYA Conference, 1995, Toledo, Ohio.

In the June 2002 Fatwa section of the MAS magazine, *The American Muslim*, Qaradawi was asked “Prophet Muhammed said that nations will haunt against us. Can we say that this is happening right now?” He responded by citing a Hadith in which the Prophet Mohammed said “Nations are about to scheme against you in the same way as greedy eaters vie with one another on the dining table.” That Hadith, Qaradawi wrote, “shows the extent of the moral decay that will affect the Muslim Ummah (nation) and will encourage its enemies to haunt it.”

“The emergence of the Islamic awakening has breathed in the Muslim nation a sense of confidence and hope in the future. Such movement is worthy of leading the Muslim nation to utter victory once there are leaders who are rightly guided by Almighty Allah and filled with wisdom.”¹²⁹

IV. *The American Muslim Magazine*

MAS publishes a magazine called *The American Muslim*. It often contains references to suicide bombings as martyr operations.¹³⁰ Most issues of *The American Muslim* contain question and answer sections with various Muslim scholars, called ‘Fatwa’ (scholarly opinions). Some of these fatwa sections feature judgments by Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi and Sheikh Muhammad al-Hanooti. As previously discussed, Qaradawi is a Muslim Brotherhood spiritual leader and chairman of the board at the MAS university, IAU. Al-Hanooti is an imam who attended a 1993 meeting of Hamas members and supporters in Philadelphia. A 2001 FBI memorandum said al-Hanooti raised over \$6 million for Hamas.¹³¹

Excerpts from *the American Muslim*, the official publication of MAS:

Many articles in this magazine attempt to cast U.S. counterterrorism efforts as draconian racist measures intended to persecute the Muslim community. This fearmongering builds a wall between the Muslim community in America and the United States government, creating an environment suitable for potential radicalization.

On the Muslim Brotherhood

The February 2004 issue of *The American Muslim* featured a profile on Mohammed Mamoun al-Hodaibi, the sixth general guide of the Muslim Brotherhood. The Brotherhood is referred to as a moderate organization: “Since its inception, the Muslim Brotherhood has sought to awaken Islamic values and practices in Islamic societies that

¹²⁹ Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, “Fatwa: Questions Concerning Palestine,” *American Muslim*, June 2002, 36-37.

¹³⁰ See section on the MAS community for specific instances.

¹³¹ Action Memorandum on the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development from Dale Watson, Assistant Director, Counterterrorism Division to Richard Newcomb, Director, Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), Department of Treasury, November 5, 2001, 11.

have become almost completely secular. Its members also work for the establishment of an Islamic state through non-violent means.”¹³²

On 9/11 and the War in Afghanistan

In the May 2003 *American Muslim*, Steven Malik Shelton wrote an op-ed entitled “America in the Eyes of the World.” In it, he wrote:

Although the reasons for the recent attacks against Afghanistan and Iraq have been blamed on Saddam Hussein, Al Qaeda, and the perennial scapegoat Osama bin Laden, in fact, these wars of aggression were planned years in advance and follow a pattern of opportune, genocidal strikes that began with America’s conception and are an integral part of her history...¹³³

On the Al Qaeda Bombings in Saudi Arabia and Turkey

In an opinion piece entitled, “Turkey Faces New Challenges” in the January 2004 issue, Umberine Abdullah questioned who actually perpetrated terrorist attacks in Turkey, suggesting that al Qaeda groups that claimed responsibility were not actually involved. Abdullah wrote:

In both cases, citizens of the respective countries have been charged as perpetrators. However, in both instances, statements attributed to the alleged ‘Al Qaeda network’ are declaring that it is their work...The issue is who did it. Bush repeated is [sic] ready-made allegation: ‘These are al Qaeda killers killing Muslims. And they need to be stopped. And we will stop them.’...In all the bombings, the same al-Qaeda allegation has been repeated but no substantial evidence has been offered.¹³⁴

He then attributed partial blame to the policies of the Turkish political establishment – particularly secular leaders and the military.¹³⁵ While the article was ostensibly about the terrorist attacks, at no point in the article did Abdallah note how many were killed and injured in them. In lieu of even a passing reference to the human cost or the moral depravity of the terrorist attacks, Abdallah focused almost exclusively on a critique of Turkish politics, American foreign policy, and Israel.¹³⁶

On Suicide Bombings and the Intifadah

In a section of the June 2002 issue of *The American Muslim* entitled, “Fatwa Questions about Palestine,” Sheikh Faysal Mawlawi, deputy chairman of the European Council for Fatwa and Research, was asked, “Some people say that the operations carried out by Palestinians are considered suicidal acts and not a kind of Jihad, is that true? Please tell me whether these acts are martyr operations and a kind of striving in Allah’s Cause or not?” He responded:

¹³² Mohammed Mamoun al-Hodaibi, *The American Muslim*, February 2004, 58.

¹³³ Steven Malik Shelton, “America in the Eyes of the World,” *American Muslim*, May 2003, 36.

¹³⁴ Umberine Abdullah, “Turkey Faces New Challenges,” *American Muslim*, January 2004, 32.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

Martyr operations are not suicide and should not be deemed as unjustifiable means of endangering one's life. Allah says in the Glorious Qur'an: 'And spend of your substance in the cause of Allah, and make not your own hands contribute to (your) destruction; but do good; for Allah loveth those who do good.'...Prophet Muhammad strictly forbade suicide and made it clear that anyone who commits suicide would be cast into hell. But in such case suicide means Muslim's killing himself without any lawfully accepted reason or killing himself to escape pain or social problem. On the other hand, in martyr operations, the Muslim sacrifices his own life for the Sake of performing a religious duty, which is Jihad against the enemy as scholars say...This means that martyr operations are totally different from the forbidden suicide.¹³⁷

Maha Abdulhady wrote an article entitled "A Family of Heroes" in the June 2002 issue about the wife of Jamal Mansoor (aka Abu Bakr), who "attained Shahadah (martyrdom) at the hands of an Israeli rocket." The article presents an interview with Mansoor's wife, Um Bakr:

Question: How does it feel to be the wife of a Shaheed who was said to be school in the form of a man?

Answer: Despite the empty space that my heroic husband has left as a result of his passing, I feel very proud and pleased that I am his wife and that Allah...has chosen him to be a Shaheed...I thank Allah that he selected my husband for martyrdom.

...

Question: Will you encourage your children to take the same path that their father has taken?

Answer: Yes, and I ask Allah to help me to do just that, because the path of Abu Bakr is the path to Jannah...I am ready and willing to give my life and the lives of my children for it...

...

Question: What message would you like to send to the women of Palestine during these difficult times?

Answer: I say to them, if you are weary and in pain, know that Jannah is the reward for your patience. For our martyrs are in Jannah, and their dead are in hell.¹³⁸

In the September 2001 edition, an article titled "Al-Shaheed (Martyr) Faris" declares, "If we don't sacrifice ourselves, we won't be able to make history and regain our occupied land, Palestine."¹³⁹

In the July 2003 edition, Azzam Tamimi authored an article titled "The Iraq-Palestinian Connection." He wrote:

In short to medium term, the occupation of Iraq has catastrophic implications for the Palestinian cause. The Palestinians have been deprived of one of the most supportive Arab governments, both financially and morally. [Editor's note: Saddam Hussein offered

¹³⁷ Faysal Mawlawi, "Fatwa: Questions Concerning Palestine," *American Muslim*, June 2002, 37-38.

¹³⁸ Maha Abdulhady, "A Family of Heroes," *American Muslim*, June 2002, 31-32.

¹³⁹ Al-Shaheed (Martyr) Faris, *American Muslim*, September 2001, 36.

