



**HIDDEN IN PLAIN SIGHT: CONFRONTING THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD NETWORK
IN AMERICA**

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Hidden in Plain Sight: Confronting the Muslim Brotherhood Network in America

Written Testimony of

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Committee on the Judiciary

U.S. Senate

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Chairman Cruz, Ranking Member Whitehouse, esteemed members of the Committee:

Thank you for the opportunity to testify on the topic of confronting the Muslim Brotherhood network in America.

Introduction

In a 2008 federal trial¹, the Texas-based Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF) and five of its officials were convicted of providing material support to Hamas. At that trial, the government introduced extensive evidence about the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas, and that evidence is part of the public record today. The prosecution identified a decades-long conspiracy involving numerous individuals in the United States and abroad, to support Hamas via front organizations in the United States. Those front organizations held different roles in the conspiracy, but all worked cohesively to support Hamas. One of the individuals implicated in the conspiracy, Ismail Elbarasse, was the subject of a federal search warrant in 2004 (hereinafter the *Elbarasse Search*) wherein the FBI discovered and seized an archive of US Muslim Brotherhood records, many of which were admitted as evidence at the HLF trial. I have intimate knowledge about this network as I am a retired FBI Special Agent who worked counterterrorism matters for over 22 years and led the HLF investigation between 2001-2008.

The Muslim Brotherhood's presence in the United States began in the 1960s, and quickly evolved into a sophisticated structure which will be discussed more fully herein. The United States Muslim Brotherhood's Palestine Committee served as the original Hamas infrastructure in the United States, initially consisting of the HLF (the fundraising arm), the Islamic Association

¹ In 2007, the *United States v. HLF* trial took place and ended in a mistrial after the jury could not reach a unanimous verdict on all counts. The case was retried in 2008, ending in convictions of all defendants.

for Palestine (IAP, the propaganda arm), and the United Association for Studies and Research (UASR, the think tank). At the trial, still today the largest successful terrorism financing prosecution in American history, the IAP and UASR were identified as unindicted co-conspirators/joint venturers as was the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR).² Further, many key unindicted individuals and entities in the U.S. were also identified at the trial in witness testimony, search-warrant derived documents, and FBI wire-taps. It is important to note that the HLF and the five officers were convicted in that trial by a jury, a conviction that the defendants appealed on numerous grounds. The convictions were affirmed by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals³ and *certiorari* was denied by the Supreme Court.⁴ Allies of this network falsely labeled the HLF defendants as political prisoners, implying they were wrongly imprisoned merely for their beliefs and without acknowledging they were afforded due process, a fair trial with a jury whom their attorneys helped select, a substantial appellate court record and affirmation of the guilty verdicts.⁵

On October 14, 2025, Senator Tom Cotton and Representative Elise Stefanik sent a letter to the Department of Treasury, requesting that Treasury initiate an investigation into CAIR, for any potential ties between CAIR and Hamas (the “Congressional Letter”). CAIR responded with a letter of its own wherein it stated, “CAIR is not and has never been an agent, affiliate, offshoot, subsidiary, supporter, partner, funder, representative, supporter, or pen pal of any militant group.” CAIR attacked the “Bush administration’s improper listing of over 250 organizations as unindicted coconspirators in the deeply flawed and widely criticized trial of the Holy Land Foundation.” In its letter, CAIR stated the government’s identification of these groups as co-conspirators was ruled “unconstitutional” by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. That statement is false as the Fifth Circuit made no such ruling.⁶ Consistently but falsely, on its website, CAIR disputes its involvement in the conspiracy under “Urban Legend #1: CAIR is part of a conspiracy, sometimes alleged to be a plot hatched by the Muslim Brotherhood, to infiltrate the U.S. government and subvert the U.S. Constitution.”⁷

Background

To properly understand the activities and functions of the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) in the U.S., it is essential to examine their origins, goals, and their evolution from Hamas’ founding in 1987 through the present. Key events occurred in the early

² *United States v. El-Mezain*, 664 F.3d 467, 486 (5th Cir. 2011).

³ *United States v. El-Mezain, et al.* 664 F. 3d 467, 484 (5th Cir. 2011).

⁴ *El-Mezain v. United States*, 568 U.S. 977 (2012).

⁵ “Nida Abu Baker on the Holy Land 5: ‘They put these men in prison because they don’t want you in the streets today protesting a genocide,’” *Samidoun: Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network*, August 11, 2024 <https://samidoun.net/2024/08/nida-abu-baker-on-the-holy-land-5-they-put-these-men-in-prison-because-they-dont-want-you-in-the-streets-today-protesting-a-genocide/>

⁶ Barry Jonas and Lara Burns, “CAIR’s Familiar Dance: Denial and Deflection in the Face of Scrutiny,” George Washington University, Program on Extremism, October 2025, <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-10/CAIR%E2%80%99s%20Familiar%20Dance.pdf>

⁷ <https://www.cair.com/dispelling-rumors-about-cair/>; <https://cairtx.org/dispelling-rumors-about-cair/>

1990s, when U.S.-based Hamas leaders solidified their plan to infiltrate politics, media and universities on behalf of Hamas and to begin seeding a pro-terror, anti-Semitic, anti-Western narrative to the U.S. public. Understanding this evolution is imperative to recognizing how certain current organizations and individuals are intentionally driving pro-terror agendas in the U.S. today.

Short History of the Muslim Brotherhood

A discussion of the activities and functions of Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʿIslāmiyyah, the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), warrants examining its mother movement. The Muslim Brotherhood, al-Ikwan al-Muslimin, is arguably the most influential modern-day Islamist movement in the world.⁸ Its ideology is based, in large part, on the belief that all aspects of life, society and government should be administered according to a specific, strict interpretation of Islamic law. It should be noted here that Islam is a religion while Islamism is a political ideology;⁹ they are not the same and should not be confused.

The Muslim Brotherhood's foundation lies in its grass roots efforts to spread its ideology and win the hearts and minds of a population through a combination of proselytization and the provision of social services (sometimes referred to as *da'wa*).¹⁰ Although the Muslim Brotherhood utilizes the *da'wa* to further its agenda, it does not reject violence and in certain circumstances supports the use of violent jihad.¹¹

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in 1928 in Egypt by Hassan al-Banna and quickly spread through the Arab world, including the Gaza Strip. The cornerstone of what began as the Muslim Brotherhood's civilian infrastructure in Gaza was Al-Mujama Al-Islami (also known as the Islamic Center or the Islamic Complex), founded by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin in 1973.¹² Other key leaders of Al-Mujama Al-Islami included Abdel Aziz al-Rantisi, Ibrahim al-Yazuri, and Mahmud al-Zahar¹³ – all of whom would become senior leaders of Hamas. Al-Jam'iya Al-Islamiyah (also known as the Islamic Society or Islamic Association of Gaza) was another key entity founded by Sheikh Yassin that emerged out of Al-Mujama Al-Islami in 1976.¹⁴ The Muslim Brotherhood in

⁸ Lorenzo Vidino, *The Muslim Brotherhood in the United Kingdom*, George Washington University, Program on Extremism, December 2015.

<https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/downloads/MB%20in%20the%20UK.pdf>

⁹ Soner Cagaptay, "Muslims vs. Islamists," The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, July 8, 2016,

<https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/muslims-vs-islamists>

¹⁰ Lorenzo Vidino, *The Muslim Brotherhood in the United Kingdom*, George Washington University, Program on Extremism, December 2015.

<https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/downloads/MB%20in%20the%20UK.pdf>

<https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/downloads/MB%20in%20the%20UK.pdf>

¹¹ Ziad Abu-Amr, *Hamas: A Historical and Political Background*, *Journal of Palestine Studies* XXII, no. 4 (Summer 1993) ("Hamas"),

¹² Shaul Mishal & Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (Columbia University Press, 2000 ("The Palestinian Hamas"), pp. 18-19.

¹³ See also Ziad Abu-Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza* (Indiana University Press, 1994) ("Fundamentalism"), p. 16.

¹⁴ Mishal & Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas*, p. 20.

Gaza thrived and spread under Yassin's guidance, and by the early 1980s, it had assumed control over the Islamic University of Gaza.¹⁵

By the early 1960s, the Muslim Brotherhood had built a presence in the U.S., where its members functioned primarily through student unions on college campuses, most particularly through the Muslim Students Association (MSA).¹⁶ The Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S. evolved quickly and by the late 1980s, had a formalized structure, an elected decision making body (the shura council), a presiding official (the Masul El-Am), and numerous covert front organizations whose ostensible purpose was to aid, support, and celebrate the U.S.'s Arab and Muslim community, but were stealthily designed to seed an Islamist narrative and radicalize others.¹⁷

An Arabic document, drafted by senior U.S. Muslim Brotherhood leader Mohamed Akram (also known as Mohamed Akram Adlouni, hereinafter Mohamed Akram) and entitled "Preliminary Vision for Preparing Future Leadership," was seized in the abovementioned *Elbarasse Search* and introduced as evidence in the HLF trial. The document identified key U.S. Muslim Brotherhood leaders as of 1988. It contained a chart (hereinafter *The 1988 Chart*) of the leadership and their roles.¹⁸ It also contained the names of various front organizations including but not limited to the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), North American Islamic Trust (NAIT), the Muslim Arab Youth Association (MAYA), and the Muslim Students Association (MSA).

¹⁵ See also Abu-Amr, *Hamas*, p. 7.

¹⁶ Ilyas Ba-Yunus and Kassim Kone, *Muslims in the United States* (Greenwood Press, 2006); Steve A. Johnson, "The Muslims of Indianapolis," in Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Jane Idleman Smith, eds., *Muslim Communities in North America* (State University of New York Press, 1994);

Government Exhibit Elbarasse Search-2, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"), https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-12/elbarasse_search_2_.pdf

¹⁷ Government Exhibit Elbarasse Search-2, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"), https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-12/elbarasse_search_2_.pdf

¹⁸ Government Exhibit Elbarasse Search-4, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"), https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-12/elbarasse_search_4.pdf

(*Chart of the capability of the present leadership and the size of task distribution*)

The Apparatuses	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	2	1	(7*)	(5*)	(5*)	3	1	1	3	4	3	1	1
(1) The Shura	Al-Qadi	Al-Jabri	Subani	Tariq	Mousa	Gaddour	Jaghli	Talel	Walid	Nasr	Hani	Khalil	Ghadi
(2) The office	Al-Qadi	Mousa	Subani	Gaddour	Nazim								
(3) Gaf Dha Ta	Gaddour	Akram	Nasr	Abd-al-Mannan	Al-Haydar								
(4) Institutions	Subani	Bassam	Tariq	Zaki	Hamid	Shawid							
(5) Financial	Nazim	Al-Haydar	Salah	(IL)	Alamoudi								
(6) Political													
(7) The sisters	Abd-al-Mannan	1	2	3									
(8) The planning	Akram	Tariq	Subani	Hani	Nasr								
(9) Legal	Walid	Mousa											
(10) The court	Hanooti	Elmezzain	Adam										
(11) Special Committee	Jamal	Bassam	Mousa	Subani	Akram	Tariq							
(12) Social	Elmezzain	Sadoun	Hamid										
(13) Curricula	Tariq	Akram	Subani	Hanooti									
(14) Security	Izzat	Khalil	M. Salah	Darwish									
(15) Capabilities	Wiam	Walid	Safwat	Husayn									
(16) Palestine C.	Mousa	Subani	Akram	Yasir	Hamud	Isam							
(17) D. Regions	Hani	Nasr	Safwan	Husayn	Safwat	Bashir	Elmezzain	Talel					
(18) ISNA	Zaki	Dawud	Imtiyaz	Siddiq	Mraywid	Faysal	Idris	Anwar	Qutbi				
(19) MAYA	Hattab	Shukri	Husayn	Haddad	Izzat	Al-Said	Rasid	Al-Mashed					
(20) MSA	Ghulam	Riyad	Sati	Isam	Hamid	Hamush	Farhat	Abd-al-Azim	Abd-al-Rahman				
(21) MISG	Husni	Adrus	Abd-al-Latif	Irfan	Elmezzain								
(22) NAIT	Bassam	Jamal	Zaki	Sabir	Masrur	Jabir	Qutbi	(IL)					
(23) MYNA	Badiyya	Abu Karam	Nidal	Nurashma	Abd-al-Jabbar	Jihad Fahmy	(IL)						
(24) AMSS	Abu Slayman												
(25) AMSE	Bartuma												
(26) MMA	Wahhaj Ahmad												
N) Schools and Education													
E) Communities and Centers													
W) Youth													
Economic C.													
	* Tasks size												

(IL)
UsrasUnited States v. Holy Land Foundation et al., Gov't Exhibit Elbarasse Search-4, Page 5¹⁹

The U.S. Muslim Brotherhood's agenda was memorialized in a 1991 document entitled "Explanatory Memorandum," (hereinafter *The Explanatory Memorandum*) and written by Mohamed Akram, who is also listed as a senior leader in *The 1988 Chart* and will be discussed further herein. The *Explanatory Memorandum* outlined a strategy, a "Grand jihad," to sabotage Western society from within "so that it is eliminated." Attached to it was a list of U.S.-based organizations who could contribute to that mission. Many of those organizations were also included in the *1988 Chart* above, including NAIT, ISNA, MSA, and MAYA among others.

¹⁹ https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-12/elbarasse_search_4.pdf

4- Understanding the role of the Muslim Brother in North America:

The process of settlement is a "Civilization-Jihadist Process" with all the word means. 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. Without this level of understanding, we are not up to this challenge and have not prepared ourselves for Jihad yet. It is a Muslim's destiny to perform Jihad and work wherever he is and wherever he lands until the final hour comes, and there is no escape from that destiny except for those who chose to slack. But, would the slackers and the Mujahedeen be equal.