\$25,000 to the families of each Palestinian suicide bomber.]¹⁴⁰ In addition, the positions of other supportive governments have been weakened. For example, Syria might soon reverse its policy and begin to curtail the activities of Palestinian factions and close their offices and operations. Still worse would be Syria's compliance with other U.S. demands related to disempowering Hizballah and terminating its strategic alliance with Iran.¹⁴¹

On Terrorists as "Freedom Fighters"

In the September 2003 edition of *The American Muslim*, Omer bin Abdullah wrote an article entitled, "The Muslim Struggle Against Filipino Colonialism." Discussing the U.S. government's support for Manila's campaign against Abu Sayyaf (an al Qaeda-affiliated U.S.-designated Foreign Terrorist Organization¹⁴²) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, he said:

Now, in 2003, Americans are again slaughtering Muslims under the moniker of "fighting terrorism."...The US, as part of its 'war on terror,' is playing a crucial role in the fight against indigenous Muslim freedom fighters. In the process, the US is regaining its foothold in a nation that unceremoniously kicked its troops out a decade ago.¹⁴³

A January 2004 article in *The Wall Street Journal* noted that during his interrogation, Riduan Isamuddin, a.k.a. Hambali, the head of al Qaeda's Southeast Asian operations, admitted giving \$27,000 to the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, the group the *American Muslim* article's author referred to as "a freedom fighting force."¹⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that the author applies this "freedom fighting" label twice, while still noting that the group has been alleged to be responsible for civilian deaths and to have ties to Jemaah Islamiyah, the Indonesian terrorist group responsible for the Bali bombings.¹⁴⁵

As for Abu Sayyaf, this terrorist group is allied with al Qaeda and was tied to the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center. In fact, in 2000, "Abu Sayyaf captured an American Muslim visiting Jolo Island and demanded that the United States release Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman and Ramzi Yousef, who were jailed for their involvement in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. 'We have been trying hard to get an American because they may think we are afraid of them,' a spokesman for Abu Sayyaf said. 'We want to fight the American people.'"¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁰ "Rumsfeld Confident of Iraq's Chance to be a Democracy," *U.S. Department of State Listserv* <http://lists.state.gov/SCRIPTS/WA-USIAINFO.EXE?A2=ind0403c&L=us-iraqpolicy&H=1&O=D&P=3485> (accessed July 1, 2006).

¹⁴¹ Azzam Tamimi, "The Iraq-Palestine Connection," *American Muslim*, July 2003, 21.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Omer Bin Abdullah, "The Muslim Struggle Against Filipino Colonialism," *American Muslim*, August/September 2003, 29-30.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.; Don Greenlees, "Hambali Interrogation Yields Clues," *Wall Street Journal*, January 21, 2004.

¹⁴⁵ Omer Bin Abdullah, "The Muslim Struggle Against Filipino Colonialism," *American Muslim*, August/September 2003, 29-30.

¹⁴⁶ "Backgrounder: Abu Sayyaf Group," Council on Foreign Relations, updated January 23, 2007, <http://www.cfr.org/publication/9235/> (Accessed April 5, 2007).

In the September 2003 *American Muslim* issue, Azzam Tamimi authored an article called “Yassir Arafat Is Still in Charge.” In the article, Tamimi wrote:

The roadmap stipulates that the Palestinian cabinet must first try to dismantle the infrastructure of what Israel and the US call “terrorist groups.” These are by no means restricted to Hamas and Islamic Jihad, for they included Arafat’s own al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades...The outright Israeli rejection [of the truce] was to the credit of the Palestinian factions, Hamas and Islamic Jihad, which jointly agreed upon it. Rather than Israel’s characterization of them as ‘terrorist’ groups, they are coming to be seen as freedom fighting movements capable of high-level political manoeuvring [sic].¹⁴⁷

In 2001, Tamimi gave an interview to *La Vanguardia*, in which he said, “The Israelis stole our houses, which are today occupied by Jews from Poland, Russia, Ukraine, Morocco, Ethiopia, Brooklyn. They should return to their homes, and give ours back to us! ...That's non-negotiable. Therefore I support Hamas.”¹⁴⁸

In the December 2001 issue of *The American Muslim*, Muni Abu Muhammad El-Kassem wrote, “Armed Jihad, as one can see, is not a form of terrorism.”¹⁴⁹

On U.S. Efforts to Crack Down on Alleged Terrorism Networks

In the September 2003 issue of the *American Muslim*, Raed Tayeh wrote an article entitled, “From Secret Evidence to No Evidence: The US Government fabricates evidence and sometimes uses newspaper clippings for evidence.” The article is illustrated with a large picture of Sami Al-Arian.¹⁵⁰

One of the cases Tayeh focused on was that of Sami Al-Arian. Tayeh wrote, “There is some Shakespearean irony to this case. Soon after Al Najjar was deported, Al-Arian, the most vocal opponent of secret evidence and the one who, along with his wife Nahla, successfully lobbied dozens of congressional offices and administration officials...found himself handcuffed and taken away to jail.”¹⁵¹

Tayeh continued:

They are both devout and active Muslims, stateless Palestinians, and professors. These combined attributes pose a serious danger not only to US national security, but also to the pro-Israel lobby’s solid grip on US Middle East policy. Neither man has been accused of engaging in violence -- it is their intellect and aptitude that makes them a threat...They have one more thing in common, which will be noted in the annals of American history, when our nation will look back at the period when the Department of Injustice shredded our constitution, and when the promise of America discriminated against non-citizen Americans: The US government has ruined both of their lives not on the basis of secret evidence, but on the basis of no evidence at all.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ Azzam Tamimi, “Yassir Arafat is Still in Charge,” *American Muslim*, 35.

¹⁴⁸ “Interview with Azzam Tamimi,” *La Vanguardia*, November 11, 2001.

¹⁴⁹ Munir Abu Muhammad El-Kassem, “Jihad,” *American Muslim*, December 2001, 18.

¹⁵⁰ Raed Tayeh, “From Secret Evidence to No Evidence,” *American Muslim*, September 2003, 16-17.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² *American Muslim*, February 2004

As noted earlier, as part of the plea agreement, Al-Arian admitted that he “performed services for the PIJ in 1995 and thereafter” and that he was “aware that the PIJ achieved its objectives by, among other means, acts of violence.”¹⁵³ The agreement states that the services Al-Arian performed for PIJ “included filing for Immigration benefits for individuals associated with the PIJ, hiding the identities of individuals associated with the PIJ, and providing assistance for an individual (Mazen Al Najjar) associated with the PIJ in an United States Court proceeding.”¹⁵⁴

On May 1, 2006, Al-Arian was sentenced to fifty-seven months in prison.¹⁵⁵ Speaking to Al-Arian at the sentencing hearing, Judge Moody said, “You are a master manipulator. The evidence is clear in this case. You were a leader of the PIJ.”¹⁵⁶ Commenting on Al-Arian’s level of compliance with PIJ terrorism, Moody continued, “You lifted not one finger. To the contrary, you laughed when you heard of the bombings.”¹⁵⁷ Further, Moody knocked down the defense’s position that Al-Arian was merely working on behalf of pro-Palestinian charities, telling Al-Arian: “Your only connection to widows and orphans was that you create them,” and he blasted Al-Arian’s repeated abuses of American hospitality, stating, “Your children attend the finest universities in this country, while you raise money to blow up the children of others.”¹⁵⁸

Al-Arian’s case was not the only one trumpeted in the *American Muslim*. As mentioned earlier in the section on Mahdi Bray, Abdurahman Alamoudi was indicted in September 2003 for illegal financial dealings with Libya¹⁵⁹ and, according to court documents, providing financial support to Hamas and Al Qaeda.¹⁶⁰ Alamoudi had been among America’s most prominent Muslim leaders, having led the American Muslim Council and appearing at rallies with Bray and others.

In the February 2004 issue of *American Muslim*, several months before Alamoudi entered a guilty plea, a flier was published calling for “Freedom for Abdurahman Alamoudi” and declaring “Muslim Leadership Under Siege.”

¹⁵³ *USA v. Al Arian, et al.*, 03-CR-77, plea agreement, p. 1563 (MD FL April 14, 2006).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *USA v. Al Arian, et al.*, 03-CR-77, judgment in a criminal case (MD FL May 1, 2006).

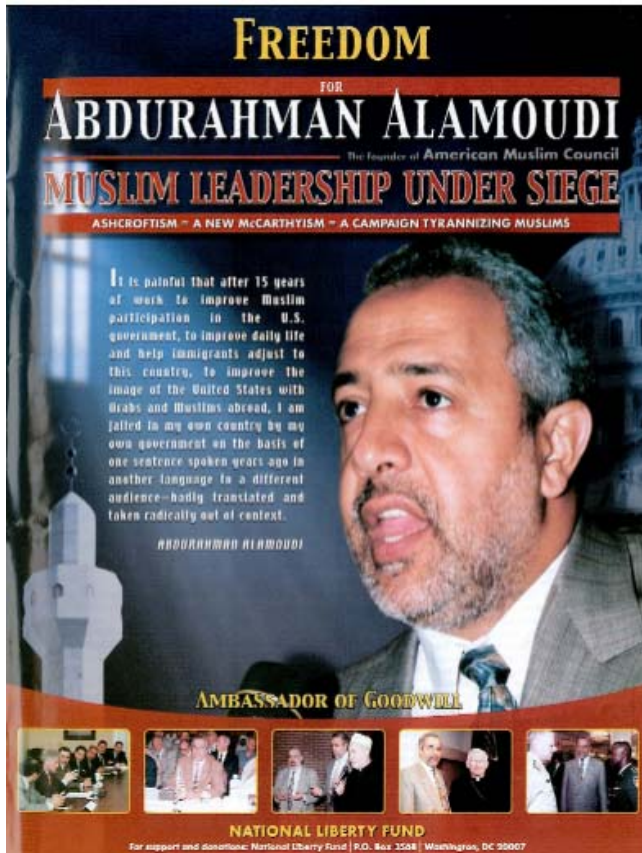
¹⁵⁶ *USA v. Al Arian, et al.*, 03-CR-77, transcript of sentencing for dates of 05/01/06 held before Judge James Moody (MD FL May 1, 2006).