*United States v. Holy Land Foundation at al., Excerpt from Gov't Exhibit Elbarasse Search 3.*²⁰

Attached to *The Explanatory Memorandum* was a list in English entitled, "A list of our organizations and the organizations of our friends."

²⁰ <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-12/Elbarasse%20Search%203.pdf>

Bate #ISE-SW 1B10/ 0000427

Attachment number (1)

A list of our organizations and the organizations of our friends
[Imagine if t they all march according to one plan!!!]

- 1- ISNA = ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA
- 2- MSA = MUSLIM STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION
- 3- MCA = THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES ASSOCIATION
- 4- AMSS = THE ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SOCIAL SCIENTISTS
- 5- AMSE = THE ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS
- 6- IMA = ISLAMIC MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

- 7- ITC = ISLAMIC TEACHING CENTER
- 8- NAIT = NORTH AMERICAN ISLAMIC TRUST
- 9- FID = FOUNDATION FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
- 10- IHC = ISLAMIC HOUSING COOPERATIVE
- 11- ICD = ISLAMIC CENTERS DIVISION
- 12- ATP = AMERICAN TRUST PUBLICATIONS
- 13- AVC = AUDIO-VISUAL CENTER
- 14- IBS = ISLAMIC BOOK SERVICE
- 15- MBA = MUSLIM BUSINESSMEN ASSOCIATION
- 16- MYNA = MUSLIM YOUTH OF NORTH AMERICA
- 17- IFC = ISNA FIQH COMMITTEE
- 18- IPAC = ISNA POLITICAL AWARENESS COMMITTEE
- 19- IED = ISLAMIC EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

- 20- MAYA = MUSLIM ARAB YOUTH ASSOCIATION
- 21- MISG = MALASIAN [sic] ISLAMIC STUDY GROUP
- 22- IAP = ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE
- 23- UASR = UNITED ASSOCIATION FOR STUDIES AND RESEARCH
- 24- OLF = OCCUPIED LAND FUND
- 25- MIA = MERCY INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

- 26- ICNA = ISLAMIC CIRCLE OF NORTH AMERICA
- 27- BMI = BAITUL MAL INC
- 28- IIIT = INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ISLAMIC THOUGHT
- 29- IIC = ISLAMIC INFORMATION CENTER

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United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al., Excerpt from Gov't Exhibit Elbarasse Search-3, Page 18²¹

Muslim Brotherhood Created Hamas

In 1987, an uprising occurred in the Palestinian territories and became known as the *First Intifada*. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and its leader Yasser Arafat were seen as leaders of the uprising, but the Muslim Brotherhood recognized it must act or miss an opportunity. It was out of the international Muslim Brotherhood movement that Hamas emerged in the early days of

²¹ <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-12/Elbarasse%20Search%203.pdf>

the First Intifada.²² In 1988, Hamas published its Covenant, also referred to as its charter.²³ The Covenant revealed Hamas's ultimate goal of destroying the country of Israel through violent jihad. In its preamble, Hamas quoted Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna saying, "...Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it." In Article 13, the Covenant states "there is no solution for the Palestinian question except through Jihad."

Although violent jihad was its ultimate goal, Hamas founded its agenda upon its social infrastructure model whose job it was to radicalize the population through a weaponized combination of social welfare services and Hamas propaganda, in order to radicalize and inspire the population to join the fight. In fact, these activities began prior to the start of the Intifada, in the heart of the original Gaza-based Muslim Brotherhood social and religious institutions mentioned above. In addition to seeking the destruction of Israel, another goal of their hybrid model of violence, propaganda, and welfare was to eliminate and/or sideline other competing Palestinian factions.²⁴

Hamas in the United States

The Palestine Committee

In 1988, the International Muslim Brotherhood tasked its chapters, including the Muslim Brotherhood's United States chapter, to form a Palestine Committee in support of Hamas.²⁵ At the time, a primary leader of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood was Mousa Abu Marzook who was a college student in Louisiana. Marzook was included in *The 1988 Chart* shown above. From the U.S., he oversaw the operation of the first three U.S.-based Hamas front organizations under the U.S.-Muslim Brotherhood's Palestine Committee as he rose to the senior-most leadership position within Hamas worldwide- the Chief of the Hamas Political Bureau. Marzook remains a leader in the Hamas Political Bureau today.

The Palestine Committee effectively became the U.S.-based Hamas infrastructure. The three key front organizations were the Occupied Land Fund (soon to be renamed the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development and hereinafter referred to as the HLF), the IAP (which existed prior to the formation of the Palestine Committee), and the UASR.²⁶ Each organization had a specific

²² Testimony of John Pistole, Assistant Director, Counterterrorism Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Terrorist Financing Operations Section, Before the House Committee on Financial Service Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, 108th Congress, Sept. 24, 2003, <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/the-terrorist-financing-operations-section>

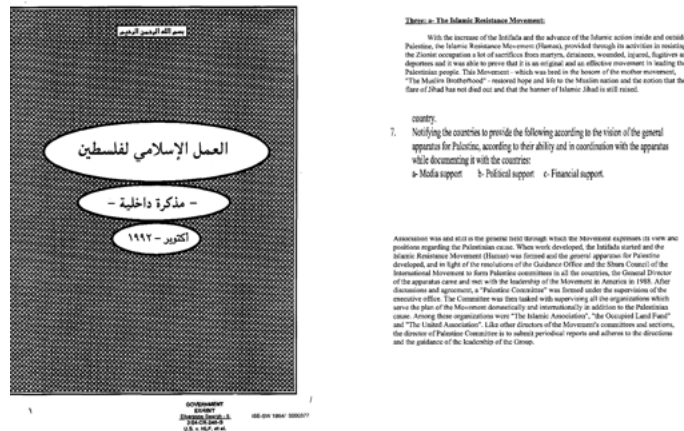
²³ Government Exhibits Hamas Charter 1 and Hamas Charter 2, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF").

²⁴ See, e.g., Matthew Levitt, *"Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad,"* (Yale University Press 2006), Chapter 1.

²⁵ *United States v. El-Mezain*, et al, 664 F.3d 467, 486 (5th Cir. 2011).

²⁶ Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West* (Columbia University Press 2010).

purpose, but they were to operate in conjunction with each other to achieve the goal of supporting Hamas with media, money and political support.

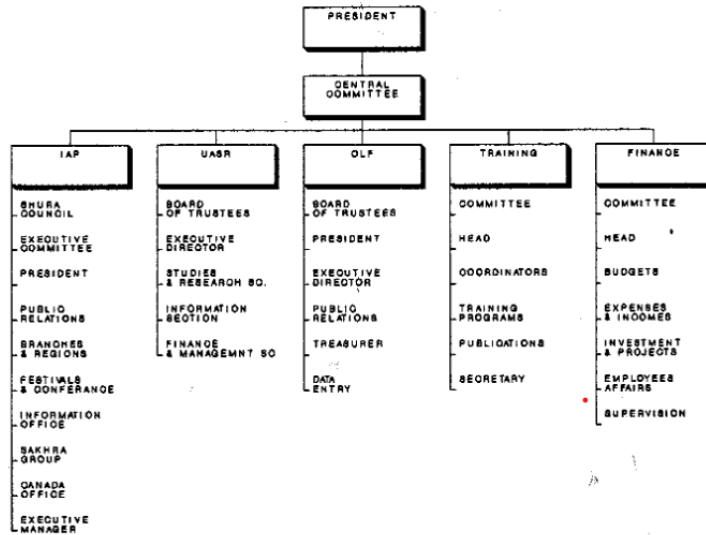


United States v. HLF et al., Gov't Exhibit Elbarasse Search-5:²⁷ Identifies when Hamas was formed; the Muslim Brotherhood ordered the Creation of the "Palestine Committee" in the US to support it through three organizations, the HLF (OLF) IAP, and UASR.

A document seized by the FBI in the *Elbarasse Search*, among a cache of U.S. Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood documents, revealed a great deal about the U.S. infrastructure. One of those documents is captured below and is the group's own snapshot of the infrastructure in 1991, including its organizations and leaders, written by Mohamed Akram, the author of *The 1991 Explanatory Memorandum* who is also listed in *The 1998 Chart*.

²⁷ https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/Elbarasse_Search_5_1_0.pdf

CENTRAL COMMITTEE ORG.CHART FOR THE YEAR 1991



APRIL, 6, 1991 BY M.A.

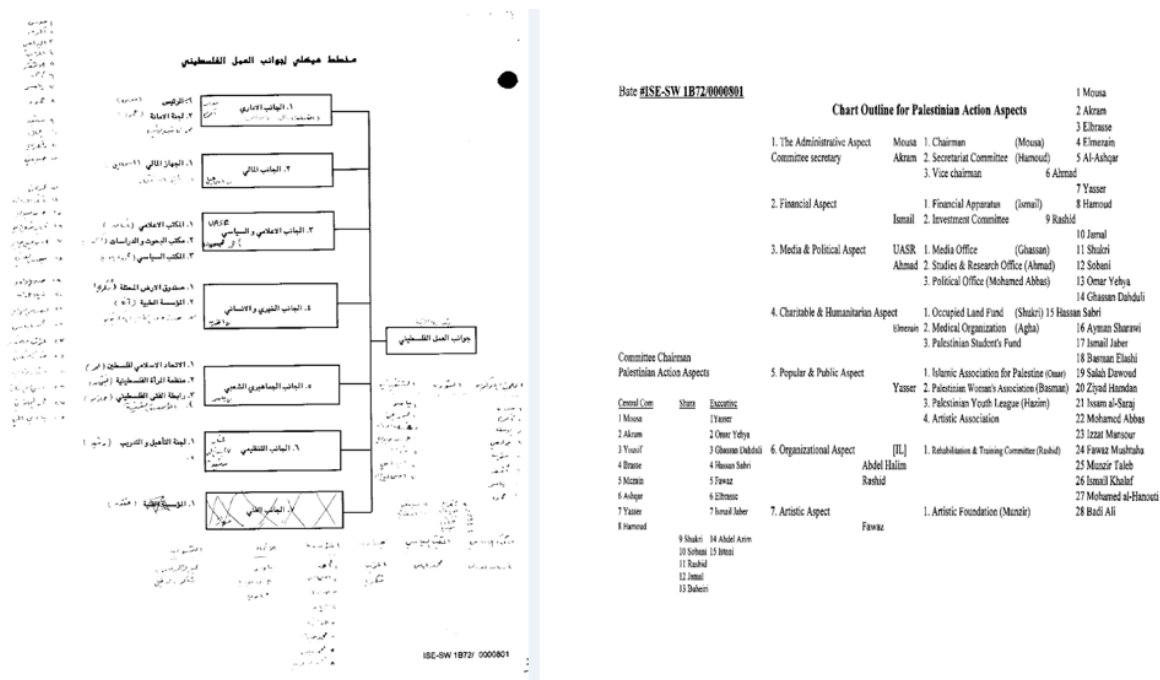
GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
Elbarasse Search - 10
3:04-CR-240-G
U.S. v. HLF, et al.

ISE-SW 1872/ 0000799

United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al., Gov't Exhibit Elbarasse Search-10, page 1²⁸

Pages three and four of the HLF trial exhibit Elbarasse Search 10, referred to herein as *The 1991 Palestine Committee List*, provided the names of 28 men who were leaders in the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood's Palestine Committee as of 1991. Among these men were Marzook (#1), Elbarasse(#3), leaders of the HLF, leaders of the IAP, the leader of the UASR, and a man named Abdel Haleem Ashqar (#5) who will be described in more detail below.

²⁸ <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2026-04/Elbarasse%20Search%2010.pdf>



HLF Gov't Exhibit Elbarasse Search-10, pages 3 and 4 (hereinafter referred to as "The 1991 Palestine Committee List")²⁹

During the First Intifada (1987-1993), the HLF and IAP held and participated in festivals in the United States wherein Hamas was praised, violent jihad was encouraged, and Mufid Abdulkader (an IAP band member and HLF fundraiser) performed skits on stage wherein he pretended to kill a Jewish person to the delight of the audience that was often filled with children.³⁰ Many of these fundraising events were captured on videotapes and later seized by the FBI in various search warrants. Some of the videotapes were found buried in Fawaz Mushtaha's yard in Northern Virginia (Mushtaha was a member of the IAP and #24 on *The 1991 Palestine Committee List*). The HLF raised money at these events and used it to fund Hamas' social infrastructure in Gaza and the West Bank, including the funding of the above-mentioned Al Mujamma Al-Islami, the Islamic Society in Gaza, and the Islamic University in Gaza.³¹ They funded schools where children were taught to hate Jewish people and that violence was the only solution.³²

In the early years of the *First Intifada*, the IAP's information office in Dallas, TX published an Arabic newspaper *Ila Filistine*, wherein it promoted Hamas-related calls for support and *jihad* and

²⁹ <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2026-04/Elbarasse%20Search%2010.pdf>

³⁰ Government Exhibits Elbarasse Search-32, HLF Search 114, Mushtaha Search-1, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF").

³¹ Government Exhibits Payments to IC Gaza, https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2026-06/payments_to_ic_gaza.pdf and Payments to IS Ass. Gaza, https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2026-06/payments_to_is_assoc._gaza.pdf, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF").