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *US v. Alamoudi*, 03-1009M, (D.C. VA September 23, 2003).

¹⁶⁰ *US v. Alamoudi*, 03-1009M, “Supplemental Declaration in Support of Detention,” (D.C. Va).



In the same February 2004 issue, Ahmed Yousef, then the head of the United Association for Studies and Research wrote an article of the same title, “Muslim Leadership under Siege.” The UASR has strong connections to Hamas, having been founded by Hamas political leader Mousa Abu Marzook. In the article, Yousef, who now works as a Hamas senior political advisor in Gaza, defends Alamoudi and others he considers moderate Muslims:

Furthermore, the media have intentionally tarnished their reputations among this land’s political and legal communities. Professor Sami Al-Arian, Dr. Abdulhaleem al-Ashqar, and Abdulrahman Alamoudi are among the prominent Muslim leaders known for their openness, moderation, and remarkable efforts to build bridges between the Muslim world and the U.S.¹⁶¹

Ashqar was indicted in August 2004 for allegedly participating in a 15-year racketeering conspiracy to finance Hamas’ activities.¹⁶² He was acquitted of the terror-support charges in 2007 but convicted of obstruction of justice and criminal contempt of court.

An editorial in the December 2001 edition entitled, “A Familiar Concern,” discussed the concerns of Muslims after 9/11:

¹⁶¹ Ahmed Yousef, “Muslim Leadership under Siege,” *American Muslim*, February 2004, 22-23.

¹⁶² *US v. Marzook*, 03-CR-978, “Indictment,” (N.D. Ill August 19, 2004).

Ten days after this incident, and 48 hours after Sharon's meeting with the President, the latter announced a crackdown on the Holy Land Foundation, the largest Muslim charity, by closing its offices and freezing its assets. Worse than the decision itself and its timing, was the shallow and even ridiculous justification, which are reminiscent of those used by oppressive regimes to silence opponents and activists...Are we heading for another segregation era? Are there any rights or liberties left for Muslims?¹⁶³

Prosecutors in the ongoing trial of the HLF and its leaders claim the group funneled \$12 million to Hamas, aware that it would be used in part to further the movement's violent ambitions.

An article in the September 2002 edition of *The American Muslim*, entitled "The Impact of 9/11 on American Muslims," further discussed the asset freeze imposed against the Holy Land Foundation in addition to similar orders targeting Global Relief Foundation and Benevolence International Foundation – all charities that have allegedly funded terrorist groups. The article states:

The federal government's actions have also led to the closure of such respectable charitable organizations as Global Relief Foundations (GRF), Benevolence International Foundation (BIF), and the Holy Land Foundation (HLF). The legality of these moves, after a period of uncertainty, is currently being challenged.¹⁶⁴

It is interesting that the article's author would identify these organizations as "respectable." Each of these groups is discussed in more detail below.

- The Global Relief Foundation (GRF) began operating in the United States as a tax-exempt, nonprofit charitable organization in 1992. Based in Bridgeview, Illinois, it grew into one of the largest Islamic charities in the United States.¹⁶⁵ GRF described itself as a not-for-profit, nongovernmental organization set up to provide humanitarian and charitable relief to Muslims, especially in conflict zones such as Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chechnya, Kashmir, and Lebanon, through a network of overseas offices.¹⁶⁶ In addition to undertaking this charitable work, however, the organization served as a propaganda organ for global jihad, and the U.S. government has alleged that GRF funded violent jihadism.¹⁶⁷ GRF had an initial budget of about \$700,000.¹⁶⁸ By the end of the 1990s, it was reporting more than \$5 million in annual contributions.¹⁶⁹ The organization's tax filings indicate that 90 percent of the money donated between 1994 and 2000 was sent abroad.¹⁷⁰ An FBI memorandum notes that "some materials distributed by GRF glorify

¹⁶³ "A Familiar Concern!," *American Muslim*, December 2001, 6.

¹⁶⁴ Ghulam M. Haniff, "The Impact of 9/11 on American Muslims," *The American Muslim*, September 2002, 44.

¹⁶⁵ Global Relief Foundation Form 990, 1993.

¹⁶⁶ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, "Monograph on Terrorism Financing," 89.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 88.

¹⁶⁸ State of Illinois, Global Relief Foundation, Articles of Incorporation, January 10, 1992.

¹⁶⁹ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, "Monograph on Terrorism Financing," p. 89.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

‘martyrdom through jihad’ and state that donations will be used to buy ammunition, equip ‘the raiders’ and support the Mujahedin.”¹⁷¹ GRF had overseas registered offices in Islamabad, Pakistan; Brussels, Belgium; Sarajevo, Bosnia; Zagreb, Croatia; and Baku, Azerbaijan.¹⁷²

On December 14, 2001 the FBI raided GRF’s Bridgeview headquarters and arrested its chairman, Rabih Haddad.¹⁷³ On that same day, NATO soldiers and United Nations police raided GRF’s offices in Kosovo.¹⁷⁴ The U.S. Treasury Department’s Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) took control of GRF’s assets, informing the GRF:

The United States Government has reason to believe that Global Relief Foundation, Inc. (“GRFI”) may be engaged in activities that violate the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. §§ 1701-06 (“IEEPA”). You are hereby notified that pursuant to the authorities granted by the IEEPA, the U.S. Department of the Treasury is blocking all funds and accounts and business records in which GRFI has any interest, pending further investigation and resolution of this matter.¹⁷⁵

GRF sued then-Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neill, then-Secretary of State Colin Powell, then-Attorney General John Ashcroft, and FBI Director Robert Mueller, challenging the seizure of their assets, in January 2002.¹⁷⁶ The district court denied GRF’s request for an injunction against the defendants.¹⁷⁷ The case went to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit where the court found in favor of the defendants.¹⁷⁸

The FBI began investigating GRF prior to 9/11, suspecting that it supported Islamic extremism¹⁷⁹ and had high-level affiliations with an al Qaeda precursor organization in Pakistan.¹⁸⁰ Chicago FBI agents summarized their findings in a January 6, 2000 memo:

Although the majority of GRF funding goes toward legitimate relief operations, a significant percentage is diverted to fund extremist causes. Among the terrorist groups known to have links to GRF are the Algerian Armed Islamic Group, the Egyptian Islamic

¹⁷¹ “Feds Claim Muslim Charity Had Contact with Bin Laden Secretary,” *Associated Press*, March 28, 2002.

¹⁷² *Global News* 4, no. 1 (Winter 1997) 8.

¹⁷³ Deanna Bellandi, “FBI issues search warrants at two Islamic charities based in suburban Chicago,” *Associated Press*, December 14, 2001.

¹⁷⁴ “Feds Close Two More Muslim Groups,” CBS News, December 14, 2001.

¹⁷⁵ *Global Relief Foundation, Inc. v. New York Times Company, et al.*, 01 C 8821, “Memorandum Opinion and Order,” 7 (ND IL February 19, 2003). See Appendix for the text of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. §§ 1701-06.

¹⁷⁶ *Global Relief Foundation, Inc. v. Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neill, et. al.*, 02-C-0674, “Complaint,” (ND IL, January 28, 2002).

¹⁷⁷ *Global Relief Foundation, Inc. v. Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neill, et. al.*, Defendants-Appellees, No. 02-2536, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, 315 F.3d 748; 2002 U.S. App. LEXIS 27172, October 29, 2002, Argued, December 31, 2002, Decided.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ “Monograph on Terrorism Financing,” Staff Report to the Commission, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, August 2004, p. 87.

¹⁸⁰ “Treasury Department Fact Sheet on the Global Relief Foundation,” Department of State: Washington File, October 18, 2002.