³² *United States v. El-Mezain, et al*, 664 F.3d 467, 486 (5th Cir. 2011).

even Hamas communiques that were followed by adds solicitating donations to the HLF after a call to perform “*jihad* with your money” (in the early years, the HLF was still named OLF). One of the issues even included a poem by HLF leader Shukri Abu Baker who said, “we will not accept other than Hamas.”³³ The IAP’s information office also published the *Muslim World Monitor*, which was a periodical written in English and served the broader Muslim population providing news on Islamist movements around the world, along with articles by senior Muslim Brotherhood leaders.

While overseeing this US-based network and operating Hamas’ Political Bureau, Marzook also began courting the Iranian regime for fiscal sponsorship of Hamas in 1990, which was apparently secured by 1992.³⁴

In December 1992, Hamas kidnapped and murdered an Israeli border guard, and in response, Israel deported over 400 Hamas and PIJ members to Marj El Zahour, Lebanon.³⁵ Among the deportees were senior Hamas leaders like Abdel Aziz Rantisi (now deceased) and Mahmoud Zahar (Zahar remains a senior leader in Hamas Political Bureau as of 2026. In the *First Intifada*, Zahar attended festivals with the IAP and HLF and was on a list of HLF overseas fundraisers that was seized in 2001). The HLF responded by financially supporting the deportees.³⁶

Mohamed Salah

In early 1993, a Chicago-based man named Mohamed Salah, who was on *The 1988 Chart* under the “Security” Committee, was arrested in Israel for allegedly bringing money to assist Hamas.³⁷ According to a *New York Times* article from February 1993, Salah identified Marzook, the HLF, and UASR as part of the Hamas network in the United States.³⁸ [Salah was designated as a Specially Designated Terrorist in August of 1995, but that designation was removed 17 years later.]³⁹

³³ Government Exhibits Ila Filistine 1-5, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) (“HLF”).

³⁴ Government Exhibits Ashqar Search 7, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) (“HLF”); Lorenzo Vidino and Lara Burns, *How Hamas’ Early Ties with Iran Were Brokered from the US*, George Washington University Program on Extremism, October 2024, <https://extremism.gwu.edu/how-hamas-early-ties-iran-were-brokered-us>

³⁵ Shaul Mishal & Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (Columbia University Press, 2000 (“*The Palestinian Hamas*”), pp. 96-97

³⁶ Government Exhibits Infocom Search 25, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) (“HLF”).

³⁷ “U.S. Protests to Israelis on 3 Jailed Americans,” Associated Press, Feb. 8, 1993, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1993/02/08/014493.html?pageNumber=7>

³⁸ Judith Miller, “Israel Says That a Prisoner’s Tale Links Arabs in U.S. to Terrorism,” *New York Times*, Feb. 17, 1993, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1993/02/17/650893.html?pageNumber=6>

³⁹ “Chicago and Washington, D.C., area men among three indicted in racketeering conspiracy in U.S. to finance Hamas terror abroad,” U.S. Department of Justice Press Release, Aug. 20, 2004, https://www.justice.gov/archive/opa/pr/2004/August/04_crm_571.htm; Terrorist Assets Report 2001, <https://ofac.treasury.gov/media/8431/download?inline>, p. 4 n.4 (Tab 5).

The Philadelphia Meeting

In 1993, the PLO and Israel entered into the Oslo Accords, which served as a road map for peace, a two-state solution, and Palestinian self-rule. Hamas opposed the Oslo Accords.⁴⁰ Leaders of the U.S.-based Hamas infrastructure (the Palestine Committee) reacted and planned a meeting among the U.S.-based leaders to discuss how to proceed in light of the developments. This meeting was to be the cornerstone of an agenda they would pursue over decades.

The Palestine Committee leaders held the meeting in Philadelphia in October 1993 (hereafter the *1993 Philadelphia Meeting*), which was wire-tapped by the FBI, to discuss how they would continue to support Hamas and seek to derail the Oslo Accords, while operating under the cover of legitimacy to avoid law enforcement scrutiny. In the meeting, they discussed how Hamas, which they referred to as “Samah,” (Hamas spelled backwards) would likely be designated as a terrorist organization by the U.S. government. The leaders declared that “War is deception” and planned to deceive the American public about their motives, while remaining true to their ideologies when addressing the Palestinian and Arab populations.⁴¹

In the *1993 Philadelphia Meeting*, the attendees discussed their foreign and domestic agendas. When discussing their foreign agenda, they identified the need to continue supporting jihad and undermine the Palestinian Authority and Arafat. At the meeting, one of the attendees lamented that people in Gaza and the West Bank were happy about the Oslo Accords. One attendee wondered what would happen if the Palestinian State started and things “settled down,” to which the group replied in unison, “God forbid.”⁴² They discussed which Gaza and West Bank-based charitable entities, hospitals, schools, and universities they had influence in and/or control over and those where they needed more control.⁴³

They also discussed their domestic agenda in the United States. They expressed their intent to infiltrate media outlets, and they focused heavily on their need to infiltrate the U.S.’s leading universities.⁴⁴ Specifically, the following excerpt is a statement during the *1993 Philadelphia Meeting* by Omar Ahmad (#13 on *The 1991 Palestine Committee List*), who would go on to co-found CAIR months later:

⁴⁰ Shaul Mishal & Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (Columbia University Press, 2000 (“*The Palestinian Hamas*”)), pp. 66-69.

⁴¹ Government Exhibits Philly Meeting 1-16, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3: 04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) (“HLF”), <https://extremism.gwu.edu/legal-documents>.

⁴² Government Exhibit Philly Meeting 9E, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) (“HLF”).

⁴³ Government Exhibits Philly Meeting 1-16, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) (“HLF”), <https://extremism.gwu.edu/legal-documents>.

⁴⁴ Government Exhibits Philly Meeting 1-16, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) (“HLF”), <https://extremism.gwu.edu/legal-documents>.

Orn: This is also one of the long-term goals but we have started to do some things about it. This can be achieved by infiltrating the American media outlets, universities and research centers as we previously said.

Excerpt from United States v. HLF, Gov't Exhibit Philly Meeting-4⁴⁵

One of the leaders stated at the meeting that it was a catastrophe that the universities that produce the U.S. government's next leaders had Jewish influence, and they decided to identify potential professors to help solve that problem. The attendees further discussed the need to cleanse the curriculum in K-12 schools because they did not want their children to grow up with the idea of "surrendering to peace with Jews."⁴⁶

seminars... Of course, all of these are suggested activities. As for the young people's level an educational material ought to be prepared to be taught in Islamic curricula. We don't want the children of the community who are raised here in schools and in Islamic schools and non-Islamic schools to grow up surrendering to the issue of peace with Jews and... I mean, we don't see in ten years the growing generations in America surrendering to peace with Jews. Therefore, there must be curricula and teaching materials which spread in Islamic schools and in weekend schools, the ones which teach children who attend American schools. Curricula ought to be put together to prepare them. Another thing is

Excerpt from United States v. HLF, Gov't Exhibit Philly Meeting-5⁴⁷

As stated herein, Hamas pursues its agenda through a lethal combination of violence, propaganda, and charity. Likewise, when discussing their goals in *The 1993 Philadelphia Meeting*, HLF leader Shukri Abu Baker- the head of an ostensible charity organization- discussed the potential goals of the IAP's periodicals, *Al Zaytonia* and the *Muslim World Monitor*, which ranged from violence to funding. In his conversation, it is clear the periodicals were not published to merely provide the news. He asked the group:

"...What do we want from, ...from the reader of Al Zaytouna and the reader of the Monitor and from the guy who owns a store in Chicago? Do I want him to go fight or do I want to earn

⁴⁵ <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/Philly%20Meeting%204.pdf>

⁴⁶ Government Exhibits Philly Meeting 1-16, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"), <https://extremism.gwu.edu/legal-documents>

⁴⁷ https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/Philly_Meeting_5.pdf

his sympathy so he could donate to me or do I want him to have a knowledgeable political culture? We have to specify what we want from people, honestly, otherwise we keep working and publishing a newspaper becomes a goal in itself....”[Emphasis added by author].

programs. Before..., before all of that talk we should ask ourselves a question; is America a confrontation front? And what do we want from..., from the reader of Al Zaytouna and the reader of the Monitor and from the guy who owns a store in Chicago? Do I want him to go fight or do I want to earn his sympathy so that he could donate to me or do I want him to have a knowledgeable political culture? We have to specify what we want from people, honestly, otherwise we keep working and publishing a newspaper becomes a goal in itself without finding out what effect does the newspaper have on people. I believe

Excerpt from United States v. HLF, Gov’t Exhibit Philly Meeting 5⁴⁸

A list of meeting attendees was used as a demonstrative exhibit at the HLF trial, and identified evidentiary items that established the various attendees’ presence at the *1993 Philadelphia Meeting*.

⁴⁸ Government Exhibits Philly Meeting 5, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) (“HLF”), https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/Philly_Meeting_5.pdf.

PHILADELPHIA MEETING October 2-3, 1993

Attendees	Organizations	HLF AMEX Records-Flights (exh: Amex1, Amex2)	Marriott Hotel Records (exh: Marriott)	Speaker at Conference (exh: Philly Meeting 1-18)	Surveillance Photos (exh: Philly Pictures 1-6)	Planning Phone Calls (exh: Ashqar Wire Tap 1-6)
Shukri Abu Baker	PC, HLF, IAP	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ghassan Elashi	PC, HLF, IAP	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Mufid Abdulqader	HLF, Al Sakra Band		✓			
Haitham Maghawri	HLF	✓	✓		✓	
Akram Kharoubi	PC, HLF, IAP			✓		✓
Omar Ahmad	PC, IAP	✓	✓	✓		✓
Ismail Elbarasse	PC, IAP				✓	✓
Abdel Haleem Ashqar	PC, AEF			✓	✓	✓
Ghassan Saleh Dahduli	PC, IAP	✓	✓	✓		
Muin Shabib	PC		✓			✓
Abdul Rahman Barakji	IAP	✓	✓	✓		
Sharif Battikhi	HLF	✓		✓		
Riad Ahmed			✓			
Hassan Sabri	IAP		✓	✓		✓
Abdul Jabar Hamdan	HLF		✓			
Ayman Sharawi	PC		✓	✓		
Jawad al Hamad	Palestine Section			✓		✓
Abdel Salam				✓		
Nihad Awad	PC, CAIR			✓		✓
Osama	IAP			✓		
Abu Ahmad				✓		
Mohamed El-Mezain	PC, HLF		✓			✓
Mohamed Al Hanooti	PC					✓
Salah						✓
Issam Siraj	PC					✓
Yasser Bushnaq	PC, IAP					✓
Mohamed Abbas	PC					✓

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
Philly Meeting Summary
3:04-CR-240-G
U.S. v. HLF, et al.

*United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al., Gov't Exhibit Philly Meeting Summary*⁴⁹

The meeting attendees further plotted to create an organization in Washington, D.C. that would appear legitimate, but that would serve the purpose of defending the other front organizations if they were scrutinized by the U.S. government and media. Documents and testimony in the HLF trial revealed this new organization was CAIR, which was co-founded by two senior IAP leaders who attended the conspiratorial Philadelphia meeting.⁵⁰ Those individuals were Omar Ahmad (IAP, CAIR) and Nihad Awad (IAP, CAIR). CAIR purports to be the largest Muslim civil rights/advocacy organization in America, and Nihad Awad remains CAIR's Executive Director today.⁵¹ Notably, during the same portion of the conversation at the *1993 Philadelphia Meeting*, CAIR co-founder Omar Ahmad also discussed opening the new ostensibly independent organization in Washington D.C. (that would become CAIR) and identified a problem of staffing it with unexposed people and the difficulty in **hiding their true agenda**:

⁴⁹ <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/philly-meeting-summary.pdf>

⁵⁰ Testimony of FBI Special Agent Lara Burns, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF").

⁵¹ https://www.cair.com/about_cair/national-board-of-directors/

“...Do we have hidden faces we now bring up to light? We have what we have. I mean, we don’t really have available people whom we could dedicate for the work we want to hide...”⁵²

In the same meeting, attendees agreed that “we must pressure [others] and embarrass them by various means until they adhere to our position or, at least, remain neutral.”⁵³ To that end, from its outset, CAIR pursued a mission of intimidation. CAIR aggressively denounced media and law enforcement actions against elements of the U.S.-based Hamas infrastructure, knowingly and falsely labeling those as acts of “Islamophobia” and alleging the war on terror was a war on Muslims.⁵⁴ Nihad Awad and Omar Ahmad, the co-founders of CAIR, were entrenched in the U.S.-based Islamist network, yet their narratives, which will be discussed herein, often falsely portrayed actions against Islamist movements as actions against the religion of Islam.

Palestine Committee Membership List

In 1994, the FBI executed a covert search on Ashqar’s home (hereinafter the *Ashqar Search*) (Ashqar was #5 on *The 1991 Palestine Committee List* and a speaker at the 1993 *Philadelphia Meeting*). Many documents identified in the *Ashqar Search* were admitted in various trials. One of those documents as entitled, “Important phone and fax numbers (Palestine Section/America)” (hereinafter *Palestine Section America*).⁵⁵ First on the *Palestine Section America* list was Hamas leader Mousa Abu Marzook (#1 on *The 1991 Palestine Committee List*) and the second on the list was Mohamed Akram (#2 on *The 1991 Palestine Committee List* and author of *The Explanatory Memorandum*). Included on the *Palestine Section America* list were senior leaders of the HLF, IAP, and UASR, along with Mohamed Salah (arrested in Israel in 1993) and Ismail Elbarasse (#3 on the 1991 List) from whose home many of the referenced documents were seized. The *Palestine Section America* list included the two co-founders of CAIR, Nihad Awad (#32) and Omar Ahmad (#25).

⁵² Government Exhibit Philly Meeting 7, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) (“HLF”), pages 4-6.

⁵³ Government Exhibit Philly Meeting-4, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) (“HLF”), p. 16 <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/Philly%20Meeting%204.pdf>

⁵⁴ https://www.cair.com/press_releases/islam-oped-war-on-terror-rhetoric-sounds-like-war-on-islam/

⁵⁵ Government Exhibit Ashqar Search-1, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) (“HLF”), p. 4 <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/701.pdf>

Important phone and fax numbers (Palestine section/America)

Name	City/Country	Fax	Phone
1. Mousa Abou Marzouk	RUSTON	318-255-6102	3182555534
2. Mohamed Akram	CHICAGO	312-434-3462	312-563-0937
3. Ahmad Yousif	CHICAGO	312-434-3462	312-594-3967
4. Yasser Bushnaq	DALLAS	214-490-4969	214-490-4969
5. Mohamed Elmezain	NWE JERSY	201-279-6362	201-279-3574
6. Ismail Elbrasse	WASHINGTON, D.C.	703-922-8730	703-922-7859
7. Ghassan Dahduli	TUOCSAN	602-886-8387	602-325-5121
8. Ghassan Elashi	L.A.	213-391-0095	213-838-7255
9. Issam Al Siraj	WASHINGTON		703-931-0211
10. Omar Al Sobani	EAST LANSING		517-332-2163
11. Ismail Jaber	CHICAGO	312-434-3462	312-423-6089
12. Mohamed Abbas			801-583-3325
13. Fawaz Mushtaha	WASHINGTON		703-786-7705
14. Izzat Mansour	RUSTON	318-255-6102	318-255-7038
15. Hamoud Salem	STILLWATER		405-744-1150
16. Nader Jawad	WASHINGTON		703-430-2353
17. Rashid Qurman	ALABAMA		205-837-0450
18. Shukri Abou Baker	INDPOLS	317-839-1840	317-243-9520
19. Mohamed Abou Amaria	L.A.	213-8390436	213-839-4851
20. Jamal Said	CHICAGO	Fax 4305235	312-599-5313
21. Ghassan Al Karmi	CHICAGO		312-561-2940
22. Mohamed Salah			
23. Ayman Siraj Eddin	WASHINGTON, D.C.	7655569	703-237-9529
24. Ahmad Agha	OKLAHOMA	↑	405-762-7732
25. Omar Yehya	C.A.		408-984-1254
26. Akram Al Kharoubi			
27. Walid Abou Sharkh	COLUMBIA, MO.		314-874-5973
28. Walid Ranu			215-977-0689
29. Ayman Sharawi	CANADA		416-391-0324
30. Hazim Elashi	L.A.		213-202-1198
31. Basman Elashi	L.A.		213-838-7255
32. Nihad Awad	MINAPOLIS		602-378-3086
33. Mohamed Al Jaghlit	WISCONSON		715-835-0513
34. Nabil Al Sadoun	TULSA	9188363911	918-836-7404
35. Mohamed Al Hanooti	NEW JERSY		201-392-0573

1-9-2

United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al. Gov't Exhibit Ashqar Search-I, page 4⁵⁶

Page 2 of that same document was entitled *Palestine Section/Outside America* and contained the names of senior Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood leaders abroad including several leaders in the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood and the now-designated Hamas leader Majeed Al-Zeer who will be discussed more fully herein. Another individual on the *Palestine Section/Outside America* was Izzat Al Rishq who is believed to be a current senior leader of Hamas' Political Bureau in Qatar.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/701.pdf>

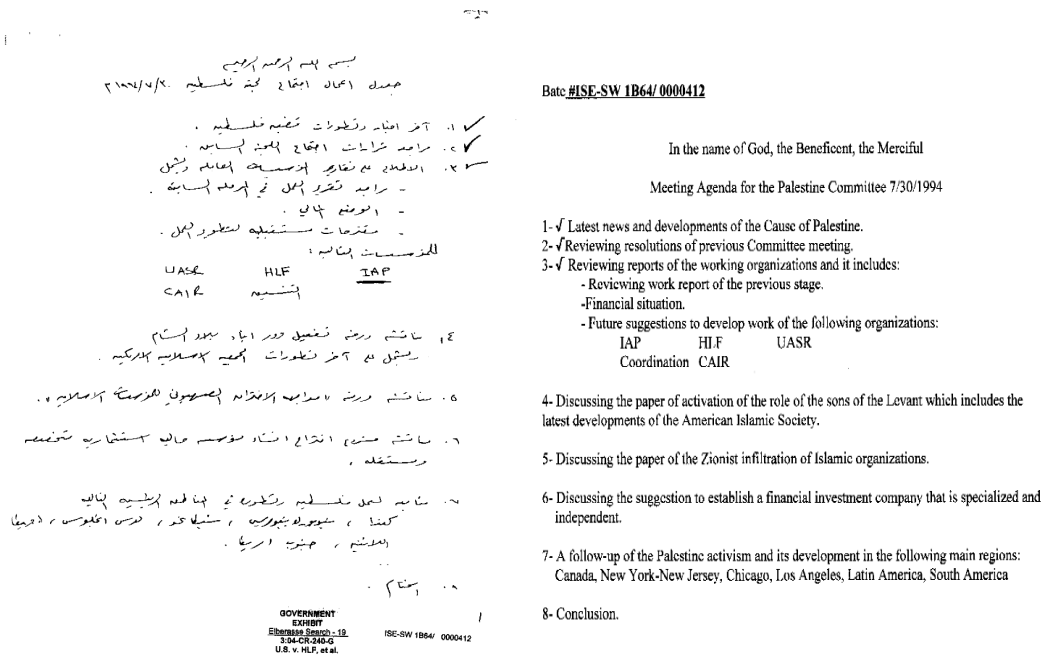
⁵⁷

https://mugtama.com/articles/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B1%D8%B4%D9%82_%D9%84%D9%84%D8%BA%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%85_%D8%AD%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B3_%D8%AA%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%B1_%D9%84%D9%83%D9%85_%D8%B9%D9%86_%D8%B9%D9%85%D9%8A%D9%82_%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%AF%D9%8A%D8%B1%D9%86%D8%A7_%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%AA%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%B2%D9%86%D8%A7_%D8%A8%D9%83%D9%85;

<https://www.mohsensaleh.net/2020/01/30/%D8%B3%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%AD%D9%85%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%85%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7/>. See also Izzat al Rishq, European Council on Foreign Relations, https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping_palestinian_politics/izzat_al_risheq/.

In March 1994, Nihad Awad (#32 on *Palestine Section America*, speaker at the 1993 *Philadelphia Meeting*, leader of the IAP and co-founder of CAIR), spoke at Barry University and told an audience, "'I'm in support of Hamas movement more than the PLO, not because Hamas is destructive and involved in violence.'"⁵⁸ When later questioned about his position under oath in a 2003 deposition, Nihad Awad stated he was not aware Hamas had taken credit for acts of violence at the time.

As of 1994, the four U.S.-based Hamas front organizations were the HLF, IAP, UASR, and CAIR. A document seized in the Elbarasse Search was a memorandum regarding the Palestine Committee's meeting in July 1994 that included the names of all four of those organizations.⁵⁹ It memorialized what was discussed in the meeting, including the participants' need to disrupt normalization between Arab and Muslim countries and Israel. They noted that if they did not disrupt this normalization process, "we become the only ones who are 'extremists' and radical..."⁶⁰



Screenshot of Government Exhibit Elbarasse Search-19 Pages 1 and 6 (the translation of page 1)⁶¹

It should be noted that another event of relevance occurred in 1994 and involved a dispute between Ashqar (#5 on *The 1991 Palestine Committee List* and speaker at the 1993 *Philadelphia Meeting*) and the HLF over a US fund-raising trip by Jamil Hammami (a senior leader in Hamas in the West

⁵⁸ Deposition of Nihad Awad on October 22, 2003, *Boim, et al. v. Quranic Literacy Institute, et al.*, 1:17-cv-03591 (N.D. Ill.), pp. 57-60

⁵⁹ Government Exhibit Elbarasse Search-19, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"), https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/Elbarasse_Search_19.pdf.

⁶⁰ Government Exhibit Elbarasse Search-19, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"), https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/Elbarasse_Search_19.pdf.

⁶¹ https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/Elbarasse_Search_19.pdf

Bank at the time).⁶² Ashqar wanted the funds raised by Hammami to go to an educational initiative he had started, while the HLF wanted the proceeds. Ultimately, CAIR co-founder Omar Ahmad (# 13 on *The 1991 Palestine Committee List*) called for a meeting to resolve the dispute, and that call was wire-tapped by the FBI.⁶³ Weighing in on the discussion were Ismail Elbarasse (#3 on *The 1991 Palestine Committee List* and subject of the *Elbarasse Search*), and various HLF and IAP leaders. The dispute was resolved in favor of the HLF after Hamas leader Mousa Abu Marzook (#1 on *The 1991 Palestine Committee List*) wrote a letter to the Palestine Committee ordering Ashqar to suspend his activity.⁶⁴

Hamas is Designated

In 1994, in its efforts to derail the Oslo Accords, Hamas embarked upon a brutal suicide bombing campaign targeting civilians that lasted for years and resulted in the deaths of hundreds, including US citizens.

In 1995, Hamas and Marzook⁶⁵ were designated by the US government as Specially Designated Terrorists (SDTs), and Hamas was designated a foreign terrorist organization (FTO) in 1997. In 1995, Marzook was arrested in the U.S. pending extradition proceedings to Israel for the murders committed by Hamas. In CAIR's 1996 publication, *The Status of Muslim Civil Rights in the United States 1996: The Price of Ignorance*, they labeled Marzook's arrest as an instance of anti-Muslim bias.⁶⁶ This is one of the first cases of the typical dynamic seen today: CAIR framing as Islamophobia a clear counterterrorism measure that legally targets a senior Islamist militant.

The Israeli government ultimately withdrew its extradition request and the U.S. government deported Marzook to Jordan in 1997 where he joined other Hamas leaders like Khalid Mishal, the half-brother of IAP member/HLF fundraiser Mufid Abdulqader who was convicted in the 2008 HLF trial. The Hamas leadership, including Marzook and Mishal, were ousted from Jordan in 1999.⁶⁷ The HLF, IAP, UASR and CAIR continued operations in the United States.

Omar Abdel Rahman

CAIR did not limit its inaccurate framing of counterterrorism measures to the members of the Palestine Committee. In its 1996 publication referenced above, CAIR discussed Omar Abdel

⁶² Matthew Levitt, "Shut Down Hamas," *Baltimore Sun*, Jan. 22, 2004, reprinted at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/shut-down-hamas>.
<https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/shut-down-hamas>.

⁶³ Government Exhibit Shabib Wiretap-2, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF").

⁶⁴ Government Exhibit Ashqar Wiretap-4, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF").

⁶⁵ Marzook was subsequently designated as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT) in 2003, <https://ofac.treasury.gov/recent-actions/20030821>.

⁶⁶ American-Muslim Research Center- CAIR, *The Status of Muslim Civil Rights in the United States 1996: The Price of Ignorance*, 1996, <https://www.cair.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/1996-The-Status-of-Muslim-Civil-Rights-in-the-United-States-1996.pdf>

⁶⁷ "Clamp Down on Hamas," Policy Watch #226, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy (October 6, 1999).

Rahman's trial. CAIR's publication contained an article that implied Omar Abdel Rahman did not receive a fair trial because he was not allowed to call a religious scholar to testify in his defense and specifically stated:

"Lawyers defending Shaykh Omar Abdel Rahman complain that his trial was far from free and fair. One particularly troubling aspect of the trial was the judge's decision on July 7, 1995, to deny a request by the defense team to call experts in Islamic jurisprudence to testify. The judge's reasoning was that the trial was about terrorism, not about religion."

Omar Abdel Rahman was indicted and convicted of various charges including seditious conspiracy relating to the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center as well as conspiracy to commit murder. Omar Abdel Rahman was identified in the case as the leader of the conspiracy whose purpose was "jihad...against God's enemies."⁶⁸ Omar Abdel Rahman began his journey toward *jihad* by studying the works of Muslim Brotherhood leaders like Sayyid Qutb.⁶⁹ According to Andrew McCarthy (the government's prosecutor in Omar Abdel Rahman's case), by 1973, Omar Abdel Rahman was the leader of an Egyptian jihadist group called Gama'at Al-islamia, considered a "spinoff of the Muslim Brotherhood."⁷⁰ By the time he settled in the United States in 1990, he was advocating for *jihad* against the United States.⁷¹

CAIR's narrative about the nature of Omar Abdel Rahman's trial is a consistent theme that will be documented further herein. Omar Abdel Rahman was arrested in the summer of 1993 for his numerous deadly plots against US targets in America. Several months later, in the 1993 *Philadelphia Meeting*, when discussing how "you could be destroyed by the media,"⁷² CAIR co-founder Omar Ahmad lamented that Shiekh Omar Abdel Rahman was identified in the media before he was charged by the government in the terrorism case. Omar Ahmad stated, in part,

*"...it was the media which accused him before he was legally charged...The media is overwhelming, that is. So, what I can say is that our problem at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is the following...if you want the Americans, you lose the Muslims. If you address the Muslims, it means that you cannot reveal your address to the Americans..."*⁷³

Another participant responded and said:

⁶⁸ *United States v. Rahman*, 189 F.3d 88, 104 (2d Cir.1999).