Jihad, Gama'at Al Islamiya, and the Kashmiri Harakat Al Jihad El Islam, as well as the Al Qaeda organization of Usama Bin Laden. . . . In the past, GRF support to terrorists and other transnational mujahideen fighters has taken the form of purchase and shipment of large quantities of sophisticated communications equipment, provision of humanitarian cover documentation to suspected terrorists and fund-raising for terrorist groups under the cover of humanitarian relief.¹⁸¹

- The Benevolence International Foundation (BIF) began operating in the United States in the early 1990s.¹⁸² Founded in Saudi Arabia in the late 1980s as Lajnat al-Birr al-Islamiah (LBI), it was renamed upon incorporation in the United States.¹⁸³ Sheik Abdel Abdul Galil Batterjee, a wealthy Saudi Arabian, founded LBI. BIF provided support for the Mujahadeen fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan, as well as to facilitate the immigration of Jihadists into the conflict zone. After the war in Afghanistan ended, BIF helped al Qaeda establish its presence in the Sudan, Bosnia and Chechnya, providing support for the Mujahadeen in those conflicts as well.¹⁸⁴ BIF was shut down by the U.S. Government in December of 2001, as part of a crackdown on terrorist financing after the September 11th attack by al Qaeda.¹⁸⁵ The United States Treasury Department designated BIF as a financier of terrorism on November 19, 2002, along with two closely linked but separately incorporated entities Benevolence International Fund (Canada), Bosanska Idealna Futura (Bosnia), and their branch offices.¹⁸⁶ BIF worked with the Holy Land Foundation, a Hamas-front that had its assets frozen by the U.S. government, in its relief efforts in Palestine.¹⁸⁷ As noted earlier, the Holy Land Foundation and five of its officers currently are on trial in Dallas on charges of providing material support to Hamas.

On Israel and Palestine

In the January 2004 issue, Mohamed Khodr wrote “From Joshua to Sharon: A History of Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land.” He said:

The history of the ancient Jewish people, recorded in the Old Testament, and of the modern Israelis right up until present events with Prime Minister Sharon, is one of military conquerors, lies, myths, and ethnic cleansing in the Promised Land.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 91.

¹⁸² BIF, Articles of Incorporation, 1992.

¹⁸³ BIF, Articles of Incorporation, 1992.

¹⁸⁴ USA v. Arnaout, et al. NDIL 02-CR-892. “Government’s Evidentiary Proffer Supporting the Admissibility of Co-Conspirator Statements.” January 6, 2003 at p. 48.

¹⁸⁵ Plaintiff’s Memorandum in Opposition to Defendant’s Motion to Stay Proceedings, BIF v. Ashcroft, (N.D. Il. May 9, 2002).; “Feds Close Two More Muslim Groups” CBS News, December 14, 2001, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2001/12/14/terror/main321490.shtml>

¹⁸⁶ “Treasury Designates Benevolence International Foundation and Related Entities as Financiers of Terrorism.” US Treasury Department Press Release. PO-3632. Office of Public Affairs. Nov. 19, 2002.

¹⁸⁷ “All Eyes on Palestine.” Benevolence. December 2000.

¹⁸⁸ Mohamed Khodr, “From Joshua to Sharon: A History of Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land,” *American Muslim*, January 2004, 23.

Khodr also wrote:

For 55 years, the pro-Zionist media has indoctrinated Americans to associate terrorism with Islam and Arabs. In reality, Israel introduced terrorism, as we now understand that term, into the Middle East in order to establish itself as a nation.¹⁸⁹

A July 2003 op-ed in *The American Muslim*, entitled “The Global Community’s Responsibility in Combating Terrorism,” stated:

The killing of thousands of innocent people in the barbarous attack of September 11th, followed by events in Bali, Morocco and Riyadh is a horrific use of individual; or group violence -- as is the occupation of Palestinian lands, the killing of Palestinian civilians, the assassinating of Palestinian leaders, the bombing of Palestinian towns, the demolishing of Palestinian homes, and the expansion of Jewish settlements...distinctions need to be made between legitimate struggles for justice and liberty, and real terrorism; for not all violent acts should be categorized under terrorism. Labeling Palestinian resistance or the Kashmiri struggle for political freedom under the rubric of terrorism, while allowing, or legislating, Israeli violence against Palestinians, or India’s use of force against the Kashmiris, can only flare further violence.¹⁹⁰

Mohammed Maaley wrote “The Aqsa Intifadha: The Meaning Behind Sharon’s Invasion of Masjid al-Aqsa” in the January 2001 edition of *The American Muslim*. He said:

After seven years of failed negotiations that came immediately after six years of a successful Intifadha, the Palestinians have realized that the only way they can protect their religious as well as other rights is to extract a price on the occupation authorities. It is this realization that will likely sustain the new Aqsa Intifadha into the future.¹⁹¹

On American Power

In an article titled, “Bridging the Gap between Muslims and America,” in the April/May, 2005 *American Muslim* issue, Siraj Islam Mufti wrote:

Unfortunately, the US grand designs involve keeping Muslims in their weak, subjugated status quo and exploiting their resources for its own interests. Thus, as soon as the European colonial powers left the Muslim lands, the US became the post-colonialist neocolonialist by maintaining the authoritarian entrenched regimes or replacing them with others who co-opt. ...¹⁹²

The objective is to tame the Muslim world by exaggerating and/or creating differences between them - through a strategy of ‘divide and rule’ and to construct a new passive Islamic discourse that suits the US hegemonic

¹⁸⁹ Mohamed Khodr, “From Joshua to Sharon: A History of Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land,” *American Muslim*, January 2004, 24.

¹⁹⁰ “The Global Community’s Responsibility in Combating Terrorism,” *American Muslim*, July 2003, 33.

¹⁹¹ Mohammed Maaley, “The Aqsa Intifadha: the Meaning Behind Sharon’s Invasion of Masjid al-Aqsa,” *American Muslim*, January 2001, 22.

¹⁹² Siraj Islam Mufti, “Bridging the Gap between Muslims and America,” *American Muslim*, April/May 2005, 6.

agenda...Alongside this, Islam and Muslims are stereotyped by the media and constantly vilified by Protestant Christian evangelicals and Zionists resulting in phenomenal increase in hate crimes against Arabs and Muslims and their look-alikes...¹⁹³

Let us reiterate that the root cause of terrorism, in addition to the above, is US support of the corrupt and brutal dictatorial regimes in order that it could exercise its geopolitical control over the Muslim countries. The mainstream Islamic movements want to remedy the status quo and provide the only decent opposition but the US, as a matter of policy, encourages and partakes in their suppression by these regimes. This forces fringe opposition into employing terror tactics.

Another primary cause of terrorism is the belligerent policies of Israel in occupied Palestine with the active backing of US, which is seen as the sole defender of Israeli crimes against the Palestinians and other Muslims.¹⁹⁴

This is standard Islamist propaganda that is often repeated by terrorists who commit atrocious acts of violence. For example, two of the London bombers made statements very similar to the above quote in videos released after their attacks on the London transit system that killed more than fifty people. Radical Islam promotes the point of view that the West is out to subjugate the West and destroy Islam.

In the same issue of *The American Muslim*, Steven Malik Shelton wrote:

In fact, Hitler borrowed many of his ideas of racial purity from America and racial, ethnic, and religious groups have been targeted in America since its inception.... And with the orchestrated American belief that Muslims are at worst blood thirsty terrorists and at best untrustworthy and unpatriotic, the road is open to impose more draconian laws and privacy shattering surveillance techniques...Reportedly plans are also being made to have retinal scans taken of Iraqis and to issue identification cards.¹⁹⁵

Individuals in the American Muslim

- Ismail Royer authored an article titled “Americans Denounce War in Largest Rally Since Vietnam War Era” in the November 2002 *American Muslim*.¹⁹⁶

On January 16, 2004, Royer pled guilty to possessing a firearm during and in relation to a crime of violence and to carrying an explosive during the commission of a felony. According to the Justice Department press release, he also “admitted to aiding and abetting [his] co-defendant[s]...in gaining entry to a terrorist training camp in Pakistan operated by Lashkar-e-Taiba where they trained in the use of various

¹⁹³ Ibid., 9

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 10

¹⁹⁵ Steven Malik Shelton, “Islamophobia,” *American Muslim*, April/May 2005, 16.

¹⁹⁶ Ismail Royer, “Americans Denounce War in Largest Rally Since Vietnam War Era,” *American Muslim*, 42.

weapons, including semi-automatic pistols.”¹⁹⁷ Royer, a former CAIR and MAS communications officer, is serving a 20-year prison sentence for his role in the Virginia Paintball Jihad network.¹⁹⁸

- Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi authored the Fatwa section in the November 2002,¹⁹⁹ June 2002,²⁰⁰ and May 2003 editions of *The American Muslim*,²⁰¹ and the Sunnah section in the August/September 2003 edition.²⁰²

Qaradawi, addressed earlier in this dossier, is one of the spiritual leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood.²⁰³ He was jailed three times in Egypt and stripped of his citizenship by President Gamal Abd al- Nassr.²⁰⁴ Qaradawi has declared that suicide bombings are permissible and advisable. He said, “Each has the duty to strive with what is possible to him: his life, his words, with all he can. Jihad is an obligation on the Ummah as a whole each in his/her own field. How can we then say these are suicide bombers?”²⁰⁵

- The May 2003 book review section carries a review of *The Islamic Civilization*, written by Mustafa Sibai and translated by Hassan Al-Banna.²⁰⁶ Al-Banna founded the Muslim Brotherhood and Sibai founded the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood. A book by Al-Banna is reviewed in the March 2002 issue;²⁰⁷ one he translated is reviewed in the June 2002 edition.²⁰⁸

In September 2002, the “Understanding Islam” section of *The American Muslim* carries a picture of Al-Banna. The text notes that he “...saw the moral reform of the individual as a precondition to the Islamization of society.”²⁰⁹

¹⁹⁷ “Two Defendants in Virginia Jihad Case Plead Guilty to Weapons Charges, Will Cooperate With Ongoing Investigation,” *U.S. Department of Justice Press Release*, January 16, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/January/04_crm_030.htm (accessed July 1, 2006).

¹⁹⁸ “Randall Todd Royer and Ibrahim Ahmed Al-Hamdi Sentenced for Participation in Virginia Jihad Network,” http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/april/04_crm_225.htm (accessed July 1, 2005).

¹⁹⁹ Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, “Fatwa: Questions Concerning Fasting,” *American Muslim*, May 2003, 17.

²⁰⁰ Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, “Fatwa: Questions Concerning Palestine,” *American Muslim*, June 2002, 36-38.

²⁰¹ Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, “Fatwa: Questions Concerning Solidarity and Freedom,” *American Muslim*, May 2003, 10.

²⁰² Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, “The Sunnah,” *American Muslim*, August/September 2003, 40.

²⁰³ <http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/F7E30839-EFA2-4F86-9E05-887DEECEB3D1> (accessed July 1, 2006).

²⁰⁴ <http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/F7E30839-EFA2-4F86-9E05-887DEECEB3D1> (accessed July 1, 2006).

²⁰⁵ “Sheikh Yusuf Qaradawi During the Friday Sermon at Doha: I am a terrorist!!!,” *Qatar’s Ar-Raayah*, March 23, 2002.

²⁰⁶ “Book Review: The Islamic Civilization,” *American Muslim*, May 2003, 59.

²⁰⁷ “Album Review: Al-Ma’thurat,” *American Muslim*, March 2002, 58.

²⁰⁸ “Book Review: Islamic Manners,” *American Muslim*, June 2002, 62.

²⁰⁹ Muhammad, Amina Cisse, “Allah’s Plan for Community Development: We Must Crawl Before We Walk,” *American Muslim*, September 2002, 10.

- The December 2001 edition includes a list of further readings on the Madhahidb (Schools of Fiqh). Among those suggested readings are three works by Al-Banna, three works by Qaradawi, and a piece by Bilal Phillips.²¹⁰

According to an article in *The Washington Post*, Phillips told London's *al-Majallah* magazine, "The clash of civilizations is a reality. Western culture led by the United States is an enemy of Islam."²¹¹

- In the September 2002 issue, there is a piece entitled "Sayed Qutub [sic]: The Alive Martyr." It praises Qutb, who, as the article notes, "...supervised many of the new plans for the Muslim Brotherhood."²¹² The article says, "The martyr, Sayed Qutub, died as well, and will, *insha'Allah*, live in eternal happiness in the heaven he deserves."²¹³

Qutb left Egypt in 1948 to study in America. During his time in America, he was consistently disgusted by the American way of life. He wrote that "the white man is the enemy of humanity, and that [children] should destroy him at the first opportunity."²¹⁴ Qutb's time back in Egypt as a free man was short. When he was imprisoned in the early 1950s, he wrote his two best-known volumes, *In the Shade of the Quran* and *Milestones*, which both had a substantial influence on Osama bin Laden and Ayman al Zawahiri. Qutb wrote that the Muslim world had fallen into jahiliyyah – the state of ignorance that existed before the Prophet Muhammad established the Islamic faith. Because of this, Qutb labeled all regimes in the Islamic world as apostate puppets that must be overthrown and replaced with true Islamic governance. Qutb wrote that Muslims must not limit their efforts to defensive jihad in Muslim lands. He insisted that offensive jihad was a necessity in order to destroy secularism and man-made laws as this was the only way to ensure that Allah's law would reign supreme around the world. He was executed by the Egyptian government in 1966.²¹⁵

A significant number of advertiser in the American Muslim, such as those listed here, later were identified by the U.S. government as supporting terrorist organizations

- **Global Relief Foundation**²¹⁶

²¹⁰ Safa Alshiraida, ed., "The Madhahib," *American Muslim*, December 2001, 15.

²¹¹ John Mintz, "Muslim Troops' Loyalty a Delicate Question," *Washington Post*, November 2, 2003.

²¹² Malik M. Al-Ameen, "Sayed Qutub: The Alive Martyr," *American Muslim*, September 2002, 11.

²¹³ Malik M. Al-Ameen, "Sayed Qutub: The Alive Martyr," *American Muslim*, September 2002, 11.

²¹⁴ Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), p. 23.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ *American Muslim*, January 2001 and December 2001.

GRF had its assets frozen on October 18, 2002 for providing financial assistance to Al Qaeda.²¹⁷ For more on GRF, please see the description earlier in this dossier.

- **Islamic African Relief Agency**²¹⁸

The Islamic American Relief Agency (IARA, formerly known as the Islamic African Relief Agency-USA) has close ties to the Sudanese government and has frequently been accused of promoting Islamic fundamentalism in Africa and the Middle East.

According to a Sudanese press report, for example, IARA relief workers in war-torn southern areas of Sudan “actively propagate the Islamic religion” by demanding that people convert to Islam in exchange for food and medicine.²¹⁹

In December 1999, two federal grants totaling \$4.2 million dollars from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to IARA were withdrawn when the U.S. State Department determined that they were not in America’s “national security interests.”²²⁰

Ziyad Khaleel, who bought a satellite phone for Osama bin Laden, was detained by Jordanian authorities on December 29, 1999 on charges of being a “procurement agent” for bin Laden.²²¹ Khaleel was one of eight U.S. regional IARA fundraising directors and the former IARA website administrator.²²²

IARA was designated by the U.S. Treasury Department as a specially designated global terrorist organization for its support of Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda, and the Taliban in 2004.²²³ IARA was indicted in March 2007 “for illegally transferring funds to Iraq in violation of federal sanctions...stealing government funds, and with attempting to avoid government detection of their illegal activities by, among other things, falsely denying in a nationally-televised interview that an associate of Osama bin Laden had been an employee of IARA.”²²⁴

- **KindHearts**²²⁵

²¹⁷ Treasury Department Statement Regarding the Designation of the Global Relief Foundation, *U.S. Department of the Treasury Press Release*, October 18, 2002.

²¹⁸ *American Muslim*, January 2001, September 2001, December 2001, March 2002, November 2002, May 2003, July 2003

²¹⁹ Bona Malwal, “OLS Food Helps NIF Regime to Convert the Population to Islam,” *Sudan Democratic Gazette*, October 15, 1998.

²²⁰ Judith Miller, “Some Charities Suspected of Terrorist Role,” *The New York Times*, February 19, 2000.

²²¹ Donatella Lorch, and Daniel Klaidman, “The Plot Thickens,” *Newsweek*, February 7, 2000.

²²² Internic domain records. (<http://www.networksolutions.com/cgi-bin/whois/whois/>)

²²³ “Treasury Designates Global Network, Senior Officials of IARA for Supporting bin Laden, Others,” *U.S. Treasury Department Press Release*, October 13, 2004.

²²⁴ “Grand Jury Indicts Officers, Employees of Islamic Charity,” Office of the U.S. Attorney, Western District of Missouri, March 7, 2007.

²²⁵ *American Muslim*, November 2002, May 2003, July 2003, August/September 2003, November/December 2003, January 2004, December 2004/January 2005, April/May 2005, January/February 2006.

KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development is an Islamic charity that was incorporated in Toledo, Ohio in 2002.²²⁶ KindHearts is registered in other states including Colorado,²²⁷ Pennsylvania,²²⁸ Oklahoma,²²⁹ Nevada,²³⁰ and Indiana.²³¹

Its website describes KindHearts as “a non-profit charitable organization providing immediate disaster relief and establishing programs to improve the quality of life and foster future independence for those in need.” The organization claims that its “program emphasis” is emergency relief; water and general sanitation; sheltering refugees; sponsorship of orphans, widows, and poor families; medical and health care; rehabilitation and renovation; vocational training and education; and independent income generation and economic growth.²³²

The U.S. Treasury Department froze the assets of KindHearts on February 19, 2006. Treasury Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence Stuart Levey stated, “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.”²³³

V. MAS Conferences and Rallies

Many MAS conferences are held in cooperation with the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA),²³⁴ an Islamist organization incorporated in New York in 1971 that Georgetown University Islamic history professor Yvonne Haddad says²³⁵ has ties with the Islamist movement of Jamaat-i-Islami in Pakistan and Bangladesh.²³⁶ The Jamaat-i-Islami was founded in Lahore in present-day Pakistan in 1941 by Sayyid Abulala Mawdudi.²³⁷ Like the Muslim Brotherhood, Jamaat-i-Islami seeks to establish an Islamic government with a constitution based on the Quran and sharia.²³⁸ Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, the

²²⁶ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Ohio Secretary of State, filed January 22, 2002.

²²⁷ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Colorado Secretary of State, filed September 29, 2003.

²²⁸ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Unified Registration Statement for Charitable Organizations, filed September 9, 2002.

²²⁹ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Oklahoma Secretary of State, filed September 29, 2003.

²³⁰ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Nevada Secretary of State, filed August 18, 2003.

²³¹ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Indiana Secretary of State, filed October 17, 2003.

²³² “Mission Statement and Objectives,” Kind Hearts Website, http://www.kind-hearts.org/ramadhan/KH_mission.htm.

²³³ “Treasury Freezes Assets of Organization Tied to Hamas,” Department of Treasury, February 19, 2006, <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/js4058.htm>

²³⁴ <http://www.maskansacity.org/MAS-ICNA-Conv06-online/ConventionPoster.pdf>

²³⁵ Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens*, Oxford University Press, 2002, 238.

²³⁶ ICNA Conference materials, magazine, various 1999-2002. “About Us,” ICNA Web site, <http://icna.org/ICNA> (accessed February 4, 2005).

²³⁷ Charles Allen, *God’s Terrorists* (Cambridge, MA: De Capo Press, 2006), 270.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 271.

mastermind of the 9/11 attacks, was arrested in the home of a Jamaat-i-Islami official in Pakistan.²³⁹

MAS guest speakers have included Palestinian Islamic Jihad figure, Sami Al-Arian (discussed earlier), who spoke at a MAS-ICNA conference in December 2002.²⁴⁰ Books by Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan Al Banna; videotapes with titles such as “European Warriors of Islam” and “Women of Hizballah,” and CDs and other audio recordings preaching Jihad and martyrdom are commonly found at MAS conferences.

- At the ICNA-MAS 2002 annual convention in Chicago, Dr. Laura Drake, the editor of *Middle East Affairs Journal*, spoke in a session entitled “Palestine: Struggle for Freedom Continues.” *Middle East Affairs Journal* is the quarterly publication of the United Association for Studies and Research (UASR), a group alleged to serve as the political command for Hamas in the United States.²⁴¹ Dr. Drake commended the use of suicide bombing as a weapon against Israeli citizens, objected to suicide bombers being labeled as terrorists and expressed vitriolic hatred toward Israel:

So now the occupiers are whining to the U.S. that they’re being hit back, that they’re getting burned once in a while, that the settlers are being set aflame. Let them burn, I say, let them burn...²⁴²

So if the Palestinians resist they call this terrorism, even when they kill uniformed soldiers they call this terrorism, so let’s not be fooled...²⁴³

Nothing hurts me more than when I turn on a national news program and see someone who calls himself an Arab or a Muslim condemning this or that martyrdom operation by Palestinians. No it doesn’t just hurt me, it infuriates me....we must not condemn these displays of bravery by these heroes. No, we must be proud of the brave ones for being so innovative...²⁴⁴

- A CD sold at a July 2003 MAS-ICNA conference is entitled “The Voice of Freedom...the Voice of the Uprising.” Excerpts from tracks on this disk include the following:

#1 From the Womb of the Land

From the Womb of the Land, they are priceless gifts

²³⁹ “Pakistan Minister Confirms Al-Qa’idah Suspect Arrested at Jamaat Activist’s House,” *PTV World* (Islamabad), *BBC Monitoring*, March 4, 2003.

²⁴⁰ Ayesha Ahmad and Jamshed Bokhari, “Joint MAS-ICNA Conference Focuses on Collective Action, Outreach” *The American Muslim*, January 2003.

²⁴¹ Judith Miller, “Israel Says That a Prisoner’s Tale Links Arabs in U.S. to Terrorism,” *New York Times*, February 17, 1993.

²⁴² ICNA- MAS Annual Convention, December 2002.

²⁴³ ICNA- MAS Annual Convention, December 2002.

²⁴⁴ ICNA- MAS Annual Convention, December 2002.

A Soul covered the land as a gift
 You, World, continue taking pictures while the blood is flowing
 The Palestinians will never give up and will not accept degrading
 Teach them how to throw the stone from district to district
 Fight with the stones in the land that give birth to freedom
 From town to town, unity and free people (wuhda ahrar)
 From the water to the water, raise up the logo
 We swear to carry on Jihad, O my country, O children of my country
 The blood of the martyrs is not in vain

#2 We Don't Care About the Eid (feast)

We ripped up the card of our supplies and we picked up the gun and we said no, no, to rehabilitation
 No, oh God and Al Aqsa is beloved by Allah
 We took the martyrs of Al Aqsa in a marriage ceremony
 The martyrs of you, my land, are priceless
 We marched forward, a hand carrying the banner and another hand throws the grenade
 This is a promise for Al Qassam and Ezzedine
 Jenin merge and bring back the era of Al Qassam
 Freedom needs blood and for the sake of our country we will give it to her
 It will come back to be an Islamic country
 This is not a gift, it is a *duty* (minna)

#8 Sitting on the Horse and Pulling the Reins

From the water to the water, Palestine, Palestine
 A suicide bomber (istishady) answers the *land* and we are for you

- A flier handed out at an MAS-ICNA regional conference in Los Angeles in November 2005 included the URL www.freehamdan.com and read: "Come show your solidarity with Abdel-Jabbar Hamdan, our beloved community leader, on the day of his final trial."²⁴⁵ Hamdan had been arrested on immigration charges in July 2004.²⁴⁶ Born in a Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan, he had been living in the United States illegally on a student visa issued more than 27 years ago. On April 7, 2006, an appeals board ruled that he should be deported to Jordan.²⁴⁷ The case remains on appeal as of September 2007.
 Hamdan had previously served as a primary spokesperson and fundraiser for HLF,²⁴⁸ the Texas-based Islamic charity, suspected of funneling money to Hamas and shut down in December 2001.
- At one rally in October 2000 outside the Israeli embassy in Washington, D.C.²⁴⁹ Mahdi Bray introduced Ayman Sirajuldeen, a law professor, and stood in solidarity as

²⁴⁵2005 MAS-ICNA Western Regional Convention, November 24-26, 2005, Los Angeles, California.

²⁴⁶ "Former High-Ranking Official for Holy Land Foundation Ordered Removed from the United States," *ICE News Release*, February 8, 2005.

²⁴⁷H.G. Reza, "Muslim Should Be Deported, Board Rules," *Los Angeles Times*, April 12, 2006.

²⁴⁸ "Former High-Ranking Official for Holy Land Foundation Ordered Removed from the United States," *ICE News Release*, February 8, 2005.

²⁴⁹ Rally Outside the Israeli Embassy, Washington D.C., October 7, 2000.

Sirajuldeen gave an incendiary speech. Sirajuldeen compared Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Ariel Sharon to Adolf Hitler, then led the crowd in a responsive chant: “Khaibar, Khaibar, Ya Yahud. Jaysh Muhammed Safayood!”²⁵⁰ [“Khaibar, Khaibar, Oh Jews, the Army of Muhammed is coming for you!”]