⁶⁹ Andrew McCarthy, "Omar Abdel Rahman, the 'Blind Sheikh,' Is Dead," National Review, February 18, 2017. <https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/02/blind-sheikh-dies-terrorist-evangelist/>

⁷⁰ Andrew McCarthy, "Omar Abdel Rahman, the 'Blind Sheikh,' Is Dead," National Review February 18, 2017. <https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/02/blind-sheikh-dies-terrorist-evangelist/>

⁷¹ Andrew McCarthy, "Omar Abdel Rahman, the 'Blind Sheikh,' Is Dead," National Review February 18, 2017. <https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/02/blind-sheikh-dies-terrorist-evangelist/>

⁷² Government Exhibit Philly Meeting 7, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"), pages 4-6, <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/Philly%20Meeting%207.pdf>.

⁷³ Government Exhibit Philly Meeting 7, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"), pages 4-6, <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/Philly%20Meeting%207.pdf>.

"I won't be naïve to the point of telling the Americans 'It is my right to enslave your daughter' and...like what Omar Abdel Rahman did in Detroit and said that 'America will be a plunder for us.' His words are correct..."

The participants in the *1993 Philadelphia Meeting* then laughed as seen in the transcript below:

Om: But, you still cannot show the legal position to the Americans...UI.

UM1: No, my brother. There are things I can warn against such as... I won't be naïve to the point of telling the American "It is my right to enslave your daughter and...", like what Omar Abdel Rahman did in Detroit and said that "America will be a plunder for us". His words are correct [*Laughter and UI brief group comments*]. No, really. It was wrong.

The meeting participants continued to discuss Omar Abdel Rahman at various points, with one participant saying, "I mean we shouldn't mess up like Omar Abdel Rahman...", seemingly referencing his overt speech in support of violence and death against the United States, rather than his actual participation in violent plots and bombings.⁷⁴

At no point in the discussion did the *1993 Philadelphia* meeting participants condemn the 1993 WTC bombing, nor the other crimes for which Omar Abdel Rahman would go on to be convicted.

The Continuation of the Conspiracy

Throughout the 1990s until late 2001, the HLF continued to provide support to the Hamas social infrastructure in Gaza and the West Bank, including schools where young children were radicalized to hate Jewish people and believe violence was the only solution.⁷⁵ The IAP continued its festivals and the publication of its newspaper which drove pro-Hamas propaganda.

CAIR expanded its operations by creating local chapters in various states. The first Texas - based chapter was co-founded by Ghassan Elashi⁷⁶, a leader of the HLF who was later convicted of various terrorism-related charges, including dealing illegally in the funds of SDT Marzook, as will be discussed herein.

During the HLF trial, two calls in 1999 were played for the jury. The calls involved CAIR co-founder Omar Ahmad (#13 on *The 1991 List*), who led the *1993 Philadelphia Meeting* and was

⁷⁴ Government Exhibit Philly Meeting 16, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"), page 10, https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-06/philly_meeting_16.pdf

⁷⁵ Government Exhibit ICS Hebron 12; Testimony of Government Expert witness "Avi," *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"), <https://extremism.gwu.edu/legal-documents>.

⁷⁶ Council of American-Islamic Relations, Office of the Secretary of State of Texas, Articles of Incorporation, filed Sept. 29, 1998.

the Chairman of CAIR from 1994-2005.⁷⁷ During the calls, Ahmad, who had no official position within the HLF, directed HLF officers regarding HLF expenditures.⁷⁸

These wire-taps demonstrated that a senior leader of an ostensibly independent civil rights organization, CAIR, was directing expenditures of a Hamas fundraising organization. In line with the Palestine Committee's stated agenda to deceive Americans, as stated during the Philadelphia Meeting ("War is deception"), Ahmad, during a May 2003 civil deposition, denied any role with the HLF.⁷⁹

In 2000, the *Second Intifada* began with Hamas, PIJ and other terror groups launching a barrage of attacks against Israeli civilians.

The IAP's "Fourth Annual Conference" was held in November 2000 in the Chicago area and was entitled, "All Palestine is Sacred"⁸⁰ echoing the 1988 Hamas Charter which states, "The Islamic Resistance Movement believes that the land of Palestine is an Islamic Waqf consecrated for future Moslem generations until Judgement Day."⁸¹ The flyer for the event noted the IAP board included Hasan Sabri (#15 on *The 1991 Palestine Committee List*), Rafeeq Jaber (a third co-founder of CAIR), Imad Sarsour (discussed herein), HLF Chicago leader Kifah Mustafa and others, while the Preparation Committee consisted of Jaber, Mustapha, Sarsour, and Osama Abuirshaid among others.

One of the HLF's overseas fundraisers was a man named Yousef Al Qaradawi⁸², who was a popular Islamist leader and widely considered to be the spiritual guide for the Muslim Brotherhood, who advocated for the killing of Jews.⁸³ Qaradawi was a senior leader in the Union of Good⁸⁴, an entity designated as a Hamas front in November 2008.⁸⁵ Qaradawi died in 2022 but will be discussed further herein.

⁷⁷ "CAIR Board Elects New Chairman," CAIR Press Release, May 19, 2005, https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-board-elects-new-chairman/

⁷⁸ See Government Exhibits Baker Wiretap-5, https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2026-06/baker_wiretap-5.pdf, and Baker Wiretap-33, https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2026-06/baker_wiretap-33.pdf, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"). See also Burns Testimony, September 30, 2008, pp. 24-35, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF").

⁷⁹ Deposition of Omar Ahmad, *Boim, et al. v. Quranic Literacy, et al.*, 1:00-cv-02905 (N.D. Ill. May 27, 2003).

⁸⁰ <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/438/iap-fourth-annual-convention-program.pdf>

⁸¹ Government Exhibit Hamas Charter 1, Article 11, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF").

⁸² Government Exhibit HLF Search 87, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF").

⁸³ Testimony of Robert Miranda, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"). See also Government Exhibit HLF Search 126.

⁸⁴ https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/Data/pdf/PDF1/FEB22_05_680981780.pdf

⁸⁵ <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/hp1267>

In 2001, the HLF was designated as an SDT for its support for Hamas.⁸⁶ CAIR and related groups denounced the designation and called on President Bush to “reconsider what we believe is an unjust and counterproductive move that can only damage America’s credibility with Muslims in this country...”⁸⁷ Several weeks later, the IAP held its 5th Annual Convention in Chicago which featured a number of speakers including Ahmed Yousef (#6 on *The 1991 Palestine Committee List*), Jamal Said (#10 on *The 1991 Palestine Committee List*), Ziad Hamdan (#20 on *The 1991 Palestine Committee List*), Osama Abuirshaid, Hatem Bazian, and others referenced herein.⁸⁸ Within a few years, Ahmed Yousef (#6 on the *1991 Palestine Committee List*) shuttered the UASR and moved to Gaza to advise Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh.⁸⁹ Haniyeh (now deceased) was designated as Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT) in 2018 by the U.S. State Department.⁹⁰

It should be noted that another Texas-based business, Infocom, was located across the street from the HLF and operated by the Elashi brothers whose cousin, Nadia, was married to Marzook. Some of the five Elashi brothers - Ghassan Elashi, Basman Elashi, Bayan Elashi, and Hazim Elashi,⁹¹ - held positions at the HLF and IAP. Infocom had financial transactions with Marzook in violation of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA). In 2001, Infocom was sanctioned by the Department of Commerce,⁹² an action which CAIR and other related entities called the government’s action an “anti-Muslim witch hunt.”⁹³ The Elashi brothers were later charged and convicted of various terrorism-related crimes, including dealing in the property of SDT Marzook.⁹⁴

The IAP continued to publish its *Al-Zaytouna* periodical wherein pro-Hamas articles painted the terror attacks of the *Second Intifada* as “the right of resistance,” often highlighting Israeli military responses to the terror without acknowledging the terror that led to them. In one issue, an article was published highlighting that in the summer of 2003, CAIR witnessed a large number of university students who came to Washington, D.C. to train at CAIR in the areas of media and

⁸⁶ “Shutting Down the Terrorist Financial Network,” U.S. Department of the Treasury, December 4, 2001, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/po841>

⁸⁷ “Freeze On Group’s Assets Questioned by U.S. Muslims,” IslamiCity, December 4, 2001, <https://www.islamicity.org/1645/freeze-on-groups-assets-questioned-by-u-s-muslims-2/>

⁸⁸ Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP) Flyer, “(IAP) 5th Annual Convention: American Muslims: A Bridge of Understanding & Cooperation,” Chicago, 21-25 December 2001 Holiday Inn, O’Hare International,” <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/1114-iap-5th-annual-convention-chicago-2001.pdf>

⁸⁹ Ahmed Yousef, Personal Info, <https://all4palestine.org/ModelDetails.aspx?gid=14&mid=77738&lang=en#:~:text=Information,Palestinian%20Prime%20Minister%20Ismail%20Haniyeh>, archived at <https://archive.is/wip/rVeby>.

⁹⁰ <https://2017-2021.state.gov/state-department-terrorist-designations-of-ismail-haniyeh-harakat-al-sabireen-liwa-al-thawra-and-harakat-sawad-misr-hasm/>

⁹¹ Government Exhibit Demonstrative 6, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) (“HLF”), https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2026-06/demonstrative_6_pdf.pdf.

⁹² Infocom Corporation, <https://www.opensanctions.org/entities/NK-E5cfzKNcsX7sAkvbvxzkcB/>

⁹³ “Raid on Texas Business is ‘Anti-Muslim’ Witch Hunt say Muslim Leaders,” IslamiCity, September 6, 2001, <https://www.islamicity.org/1212/raid-on-texas-business-is-anti-muslim-witch-hunt-say-muslim-leaders/>.

⁹⁴ “Brothers Found Guilty of Supporting Terrorism,” Associated Press, April 14, 2005, <https://www.nbcnews.com/id/wbna7496068>

politics,⁹⁵ echoing CAIR co-founder Nihad Awad's idea on bringing students for internships to further their agenda in *The 1993 Philadelphia Meeting*.⁹⁶

During the same time period, civil litigation was filed in federal court in the matter of *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute, et al.*, wherein the HLF, IAP, UASR and others were sued for the Hamas murder of U.S. citizen David Boim in Israel in 1996.⁹⁷ In 2004, the court found the HLF and IAP, among others, liable for the death based on their Hamas support. The judgment exceeded \$150 million. The IAP, located in Palos Hills, Illinois, closed its doors.⁹⁸

In November 2008, a jury found the HLF and five of its officers guilty of conspiring to support HAMAS. The verdicts were affirmed by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.⁹⁹ CAIR labeled the HLF verdicts as based on "fear-mongering."¹⁰⁰

American Muslims for Palestine

By 2006, American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)¹⁰¹ had emerged in Palos Hills, Illinois. AMP operates as a 501(c)(3) under the name AJP Educational Foundation.¹⁰² AMP was founded by Hatem Bazian, a man credited with founding the first chapter of the Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP, discussed herein).¹⁰³ The Boim family filed a federal lawsuit against AMP and the Americans for Justice in Palestine Educational Foundation (AJP) alleging them to be the alter ego of the IAP, and the allegations survived a motion to dismiss by the defendants with the Court finding the amended complaint¹⁰⁴ set forth sufficient allegations to set forth a claim.¹⁰⁵ The case is set for trial in 2027.¹⁰⁶ The AMP was staffed with former IAP leaders to include Osama Abuirshaid (IAP/UASR), Rafeeq Jaber (IAP/CAIR), and Salah Sarsour (IAP).¹⁰⁷ According to congressional testimony, in 1998, Salah Sarsour's brother Jamil Sarsour was captured by the government of Israel for Hamas-related activities and confessed that his brother Salah Sarsour was

⁹⁵ Al-Zaytounah, June 13, 2003

⁹⁶ Government Exhibit Philly Meeting 7, p. 16, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"), <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-02/Philly%20Meeting%207.pdf>

⁹⁷ Memorandum Opinion and Order, *Boim, et al. v. Quranic Literacy Institute, et al.*, 1:00-cv-02905 (N.D. Ill. Aug. 31, 2012), <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.ilnd.96451/gov.uscourts.ilnd.96451.883.0.pdf>

⁹⁸ <https://mlfa.org/united-we-stand/#:~:text=These%20organizations%20were%20drained%20financially,unable%20to%20prove%20this%20claim.>

⁹⁹ *United States v. El-Mezain*, 664 F.3d 467, 486 (5th Cir. 2011).

¹⁰⁰ https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-says-hlf-verdict-based-on-fear-mongering/

¹⁰¹ <https://www.jns.org/judge-finds-evidence-linking-amp-to-hamas-supporters-for-lawsuit-to-proceed/>

¹⁰² <https://www.ampalifornia.org/about-amp>

¹⁰³ https://canarymission.org/professor/Hatem_Bazian

¹⁰⁴ First Amended Complaint, *Boim, et al. v. American Muslims for Palestine et al.* 1:17-cv-03591 (N.D. Ill. Dec. 17, 2019), https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873.179.0_2.pdf

¹⁰⁵ Notice of docket entry, *Boim, et al. v. American Muslims for Palestine et al.* 1:17-cv-03591 (N.D. Ill. June 30, 2026), <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873.647.0.pdf>.

¹⁰⁶ First Amended Complaint, *Boim, et al. v. Quranic Literacy Institute, et al.*, 1:17-cv-03591 (N.D. Ill. Dec. 17, 2019), https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873.179.0_2.pdf

¹⁰⁷ <https://www.ampalifornia.org/about-amp/our-team>

involved in financing Hamas from the US.¹⁰⁸ On April 2, 2026, Salah Sarsour was detained for immigration violations. An official Department of Homeland Security press release stated that Salah Sarsour had previously been convicted in Israel of throwing Molotov cocktails at the Israeli army.¹⁰⁹ The press release also stated the following:

*“Today, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) announced that U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), in conjunction with the U.S. Marshals Service (USMS), conducted a targeted operation in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to arrest Salah Salem Sarsour, a criminal illegal alien from Jordan **suspected of funding terror organizations and lying on immigration forms.**”*¹¹⁰ (emphasis in original).

Osama Abuirshaid is the current Executive Director of AMP.¹¹¹ Abuirshaid, who operated the IAP’s newspaper before the IAP closed and served as a research fellow with the UASR before it closed, has consistently propagated false narratives related to this network. In a film produced by Al Jazeera network about the HLF trial, Abuirshaid stated that the U.S. government “did not have a single American document condemning the Holy Land Foundation.”¹¹² He further asserted, “the only evidence was Israeli and these documents were forged.”¹¹³ However, this false narrative is contradicted as the government admitted hundreds of documents, wiretaps, and videos that were seized from the HLF offices, the Infocom office, the *Elbarasse Search*, the *Ashqar Search*, as well as documents obtained from multiple U.S. financial institutions including NAIT (Listed in the *1988 Chart* and the *1991 Explanatory Memorandum*).

Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) is a student organization that operates on U.S. campuses and purports to promote pro-Palestinian activism, but whose agenda appears aligned with pro-terror narratives that label terrorist acts as legitimate “resistance” and falsely label Israel as committing genocide. Their first chapter was reportedly created by AMP founder Hatem Bazian in the 1990s or early 2000s at UC Berkeley.¹¹⁴ AMP helped found the National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP) in 2010, where, together, their pro-Hamas campus activism significantly escalated.¹¹⁵ The

¹⁰⁸ <https://financialservices.house.gov/media/pdf/021202se.pdf>

¹⁰⁹ <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2026/04/02/dhs-law-enforcement-arrests-jordanian-national-previous-conviction-throwing-molotov>

¹¹⁰ “DHS Law Enforcement Arrests Jordanian National with Previous Conviction for Throwing a Molotov Cocktail at the Homes of Israeli Forces,” Department of Homeland Security Press Release, April 2, 2026, <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2026/04/02/dhs-law-enforcement-arrests-jordanian-national-previous-conviction-throwing-molotov>

¹¹¹ <https://www.ampalestine.org/about-amp>

¹¹² <https://www.aljazeera.com/video/al-jazeera-world/2016/10/5/the-holy-land-five>

¹¹³ <https://www.aljazeera.com/video/al-jazeera-world/2016/10/5/the-holy-land-five>

¹¹⁴ The Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP), “National Students for Justice in Palestine: Antisemitism, Anti-Americanism, Violent Extremism and the Threat to North American Universities,” 2024, p. 17, https://isgap.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/SJP_Report.pdf. See also Alan Blinder, “Inside the Pro-Palestinian Group Protesting Across College Campuses,” *New York Times*, Nov. 17, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/17/us/students-justice-palestine-campus-protests.html>

¹¹⁵ See <https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/students-justice-palestine-sjp> and <https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/american-muslims-palestine-amp>. See also The Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP), “National Students for Justice in Palestine: Antisemitism, Anti-

SJP/NSJP are not an official incorporated entity. Also in 2010, the AMP hosted a conference for SJP wherein campus activism was the topic and the recognition of the need “to engage other groups and form connections that will benefit the universal fight for justice and self-identity- tenets that are central to SJP’s work.”¹¹⁶

Post Conviction

Despite the HLF convictions in 2008, other elements of the network appeared to continue their activities in furtherance of the conspiracy. They hosted joint events that drove false narratives and subtly seeded pro-terror narratives in collaboration with other entities, some of whom have been designated as terror fronts. Some of those activities are discussed below.

In the late 2010s, CAIR hosted events and marches with groups like AMP. CAIR began to also partner with propaganda organizations aligned with the leftists/Marxist FTO Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) like Samidoun (now designated as an SDT for its role in supporting the PFLP).¹¹⁷ In May 2021, CAIR, AMP, and Samidoun, among others, hosted a National March for Palestine in Washington D.C., where they called for sanctions against Israel.¹¹⁸ In a City University of New York (CUNY) commencement speech, an SJP activist reportedly defended the HLF defendants as mere political prisoners and predicted the fall of not only Israel, but also of the United States.¹¹⁹ In May 2023, an event was held in Brooklyn, New York, where participants advocated for “*Palestine will be free by any means necessary!*,” a reference to the annihilation of Israel through violence. That event was co-sponsored by AMP, SJP and other groups like Samidoun.¹²⁰

With the signing of the Abraham Accords in 2020, progress was made in establishing peace in the Middle East with several countries normalizing relations with Israel.¹²¹ Hamas, however, vehemently opposed the Abraham Accords.¹²² According to a report by the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), AMP’s Abuirshaid appeared on Al Hilwar TV with other Muslim Brotherhood leaders for an interview in Arabic about those Accords and furthered narratives

Americanism, Violent Extremism and the Threat to North American Universities,” 2024, https://isgap.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/SJP_Report.pdf

¹¹⁶

https://web.archive.org/web/20110110054323/http://www.ampalestine.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1496:students-gather-at-amp-conference-to-network-organize-regional-activism-efforts-&catid=96:articles.

¹¹⁷ See e.g., https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-community-media-advisory-join-the-national-march-for-palestine-in-washington-d-c-on-saturday-may-29-sanctionisrael/

¹¹⁸ https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-community-media-advisory-join-the-national-march-for-palestine-in-washington-d-c-on-saturday-may-29-sanctionisrael/

¹¹⁹ <https://www.memri.org/tv/sjp-activist-fatima-mohammed-cuny-law-school-commencement-speech-america-israel-empire-destruction>

¹²⁰ <https://www.memri.org/tv/brooklyn-nakba-day-rally-support-palestine-resistance-any-means-necessary>

¹²¹ Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), “Five Years On: Are the Abraham Accords Here to Stay?,” INSS Insight No. 2035, September 16, 2025, <https://www.inss.org.il/publication/abraham-accords-5-years/>

¹²² <https://www.timesofisrael.com/four-years-on-abraham-accords-are-strained-by-gaza-war-but-prove-resilient/>

consistent with those of Hamas.¹²³ Abuirshaid discussed how Hamas still sought the annihilation of Israel, even if it had to lie about that publicly in furtherance of its agenda. Aburshaid (in Arabic) reportedly said the following:

*Did Hamas talk about a two-state solution or did it not? We don't call it a two-state solution. We call it a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders, but what does it mean? Am I supposed to accept that Hamas does not believe in Palestine from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea? Absolutely not! Hamas does believe in Palestine from the River to the Sea, but it has the principled position on the one hand and the political position on the other. The political position adapts with the constraints of reality, but it does not mean that Hamas has abandoned its principles.*¹²⁴

Recent International Affiliations

International Union of Muslim Scholars

CAIR's Executive Director, Nihad Awad, traveled internationally and was identified through Arabic websites at meetings with the Qatar-based International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS) between 2012 and at least 2022, and was received by IUMS Secretary General Ali Qaradaghi.¹²⁵ The IUMS was founded by now-deceased senior Muslim Brotherhood leader Yusuf Al-Qaradawi who led IUMS through 2018,¹²⁶ an unindicted co-conspirator in the HLF trial who was an HLF "overseas" fundraiser along with a number of Hamas leaders like Mahmud Zahar and Mohammed Siam.¹²⁷ In the early 2000s, Qaradawi issued *Fatwas* (religious rulings) calling for violent *jihads* against Jews and legitimized suicide bombings as acts of martyrdom.¹²⁸

An archived internet site depicts a photograph of Nihad Awad on a panel with Qaradawi in a 2012 IUMS event.¹²⁹ The topic of the article was a Qatari company planning to spend a billion dollars on films telling the story of their prophet Muhammad in the best possible manner. Despite Nihad

¹²³ MEMRI, "Muslim Brotherhood Intellectuals Debate Whether Hamas Should Be Untruthful About Its Goals When Addressing The West," Dec. 24, 2020, <https://www.memri.org/tv/muslim-brotherhood-intellectuals-debate-hamas-untruthful-about-goals-talking-to-west>, also posted at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AG4Iv7Q93EI>

¹²⁴ MEMRI, "Muslim Brotherhood Intellectuals Debate Whether Hamas Should Be Untruthful About Its Goals When Addressing The West," January 5, 2021, Special Dispatch No. 9122, <https://www.memri.org/tv/muslim-brotherhood-intellectuals-debate-hamas-untruthful-about-goals-talking-to-west>, also posted at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AG4Iv7Q93EI>

¹²⁵ <https://iums.me/2484>; <https://alqaradaghi.com/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%B1%D9%87-%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%BA%D9%8A-%D9%8A%D8%B3%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%A8%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%AF-%D9%86%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%AF-%D8%B9%D9%88%D8%B6-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AF%D9%8A/>, <https://iumsonline.org/ar/ContentDetails.aspx?ID=25105>, (accessed August 3, 2026).

¹²⁶ Sergio Altuna, *Beyond Islamic Guidance: Qatar-based IUMS as an Agitator in the Israel-Hamas War*, George Washington University, Program on Extremism, December 2023, <https://extremism.gwu.edu/beyond-islamic-guidance>.

¹²⁷ Testimony of Robert Miranda, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.*, 3:04-cr-240-G (N.D. Tex. 2008) ("HLF"). See also Government Exhibit HLF Search 126.

¹²⁸ https://www.arabnews.jp/en/middle-east/article_81246/

¹²⁹ <https://archive.ph/KwaHx>

Awad proclaiming to the American public that he opposes violence against all civilians, when Qaradawi died in 2022 (after he had issued *fatwas* authorizing suicide bombings and *jihads*), Nihad Awad posted a photograph of Qaradawi on X and said that Qaradawi was “the most influential contemporary Muslim scholar.”¹³⁰

In 2017, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates labeled the IUMS as a terrorist.¹³¹

Another prominent founder of the IUMS was (now deceased) Sheikh Abdul Majeed al-Zindani¹³² who was designated as a terrorist by the U.S. government in February 2004 for his support for Al Qaeda and Usama bin Laden.¹³³ Abdul Majid al-Zindani was also a board member of the designated Hamas front, the Union of Good,¹³⁴ of which the HLF was a part. A Facebook post, reportedly from Nihad Awad on the date of al-Zindani’s death in 2024 said (in Arabic):

*“The Muslim umma has lost one of its greatest figures and leaders with the passing of the esteemed scholar and activist, Sheikh Abdul Majeed al-Zindani, who dedicated his life to serving the Quran and elucidating its limitless miracles. He remained steadfast and resolute in the face of challenges, trials, pressures, and labels until he met his Lord. Condolences to his family, to Yemen, and to our umma.”*¹³⁵

We ask God, the most gracious, the most merciful, the most forgiving, to have mercy on him, forgive him, and reward him on behalf of the umma with the best of rewards.”

In the wake of the October 7 Hamas attack on Israel, the IUMS issued two *fatwas*, or religious rulings. One of those appeared aligned with Hamas’ narrative that the October 7 atrocities were legitimate, and stated, in part:

*“What the people of Gaza and Palestine are doing is a legitimate jihad that is obligatory for them....supporting the people of Gaza and Palestine is a legal duty for the people of Islam.”*¹³⁶

IUMS has additional ties to Hamas leadership, including now-deceased SDGT Ismail Haniyeh. In 2024, Haniyeh attended the IUMS’s conference in Qatar entitled, “The Al-Aqsa Flood and the

¹³⁰ <http://archive.today/cRiaJ>

¹³¹ “Arab states blacklist Islamist groups, individuals in Qatar boycott,” Reuters, November 22, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/world/arab-states-blacklist-islamist-groups-individuals-in-qatar-boycott-idUSKBN1DM2XJ/>.

¹³² International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS), “The Union extends its condolences on the passing of Sheikh Abdul-Majid bin Aziz Al-Zindani, April 23, 2024, <https://web.archive.org/web/20250421114355/https://iumsonline.org/en/ContentDetails.aspx?ID=34989>.

¹³³ “United States Designates bin Laden Loyalist,” U.S. Department of the Treasury Press Release, February 24, 2004, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/js1190>

¹³⁴ <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/hp1267>

¹³⁵ Nihad Awad Facebook post, April 23, 2024, <https://archive.ph/JUXoy#>

¹³⁶ Sergio Altuna, *Beyond Islamic Guidance: Qatar-based IUMS as an Agitator in the Israel-Hamas War*, George Washington University, Program on Extremism, December 2023, p. 11, <https://extremism.gwu.edu/beyond-islamic-guidance>.