At the same rally, Bray played a tambourine as a man led participants in a chant in Arabic: “Al-Aqsa is calling us, let us all go on the Jihad, and throw stones at the face of the Jews.”²⁵¹

- At a MAS Freedom Foundation “Muslim Solidarity Day” rally on May 24, 2003, Imam Abdelhalim Musa of Masjid al-Islam in Washington D.C. stated:

So when we have leaders in Palestine going out and fighting in the way of Allah our Imams should not be jumping up on television talking about how they are suicide bombers. They are not suicide bombers. They are martyrs. The Zionists are suicide bombers...Sharon is a suicide bomber. A long time suicide bomber, murderer, killer. He is not the prime minister he is the crime minister. He is the head of the Zionist mafia. This illegal state of Israel is a Zionist mafia.²⁵²

VI. MAS Website Content

The website of the MAS chapter in Minnesota is explicit about MAS’ ideological symmetry with the Muslim Brotherhood. One essay, “To Be a Muslim,” has a section entitled “The Compulsory Nature of Islamic Activism.” An excerpt from this section endorses the creation of Islamic governments worldwide:

Working for Islam equally means to form a society that is committed to the Islamic way of thinking and Islamic way of life, which means to form a government that implements principles of justice embodied in the shariah to guard the rights of every person and community, and establish truth and justice, and at the same time call others toward Islam – truth, peace, and justice. These three responsibilities are obligatory not merely for the entire Muslim community but for every individual Muslim until we have established a system of governance adequate to the task. Until the nations of the world have functionally Islamic governments, every individual who is careless or lazy in working for Islam is sinful. These sins of omission will not be forgiven until they take a quick action to carry out all their responsibilities and Islamic duties.²⁵³

Another section of “To Be a Muslim,” entitled “The Islamic Movement: Its Task, Characteristics, and Tools,” quotes Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan Al-Banna:

Western secularism moved into a Muslim world already estranged from its Qur’anic roots, and delayed its advancement for centuries, and will continue to do so until we drive it from our lands. Moreover, we will not stop at this point, but will pursue this evil force to its own lands, invade its Western heartland, and struggle to overcome it until all the

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² MAS Freedom Foundation, “Muslim Solidarity Day Rally,” May 24, 2003.

²⁵³ http://www.masnm.org/Books/Fathi_Yakan/To_Be_A_Muslim/009.htm (accessed 9/23/04).

world shouts by the name of the Prophet and the teachings of Islam spread throughout the world. Only then will Muslims achieve their fundamental goal, and there will be no more "persecution" and all religion will be exclusively for Allah.²⁵⁴

VII. MAS Website Links

Until at least June 8, 2003, MAS' national website provided links to these other sites under the heading, "Islamic Resources:"²⁵⁵

Al Manar – Al Manar is the official television station of Hizballah.²⁵⁶

Hizb-ut-Tahrir – An extremist worldwide organization with the goal of reestablishing the Islamic Caliphate.²⁵⁷

Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) – Hamas' primary political support organization in the United States. A 2001 Immigration and Naturalization Service memo documented IAP's support for Hamas and found that the "facts strongly suggest" that IAP was "part of Hamas' propaganda apparatus."²⁵⁸

IAP came up in a memorandum opinion in the case of *Holy Land Foundation v. Ashcroft*, in which the Holy Land Foundation unsuccessfully sued then-Attorney General John Ashcroft to challenge its designation as a Specially Designated Terrorist Entity. HLF U.S. District Judge Gladys Kessler found the following:

Further, there is evidence in the record that, at the same time Hamas was funding HLF, it was also funding a network of organizations connected to HLF. There is evidence that at least one of these organizations, Islamic Association for Palestine ("IAP"), has acted in support of Hamas. [Editor's note: Footnote 17 in Judge Kessler's decision, "There is evidence in the record that IAP distributes information on behalf of Hamas. See AR 1499-1535.] The Government contends that HLF knew of Hamas' funding of these organizations because HLF's leaders were associated with or related on a familial basis to the leaders of the other funded organizations.²⁵⁹

In November 2004, a federal magistrate judge held IAP civilly liable for \$156 million in the 1996 shooting of an American citizen by a Hamas member in the West Bank.²⁶⁰ The judge found that IAP had "published and distributed an abundance of pro-Hamas documents."²⁶¹

²⁵⁴ http://www.masmn.org/Books/Fathi_Yakan/To_Be_A_Muslim/010.htm (accessed 9/23/04).

²⁵⁵ "Islamic Resources," Muslim American Society National Website (Archive, June 8, 2003), <http://web.archive.org/web/20030212193923/www.masnet.org/links.htm> (Accessed August 1, 2007).

²⁵⁶ Nicholas Blanford, "Hizbullah Sharpens its Weapons in Propaganda War," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 28, 2001.

²⁵⁷ Jeremy Page, "Tashkent Attacks 'Work of London Islamists'," *The Times* (London), August 2, 2004.

²⁵⁸ In the matter of Hasan Faisal Yousef Sabri, Notice of Revocation of petition for Amerasian, Widow, or Special Immigrant (Form I-360), Attachment.

²⁵⁹ *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. John Ashcroft*, 02-442, "Memorandum Opinion" 21 (D DC, August 8, 2002).

²⁶⁰ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute, et al*, I11 00-CV-2905 "Memorandum and Order" Nov. 10, 2004.

²⁶¹ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute, et al*, I11 00-CV-2905 "Memorandum and Order" Nov. 10, 2004.

The personal website for **Yusuf al-Qaradawi**, the Muslim Brotherhood luminary based in Qatar.

Jamaat-i-Islami – A major Islamic political party in Pakistan, which has the goal of creating an Islamic state in that country.

The Muslim Brotherhood – Up until at least November 28, 2002, the official MAS website linked to a website of the Muslim Brotherhood.²⁶² This link was removed by February 3, 2003.²⁶³

VIII. MAS in its Own Words

Statements by MAS and its Leadership

On the death of Muslim Brotherhood Supreme Guide Mustafa Mashour

The Muslim American Society joins the entire Muslim world in mourning the grave loss of Sheikh Mustafa Mashour, the Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, the seventy-four-year-old Islamic movement founded by the late Imam Hassan Elbanna in Egypt. “This is a grave loss for the Muslim World and the Islamic movement everywhere,” said Shaker Elsayed, secretary general of the Muslim American Society. “To Allah we belong, and to Him we return.”²⁶⁴

MAS (former) Secretary General Shaker El Sayed

At the December 2002 ICNA-MAS conference, Shaker El Sayed, then secretary general of MAS, had this to say, in Arabic, about Palestinian suicide bombers:

... about the subject unfairly named suicide bomber, homicide bomber, murderers, or killers. Our answer to this issue is simple...The Islamic scholars said whenever there is an attack on an Islamic state or occupation, or the honor of the Muslims has been violated, the Jihad is a must for everyone, a child, a lady and a man. They have to make Jihad with every tool that they can get in their hand. Anything that they can get in their hand and if they don't have anything in their hand then they can fight with their hand without weapons.²⁶⁵

At a June 5, 2001 press conference and sit-in at the State Department, Sayed was asked, “Do you condemn the terrorist attacks from Hamas and the suicide bombings?” He replied:

I made a statement that we do support the Palestinian resistance...The so-called Israeli settlers are not civilian population. They are military reserves, they are armed, trained and

²⁶² “Islamic Resources,” Muslim American Society National Website (Archive, November 28, 2002) <http://web.archive.org/web/20021207130043/masnet.org/links.htm> (Accessed August 1, 2007).

²⁶³ “Islamic Resources,” Muslim American Society National Website (Archive, February 3, 2003) <http://web.archive.org/web/20030212193923/www.masnet.org/links.htm> (Accessed August 1, 2007).

²⁶⁴ <http://www.mascolumnbus.org/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=24> (accessed September 23, 2004).

²⁶⁵ ICNA-MAS Convention, December 26, 2002.

dangerous. They invade the Palestinian neighborhoods at night and squander everything. They kill, they maim, and they destroy homes. If I were there, I would use every power in my hand to defend my family.²⁶⁶

At the same press conference, Sayed said,

Only when Israel complies with international law that the Palestinians will stop throwing stones and shells and rocket attacks, but so long as occupation continues, we say to the Palestinian people, 'Go ahead. Continue your fight against occupation no matter what name they give you because we give you the name of courageous people who stand for the rights and we're standing with you' ... My name is Shaker el-Sayed ... I am the Secretary General of Muslim American Society.²⁶⁷

Sayed also commented on the FBI's September 7, 2001 raid of Infocom and subpoena of documents from the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) and Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP):

MAS denounces the Justice Department's decision to start a full-scale investigation of this and previous raids of Islamic businesses and organizations. Islamic organizations like other religious organizations should enjoy all the legal rights stipulated in the American Constitution and should be treated only according to the due process of law. Until then, we stand by all Islamic businesses and Islamic organizations, especially in the case of InfoCom, HLF, and IAP.²⁶⁸

In March 2004, a federal court in Virginia convicted three American Muslims -- Masoud Ahmad Khan, Seifullah Chapman, and Hammad Abdur-Raheem -- of conspiring to assist Laskar-e-Taiba, a Pakistan-based group, to wage "violent jihad" in Kashmir and Afghanistan. The men were part of the "Virginia Paintball Jihad network," in which a group of men trained for jihad against the United States by playing paintball in the Virginia countryside. Sayed alleged the verdicts were a result of "U.S. Justice Department rule by paranoia."²⁶⁹ He added, "It is evident that Muslims should not expect justice... Muslims are besieged after 9/11, for no fault of their own."²⁷⁰

On Ali al-Timimi, spiritual leader of the cell, accused (and ultimately convicted)²⁷¹ of encouraging American Muslims to fight against U.S. military forces in Afghanistan, Sayed had this to say before the conclusion of the trial: "He is not accused of anything except talking. It's all about him saying something... If this isn't a First Amendment issue, I don't know what is."²⁷² After al-Timimi's conviction, Elsayed said, "Ali never

²⁶⁶ Press conference and Sit In, U.S. Department of State, Washington D.C., June 5, 2001

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Statement by Shaker El Sayed, Press Conference on InfoCom Raid, September 7, 2001.