Role of the Islamic Nation.”¹³⁷ “Al-Aqsa Flood” is the name Hamas branded its October 7 atrocities.¹³⁸

Notably, historical reports also reveal IUMS has ties to the original US-based Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood infrastructure. Arab media reports indicate Mohamed Akram (author of *The Explanatory Memorandum*, #2 on the 1991 List, #2 on the Palestine Section America list along with Nihad Awad, and also on the 1988 Chart) via his role as Secretary General of the “Jerusalem International Foundation” collaborated with Qaradawi and the IUMS as early as 2007.¹³⁹ Further Mohamed Akram appears to have been a signatory along with Qaradaghi on a 2020 *Fatwa* issued by IUMS “prohibiting peace and normalization with the occupiers of Al-Aqsa, Jeruslaem, and Palestine.”¹⁴⁰ Other signatories on that *Fatwa* who were an opposition to the Abraham Accords (which Hamas vehemently opposed), included CAIR-affiliate Omar Shaheen.¹⁴¹ Further, Mohamed Akram reportedly appeared in a November 2020 virtual conference with IUMS representatives entitled, “Jerusalem is a trust, normalization is treason,” that featured SDGT Ismail Haniyeh.¹⁴²

It is worth stating here that CAIR posts on its websites about “Urban Legends” and denies connections to the Muslim Brotherhood; likewise, the CAIR Texas chapter, co-founded by convicted Hamas supporter Ghassan Elashi, addresses *The Explanatory Memorandum* on its website as a document that “lays out one man’s preposterous proposal for Islam in America.”¹⁴³ The post goes on to state, “[*The Explanatory Memorandum*] appears to have been written as a plea to the Muslim Brotherhood leadership for action, by an author we know little about, Mohamed

¹³⁷ <https://iumsonline.org/ar/ContentDetails.aspx?ID=32131&>

¹³⁸ <https://palinfo.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/12/OurNarrative.pdf>, archived at <https://archive.is/74G1p>. See also <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/politics/%D9%88%D8%AB%D9%8A%D9%82%D8%A9-%D8%AD%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B3-%D8%AD%D9%88%D9%84-%D8%B7%D9%88%D9%81%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%82%D8%B5%D9%89-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D8%B5-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%84> <https://www.aa.com.tr/ar/%D8%A5%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%8A%D9%84/%D8%AD%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B3-%D8%AA%D8%B5%D8%AF%D8%B1-%D9%83%D8%AA%D9%8A%D8%A8%D9%8B%D8%A7-%D9%8A%D9%88%D8%B6%D8%AD-%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%8A%D8%AA%D9%87%D8%A7-%D8%AD%D9%88%D9%84-%D8%B7%D9%88%D9%81%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%82%D8%B5%D9%89/3115051>

¹³⁹ <https://palinfo.com/news/2009/09/08/235870/>

¹⁴⁰ <https://www.iumsonline.org/ar/ContentDetails.aspx?ID=12334> (accessed May 17, 2026).

¹⁴¹ <https://www.iumsonline.org/ar/ContentDetails.aspx?ID=12334> (accessed May 17, 2026).

¹⁴² <https://shehabnews.com/post/72288/%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%AF%D9%8A%D9%88-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%AF%D8%B3-%D8%A3%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B7%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%B9-%D8%AE%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%B7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%82-%D8%A3%D8%B6%D8%AE%D9%85-%D9%85%D8%A4%D8%AA%D9%85%D8%B1-%D8%A5%D9%84%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%B1%D9%88%D9%86%D9%8A-%D8%B9%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%8A-%D9%84%D9%86%D8%B5%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%AF%D8%B3>

¹⁴³ <https://www.cairtx.org/about-us/dispelling-rumors-about-cair>

Akram.”¹⁴⁴ That “one man,” Mohamed Akram, was a senior leader in the US Muslim Brotherhood, a leader in the US Muslim Brotherhood’s Palestine Committee, on a list with CAIR co-founders Nihad Awad and Omar Ahmad entitled *Palestine Section America* found in a 1994 FBI cover search, and he continues his work through at least 2020 via collaboration with the IUMS, an entity with whom CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad is affiliated.

In June 2026, another IUMS official, Mohammed Al-Sagheer, reportedly stated that “Anyone who demands that Hamas surrender its weapons is a traitor...” and called for Allah to destroy Trump, Netanyahu and all their supporters.¹⁴⁵

Popular Conference for Palestinians Abroad

AMP’s Executive Director Osama Abuirshaid has collaborated with the Popular Conference for Palestinians Abroad (PCPA) as discussed below. On January 21, 2026, the U.S. Treasury Department designated the PCPA, stating in part:¹⁴⁶

*The PCPA is also clandestinely acting on behalf of Hamas. As a front organization for Hamas, it operates in accordance with Hamas directives and was established and managed by operatives from Hamas’s Bureau of International Relations, which at the time was led by **Mussa Abu Marzouk**...*¹⁴⁷

*On April 19, 2018, **Ismail Haniyeh** signed a letter addressed to the Hamas Political Bureau that outline his guidance for how Hamas should take control over the Palestinian political process. One element of this plan was to escalate violence against Israel. The other was to boost Hamas’s international outreach, with the PCPA identified as a core part of this strategy...The goal of the PCPA, and the reason behind Hamas’s secret links to the organization, is for Hamas to clandestinely expand its political influence through a group that purportedly represents the interests of the Palestinian diaspora.”*[Emphasis Added by Author.]

In the same announcement, the U.S. Treasury Department discussed Hamas leader Majeed Al-Zeer’s role (listed in the document found in Ashqar’s home- *Palestine Section/Outside America*) as a major figure in the Popular Conference for Palestinians Abroad (PCPA), and reiterated Al-Zeer’s October 7, 2024 designation as a senior Hamas representative.¹⁴⁸

Regarding Abuirshaid’s collaboration with the PCPA, according to a website posting from 2020 that is no longer active, Abuirshaid participated in a PCPA conference in Turkey.¹⁴⁹ Arab media

¹⁴⁴ <https://www.cairtx.org/about-us/dispelling-rumors-about-cair>

¹⁴⁵ <https://www.memri.org/tv/turkey-mohammed-al-sagheer-destroy-trump-netanyahu-hamas-disarmament-traitors>

¹⁴⁶ <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sb0368>

¹⁴⁷ <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sb0368>

¹⁴⁸ “Treasury Targets Significant International Hamas Fundraising Network,” U.S. Department of the Treasury Press Release, October 7, 2024, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy2632>, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy2632>

¹⁴⁹ <https://palabroad.org/ar/post/Z4G6?utm> (accessed circa 2025).

sources indicate the Istanbul conference opened under the title “أولويات القضية الفلسطينية في المرحلة” (“The Priorities of the Palestinian Cause in the Coming Phase and the Desired Role of Palestinians Abroad”) and identified Majeed al-Zeer as “القائم بأعمال رئيس” (“acting head of the general assembly of the Popular Conference for Palestinians Abroad”).¹⁵⁰

This conference was hosted by the Center for Islam and Global Affairs (CIGA), an entity directed by Sami Al-Arian¹⁵¹ who was convicted of conspiring to provide support to the FTO Palestinian Islamic Jihad¹⁵² before he was deported to Turkey. At least one other website of unknown reliability reported Al-Zeer spoke along with Sami Al Arian at this PCPA conference wherein one of the topics was reportedly: “Leaving the Oslo Accords and calling for their termination, and supporting popular resistance...and affirmation of the Palestinian people’s right to resist.”¹⁵³

A now-removed photograph that was posted on the PCPA website showed Abuirshaid at the 2020 PCPA conference, next to a man who bears a striking resemblance (but unconfirmed) to the now-designated terrorist Majeed Al-Zeer.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ <https://palinfo.com/news/2020/10/31/183358/>,
<https://www.aa.com.tr/ar/%D8%AF%D9%88%D9%84%D9%8A/%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%8A%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%AC-%D9%8A%D8%AC%D8%AF%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D8%B9%D9%88%D8%A9-%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%A9-%D9%87%D9%8A%D9%83%D9%84%D8%A9-%D9%85%D9%86%D8%B8%D9%85%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B1/1924951>

¹⁵¹ <https://www.izu.edu.tr/en/ciga/about-us/director's-message>

¹⁵² “Sami Al-Arian Pleads Guilty To Conspiracy To Provide Services To Palestinian Islamic Jihad,” U.S.

Department of Justice, April 17, 2006, https://www.justice.gov/archive/opa/pr/2006/April/06_crm_221.html

¹⁵³ <https://www.odabasham.net/%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AD%D8%A9-%D8%AD%D8%B1%D8%A9/118526-%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%AC%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A4%D8%AA%D9%85%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D8%B9%D8%A8%D9%8A-%D9%84%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%8A%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%AC-901>

¹⁵⁴ <https://palabroad.org/ar> (accessed May 15, 2026).

ورشة في إسطنبول بعنوان " الفلسطينيين في الخارج: تحديات الدور والمكان والتمثيل "



Screenshot from <https://palabroad.org/ar>

Further, as of 2025, the PCPA website hosted several articles by Abuirshaid, but the link is no longer active.¹⁵⁵

Archived social media also indicates Abuirshaid had previously attended CIGA events. On his own Facebook account from a February 2020 post(archived), Abuirshaid stated in Arabic, “my joy will be amplified when we reclaim our national project from those who thwarted it, and my joy will be complete with the liberation of Palestine, its land and its people.”¹⁵⁶ According to the post, he was returning from participating in a CIGA conference in Istanbul.

Further, one CAIR official recently participated in an international conference wherein Majeed Al-Zeer spoke. In October 2025, CAIR Ohio leader, Khalid Turaani, participated in a virtual conference hosted by the al-Zaytouna Center in Beirut entitled, “Palestinians Abroad and Regional

¹⁵⁵ <https://palabroad.org/ar/author/Osama-abo-arshyd> (access circa 2025).

¹⁵⁶ Osama Abulrshaid [note alternate spelling] Facebook post, February 4, 2020, <https://archive.ph/gMuQG#selection-437.1-1540.0>

and International Strategic Transformations in the Light of Al-Aqsa Flood.”¹⁵⁷ As previously stated, Hamas branded its October 7 massacre as “Al-Aqsa Flood.” The conference appeared to be a strategy session for Palestinians in the diaspora in light of the Hamas attacks. Another participant in that conference was the now-designated Majeed al-Zeer.¹⁵⁸ When questioned about his participation, Turaani told *The Free Press* that he had “‘never participated in any panels’ with al-Zaar or interacted with him...”¹⁵⁹

Post October 7, 2023

On October 7, 2023, Hamas conducted a massacre when it invaded Israel, killing approximately 1,200 people and taking over 250 people hostage. Actions taken by CAIR, AMP, SJP and others in the wake of that attack have included the reframing of the atrocities as legitimate resistance and/or, as acts of self-defense, consistent with senior Hamas leaders’ messaging. For example, in October 2025, according to an Arabic media interview capture by MEMRI, Marzook publicly stated Hamas is not a terror organization and merely a “national liberation movement.”¹⁶⁰ Likewise, Hamas leader Khaled Mishal, the half-brother of convicted HLF defendant Mufid Abdulqader (IAP/HLF), refers to Hamas violent operations as “resistance.”¹⁶¹

Within days, the SJP published a graphic, detailed manual entitled “Resistance Toolkit”¹⁶² wherein it characterized the Hamas atrocities as mere “resistance” and swore to bring the resistance to US college campuses.¹⁶³

In November 2023, Nihad Awad gave a speech wherein he appeared to frame the massacre as an act of self-defense and said he was “happy” to see people “break the siege.”¹⁶⁴ After the White House condemned the statements, Nihad Awad reportedly said his statements were “taken out of

¹⁵⁷ Lahav Harkov, “CAIR-Ohio Leader Moderated Event Featuring Designated Terrorist,” *Jewish Insider*, October 27, 2025, <https://jewishinsider.com/2025/10/cair-hamas-member-majed-al-zeer-web-conference-speakers/>

¹⁵⁸ “Treasury Targets Significant International Hamas Fundraising Network,” U.S. Department of the Treasury Press Release, October 7, 2024, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy2632>

¹⁵⁹ Maya Sulkin, “CAIR Official Joins Hamas Leader at ‘Al-Aqsa Flood’ Event,” *The Free Press*, Oct. 28, 2025, <https://www.thefp.com/p/cair-official-joins-hamas-leader-al-aqsa-flood-event>

¹⁶⁰ <https://www.memri.org/tv/mousa-abu-marzouk-trump-gaza-plan-hostages-terror-free>

¹⁶¹ Hamas leader rejects disarmament while Israeli occupation of Gaza continues, *Al Jazeera* (February 2026), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2026/2/8/hamas-leader-rejects-disarmament-while-israeli-occupation-of-gaza-continues>

¹⁶² “Day of Resistance Toolkit,” Exhibit A to the Complaint, *Parizer v. AJP Educational Foundation Inc.* 1:24-cv-00724 (E.D. Va. May 1, 2024) https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.vaed.553122/gov.uscourts.vaed.553122.1.1_1.pdf

¹⁶³ ADL Center on Extremism, “Students for Justice in Palestine Endorses Terrorism and ‘Dismantling Zionism;’ Plans Day of Resistance,” Oct. 9, 2023, <https://www.adl.org/resources/article/students-justice-palestine-endorses-terrorism-and-dismantling-zionism-plans-day>

¹⁶⁴ <https://www.memri.org/reports/cair-executive-director-nihad-awad-american-muslims-palestine-amp-convention-i-was-happy-see>

context.”¹⁶⁵ This reframing of Hamas terror attacks is consistent with Hamas’ agenda to legitimize its atrocities.