²⁶⁹ Arlo Wagner, "Three Found Guilty of Conspiracy to Support Terrorism," *Washington Times*, March 5, 2004.

²⁷⁰ James Dao, "3 American Muslims Convicted of 'Helping Wage Jihad,'" *New York Times*, March 5, 2004.

²⁷¹ Mathew Barakat, "Islamic Scholar Ali al-Timimi Convicted," *Associated Press*, April 26, 2005, <http://apnews.myway.com/article/20050426/D89N6KK80.html> (accessed June 1, 2005).

²⁷² Jerry Markon, "Terrorism Case Puts Words of Muslim Leader On Trial in Va.," *Washington Post*, April 4, 2005.

opened a weapon or fired a shot...and he is going to get life imprisonment for talking. What kind of country are we turning the United States into today?" He added, "The government alleged Ali incited people to buy arms and take them overseas to fire against people, but they never presented anything at the trial to show any facts relevant to any evidence. They only relied on Ali's lectures."²⁷³

MAS President Esam Omeish

Omeish, a member of MAS' board of directors, is currently the organization's president.²⁷⁴ Speaking at a MAS conference in April 2004 on Israel's killing of Hamas' spiritual leader Sheikh Yassin, Omeish stated that "our taxpayers' dollars paid for the assassination of our beloved Sheikh Yassin."²⁷⁵

On the "moderate" nature of the Muslim Brotherhood and the group's influence on MAS, Omeish has written in a letter to the *Washington Post* that was never published, "The moderate school of thought prevalent in the Muslim Brotherhood represents a significant trend in Islamic activism in the United States and the West, and we in MAS accordingly have been influenced by that moderate Islamic school of thought as it applies to our American identity and relevance for our American reality ... The influence of Muslim Brotherhood ideas has been instrumental in defining our understanding of Islam within the American and Western context in order to espouse the values of human dialogue, tolerance and moderation; the genuine love of one's country and care for its welfare and prosperity; and the fostering of proactive involvement within society, fulfilling one's responsibility and claiming one's rights in the greater diversity of our country."²⁷⁶

Former Freedom Foundation Public Affairs Director Raed Tayeh

Public Affairs Director Tayeh²⁷⁷ led an online discussion on "Civil Rights and Liberties Post 9/11" in January 2004. He was asked the following question: "I am a non-Muslim. I am curious to know about why many Muslim institutions were targeted -- particularly Mr. Alamoudi. Why they are attacking moderate Muslims?" He answered:

I believe that the government's moves against Muslim organizations has been fueled by individuals inside and outside of the government who have a pro-Israel agenda. This is not a conspiracy theory that I'm peddling, but if you analyze the accusations thrown at the organizations

²⁷³ Timothy Dwyer, "Prosecution Called 'Overzealous'; Guilty Verdict in Terror Case Angers Muslims Who Know Lecturer," *Washington Post*, April 27, 2005.

²⁷⁴ He is referred to at MAS/ICNA 2002 and 2004 conferences and listed on programs as a board member. See also "MAS President Letter to Washington Post,"

http://www.masnet.org/pressroom_release.asp?id=1664 (accessed September 16, 2004).

²⁷⁵ Muslim American Society Midwest Regional Conference, Kansas City, April 10, 2004.

²⁷⁶ "MAS President Letter to the Washington Post," September 16, 2004, http://www.masnet.org/pressroom_release.asp?id=1664 (accessed May 25, 2005).

²⁷⁷ <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Guestcv.asp?hGuestID=8Anl0V> (accessed July 1, 2006) In spring of 2004, Raed Tayeh left the Freedom Foundation and took a position as communications director for the American Muslims for Jerusalem.

and leaders that have been targeted, you can thread common links, the most major being the accusation that someone these people and groups supported Palestinian resistance groups such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Very few of these investigations are centered around issues related to Al Qaeda, the ones who actually attacked this country. Our government is wasting time and resources doing Israel's dirty work, and based on hyped up accusations that really don't prove that there was any wrongdoing.²⁷⁸

Ibrahim Ramey, Civil and Human Rights Director for MAS Freedom

In the wake of Attorney General Alberto Gonzalez's resignation in August 2007, Ramey made the following comment in a MAS newsletter.

"Muslims, of course, certainly feel this shift away from the promotion and protection of equal justice under the law. We have, thanks to Gonzalez and company, experienced an unprecedented attack against Muslim charities, institutions, and vocal critics of war and injustice, all wrapped in the banner of anti-terrorism. Countless innocent people, and their families, suffer because of Mr. Gonzales and his warped sense of values."²⁷⁹

IX. MAS Press Releases and Statements Defending Those Accused of Violence or Support for Terrorist Activities

On October 16, 2002, MAS issued a press release defending Jamil Al-Amin (H. Rap Brown), Abdurahman Alamoudi, and Sami Al-Arian, claiming that the government had targeted them simply "because of their attempts to organize the Muslim community, politically, and otherwise."²⁸⁰

On February 20, 2003, MAS issued a statement on the arrest of Sami Al-Arian, suspected of leading PIJ in the United States: "The arrest of Prof. Sami Al-Arian today conforms to a pattern of political intimidation by an Attorney General who seems to be targeting the American Muslim community's leaders and institutions in a drive to erode Americans' civil liberties. ... The Department of Justice has the discretion of whom it prosecutes and when. After ten years of investigating Dr. Al-Arian because of his political views and failing to come up with any evidence of a crime, we must ask why the department chose today to accuse him of wrongdoing. ... As an outspoken defender of American constitutional freedoms and civil liberties, Dr. Al-Arian would seem to be the perfect target of arrest for an administration bent on dismantling those liberties"²⁸¹

An April 2006 MAS press release called the Al-Arian prosecution a "political witch hunt" and accused the government of going "on a political fishing expedition to convict Dr. Al Arian."²⁸² The press release further noted, "Our government has wasted millions of taxpayer dollars and expended thousands of hours of FBI time to prosecute a Muslim

²⁷⁸ Online discussion on "Civil Rights and Liberties," January 8, 2004.

²⁷⁹ Ibrahim Ramey, MAS Freedom Newsletter, August 29, 2007.

²⁸⁰ <http://www.mascolumnbus.org/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=109> (accessed September 23, 2004).

²⁸¹ Muslims Question Timing, Intent Behind Arrest of Muslim Professor," February 20, 2003, <http://www.mascolumnbus.org/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=51> (accessed August 12, 2004).

²⁸² "Justice Delayed is Justice Denied for Professor Sami Al Arian," *MAS Press Release*, April 24, 2006.

who loves his country, for exercising his right to free speech. They came up with nothing ... they missed a real threat also living in Florida at the same time, Mohammad Atta, who, along with other terrorists, was responsible for the tragic death of so many innocent American lives.”²⁸³ On April 14, 2006, Al-Arian admitted he raised money for PIJ as well as conspired to hide the identities of other individuals affiliated with the terrorist group, including his brother-in-law, Mazen Al-Najjar. He also admitted to knowing “that PIJ achieved its objectives by, among other means, acts of violence.”²⁸⁴

On October 2, 2003, MAS issued a statement on the arrest of Abdurahman Alamoudi (see pages 7-8) stating: “There is great concern among legal and civil rights activists that this case is being tried in the media. The techniques include a misrepresentation of Alamoudi’s character, the deliberate omission of the outstanding contributions he has made to the Muslim community and to his country, and the denial of his right to the presumption of innocence through the use of guilt-by-association tactics.”²⁸⁵

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ *USA v. Al Arian, et al.*, 03-CR-77. “Plea Agreement.” (MD FL April 14, 2006).

²⁸⁵ “The Case of Abdurahman Alamoudi--Update,” *MAS Alert*, October 2, 2003.
<http://www.masnet.org/takeaction.asp?id=512> (accessed July 1, 2006).