In April 2024, AMP Executive Director¹⁶⁶ and former IAP leader Osama Abuirshaid (of IAP, UASR, AMP) led a fiery speech in a campus protest where he stated, “We will take back these colleges as we will take back America, as we will take back Palestine, as we will take back our humanity.”¹⁶⁷

In July 2024, Hamas leader SDGT Ismail Haniyeh was killed in Tehran, Iran.¹⁶⁸ Haniyeh was head of the Hamas Political Bureau when Hamas committed the October 7 attack. CAIR San Francisco leader Zahra Billoo reportedly lauded Haniyeh as a martyr and said, “Never say that those martyred in the cause of Allah are dead- in fact, they are alive... Tonight, we mourn Ismail himself but know his martyrdom is not in vain. From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free.”¹⁶⁹ Billoo’s narrative painting Haniyeh as a hero and not a terrorist responsible for the murder of 1200 people mirrored the propaganda disseminated by Hamas wherein they referred to Haniyeh as a martyr and said, “...and do not think that those who are killed in the way of God are dead. Rather, they are alive...”¹⁷⁰ Hamas further stated Haniyeh’s “blood will not be shed in vain but will illuminate the path to liberation.”¹⁷¹

CAIR and AMP have continued to co-sponsor and participate jointly in anti-Israel events wherein narratives are often twisted, and CAIR has condemned actions taken against “pro-Palestine voices” [SJP members] who violated the law and/or university codes of conduct, characterizing those universities’ actions as Islamophobia.¹⁷² Further, CAIR has financially sponsored certain SJP members who violated campus codes of conduct, claiming the students were merely “targeted for their pro-Palestinian advocacy.”¹⁷³

¹⁶⁵ Peter Baker, “White House Disavows Islamic Group After Oct 7 Remarks,” *New York Times*, Dec. 8, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/08/us/politics/white-house-cair-nihad-awad.html>

¹⁶⁶ <https://www.ampalestine.org/about-amp/our-team>

¹⁶⁷ <https://www.memri.org/tv/executive-director-american-muslims-palestine-osama-abuirshaid-george-washington-university-encampment-change-america-zionism-removed>

¹⁶⁸ “Israel Confirms it Killed Hamas leader Haniyeh in Tehran,” BBC, December 23, 2024. <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c0ewr870z23o>

¹⁶⁹ “CAIR Leader Mourns Hamas Head Haniyeh: ‘His Martyrdom is Not in Vain,’” *Washington Free Beacon* (July 31, 2024), <https://freebeacon.com/israel/cair-leader-mourns-hamas-head-haniyeh-his-martyrdom-is-not-in-vain/>.

¹⁷⁰ <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/7/31/read-hamass-statement-on-the-killing-of-ismail-haniyeh-in-iran>

¹⁷¹ <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/7/31/read-hamass-statement-on-the-killing-of-ismail-haniyeh-in-iran>

¹⁷² See e.g., https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cairs-maryland-office-amp-to-hold-emergency-ceasefirenow-protests-for-gaza-at-offices-of-md-elected-officials/ and https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-designates-uc-irvine-as-a-hostile-campus-over-retaliation-against-pro-palestinian-anti-genocide-students-and-faculty/

¹⁷³ https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-acc-announce-new-fund-to-help-students-targeted-for-palestine-advocacy-on-college-campuses/; https://www.cair.com/press_releases/palestine-legal-cair-announce-historic-100k-settlement-from-u-of-maryland-for-unlawfully-suppressing-pro-palestinian-student-speech/

CAIR has also begun publishing a “Hostile Campus” report, labeling various US universities as “targeting anti-genocide voices.”¹⁷⁴

Washington Trust Foundation

Notably, on November 18, 2025, the State of Texas issued a proclamation designating CAIR as a foreign terrorist organization and in December 2025, the State of Florida also designated CAIR as a foreign terrorist organization. CAIR has brought lawsuits challenging both designations. While those designations and surrounding litigation are not the topic of this research product, a series of events involving CAIR and its alter-ego is noteworthy. To understand these events, it is necessary to understand CAIR’s various name changes.

As stated herein, CAIR was incorporated in September 1994 in Washington, D.C. under the name Council on American Islamic Relations, Inc. (D.C entity number 942995). According to D.C. filings, CAIR (D.C. entity number 942995) changed its name to “Council on American-Islamic Relations Action Network” in June 2007 but continued operating under the same business entity number, and then changed its name again to the Washington Trust Foundation (WTF) in 2013. WTF has held 501(c)3 status since August 2014 under EIN: 52-1887951, but continues operating under the original Washington, D.C. based entity (D.C entity number 942995) that began as CAIR. Meanwhile, CAIR leaders incorporated CAIR-Foundation in 2005 (D.C. entity number 250484), months after the original HLF indictments were made public. WTF’s stated purpose was to support “the charitable purposed of CAIR-Foundation, Inc.”¹⁷⁵ Across both Washington, D.C. business entities, CAIR leader Nihad Awad (aka Nehad Hammad) is a principal officer¹⁷⁶ and CAIR’s general counsel Lena Masri¹⁷⁷ is WTF’s registered agent.¹⁷⁸

It appears CAIR may have begun to move assets after learning of the designations, and this move involved WTF and another company created by CAIR officials earlier in 2025 named Sage Foundation. In its incorporation documents, Sage Foundation says its purpose is to support CAIR-Foundation, Inc.¹⁷⁹ On December 23, 2025, just weeks after the Florida designation, WTF transferred the deed to CAIR’s headquarters office in Washington, D.C. to Sage Foundation. Then, in February 2026, Sage Foundation transferred 45% interest in CAIR’s headquarters to NAIT (listed in the *1988 Chart* and the *Explanatory Memorandum* and identified as an HLF co-conspirator/joint venturer at the HLF trial).

Specifically, at 11:27 on the morning of February 13, 2026, a deed was recorded. It handed an undivided 45% of 453 New Jersey Avenue SE, the national headquarters of the Council on American-Islamic Relations, to the North American Islamic Trust for \$4,000,000. The seller was

¹⁷⁴ https://www.cair.com/press_releases/community-advisory-cair-launches-hostile-campus-webpage-highlighting-campus-known-for-targeting-anti-genocide-voices/

¹⁷⁵ https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/display_990/521887951/2014_12_EO%2F52-1887951_990_201312

¹⁷⁶ <https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/521887951/202513159349304086/full>

¹⁷⁷ <https://corponline.dlcp.dc.gov/homepage/business-info>

¹⁷⁸ <https://corponline.dlcp.dc.gov/homepage/business-info>

¹⁷⁹ <blob:https://corponline.dlcp.dc.gov/f93b037d-53eb-4b05-92b7-d929811dc6c6>

a nonprofit called Sage Foundation, and the man who signed for it was Eyas Abdeen.¹⁸⁰ Each name in that sentence connects back to CAIR. Abdeen is CAIR Foundation's treasurer, and a board member since 2021.¹⁸¹ Sage Foundation was eight months old on the day of the sale: incorporated by Abdeen, Sage's registered agent is CAIR's general counsel Lena Masri, Sage's address is the headquarters building itself, and it is already listed by the District of Columbia's corporate registry as "Active, Not in Good Standing" for missing its first biennial report.¹⁸² Sage had held the building for only seven weeks at the time of the transfer. It took title on December 23, 2025 from WTF.¹⁸³ Meaning, CAIR began the process of moving this valuable asset within weeks of the Florida designation.

A review of CAIR's website did not reveal any type of announcement regarding this significant asset transfer which begs the question of whether they were transparent with their donors.¹⁸⁴

Conspiracy-Generally

The recent activities of CAIR and the AMP, discussed above, are consistent with the goals set forth by the original elements of this network in the *1993 Philadelphia Meeting* and indicate the conspiracy is on-going.

A criminal conspiracy is an agreement between two or more people to do something that is against the law.¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ The agreement does not need to be formalized in writing, or even stated orally, as

¹⁸⁰Special Warranty Deed, made February 3, 2026, recorded February 13, 2026, 11:27 a.m., Instrument No. 2026014277, D.C. Recorder of Deeds. Grantor: Sage Foundation. Grantees, as tenants in common: The North American Islamic Trust, Inc. (Illinois not-for-profit), undivided 45%; Sage Foundation, undivided 55%. Consideration \$4,000,000.00. Property: Lot 83, Square 693 (453 New Jersey Ave SE / 50 E Street SE). Title agent: Mode Title, LLC. Copy on file; reproduced at Exhibit G. Signature page at Exhibit I.

¹⁸¹ Eyas Abdeen executed the deed as "Treasurer" of Sage Foundation (Exhibit I); the same Eyas Abdeen is Treasurer of CAIR Foundation per its FY2023 and FY2024 Forms 990, a board member since 2021. ProPublica Nonprofit Explorer, CAIR Foundation Inc, EIN 77-0646756: [Cair Foundation Inc - Nonprofit Explorer - ProPublica](#)

¹⁸² D.C. Department of Licensing and Consumer Protection, CorpOnline, entity record for SAGE Foundation, Initial File No. N00008421502 (retrieved June 10, 2026): filed May 13, 2025; address 50 E Street SE (the headquarters); incorporator Eyas Abdeen, 120 E. Broad St., Unit A, Falls Church, VA; registered agent Lena F. Masri, email Lmasri@cair.com, 453 New Jersey Ave SE; beneficial owner Malik Conn; status Active, Not in Good Standing (biennial report due Apr. 1, 2026, unfiled). Exhibit K. <https://corponline.dlcp.dc.gov/>

¹⁸³ Deed, Washington Trust Foundation, Inc. (grantor) to Sage Foundation (grantee), recorded December 23, 2025 as Instrument No. 2025124502, D.C. Recorder of Deeds; Square 693, Lot 83. Copy on file; reproduced at Exhibit H. Live index: [Official Records Search](#)

¹⁸⁴ CAIR Foundation FY2024 Form 990: revenue \$9,379,629; contributions \$8,758,688 (93.4%). ProPublica: [Cair Foundation Inc - Nonprofit Explorer - ProPublica](#). No announcement of the headquarters transactions appears on CAIR's site or in its public materials as of June 10, 2026.

¹⁸⁵ "The essence of conspiracy is 'the combination of minds in an unlawful purpose.'" *Smith v. United States*, 568 U.S. 106, 110, (2013).

¹⁸⁶ "Conspiracy, in the modern law, is generally defined as a confederacy of two or more persons to accomplish some unlawful purpose" *Ocasio v. United States*, 578 U.S. 282, 287 (2016).

long as there is an understanding.¹⁸⁷ Depending on the nature of the conspiracy, an overt act taken by a conspirator to advance the conspiracy, may be required.¹⁸⁸ For terrorism conspiracies, however, such an act is not required for the criminal conspiracy to exist.¹⁸⁹

In order to determine whether a conspiracy exists, and whether a specific person is a member of the conspiracy, law enforcement will often look at the statements and acts of the conspirators; whether the actions are in concert and/or the statements are directed to a common goal.¹⁹⁰ Not every conspirator has to commit every act of the conspiracy,¹⁹¹ nor does the underlying criminal purpose need to be achieved. In other words, a bank does not have to be robbed in order for there to be a conspiracy to rob a bank.

Under the Federal Rules of Evidence, statements made by a conspirator in furtherance of the conspiracy can be admitted as evidence at a trial against all the conspirators.¹⁹² To be clear, members of a conspiracy are not criminally charged for their protected speech but instead are charged for their acts. But, as in the Miranda warnings, anything they say can be used against them.¹⁹³

A conspirator will always be a member of a conspiracy,¹⁹⁴ and responsible for the acts of the other conspirators that were done in furtherance of the conspiracy, even if the member joins the conspiracy after it started.¹⁹⁵ In order to no longer be a member of a conspiracy a member must take affirmative steps to withdraw.¹⁹⁶

¹⁸⁷ “A conspiracy need not be shown by proof of an explicit agreement but can be established by showing that the parties have a tacit understanding to carry out the prohibited conduct.” *United States v. Svoboda*, 347 F.3d 471, 477 (2d Cir. 2003); see also *United States v. Cooper*, No. 22-2709-CR, 2024 WL 4533335, at *2 (2d Cir. Oct. 21, 2024).

¹⁸⁸ Title 18, United States Code, Section 371; Section 5.08(A) Conspiracy - Overt Act Required. Seventh Circuit Pattern Jury Instructions (2023).

¹⁸⁹ Title 18, United States Code, Section 2339B.

¹⁹⁰ “In other words, Abdulqader's speech may have been protected prior to Hamas's designation as a terrorist organization, but it became relevant to proving whether he joined the conspiracy that began after the designation. By instructing the jury to consider the intent of the speech as alleged in the indictment, the charge merely permitted the jury to determine whether the Government's theory of the case was correct and did not permit conviction based solely on speech.” *United States v. El-Mezain*, 664 F.3d 467, 538 (5th Cir. 2011), *as revised* (Dec. 27, 2011).

¹⁹¹ “The government does not have to prove that the defendant intended to commit the underlying offense himself/herself.” Instead, “[i]f conspirators have a plan which calls for some conspirators to perpetrate the crime and others to provide support, the supporters are as guilty as the perpetrators.” *Ocasio v. United States*, 578 U.S. 282, 288 (2016) (citations omitted).

¹⁹² Fed. R. Evid. 801(d)(2)(E) https://www.law.cornell.edu/rules/fre/rule_801.

¹⁹³ “It is well established under First Amendment principles that there is no prohibition on ‘the evidentiary use of speech to establish the elements of a crime or to prove motive or intent.’” *United States v. El-Mezain*, 664 F.3d 467, 537 (5th Cir. 2011), *as revised* (Dec. 27, 2011), *citing* *Wisconsin v. Mitchell*, 508 U.S. 476, 489 (1993).

¹⁹⁴ “Upon joining a criminal conspiracy, a defendant's membership in the ongoing unlawful scheme continues until he withdraws.” *Smith v. United States*, 568 U.S. 106, 107 (2013).

¹⁹⁵ “Since conspiracy is a continuing offense, a defendant who has joined a conspiracy continues to violate the law ‘through every moment of [the conspiracy's] existence,’ and he becomes responsible for the acts of his co-conspirators in pursuit of their common plot. Withdrawal terminates the defendant's liability for post withdrawal acts of his co-conspirators, but he remains guilty of conspiracy.” *Id.* at 111. (citations omitted).

¹⁹⁶ “[T]o avert a continuing criminality” there must be “affirmative action ... to disavow or defeat the purpose” of the conspiracy.” *Id.* at 113.

There are, however, some instances where conspirators can be charged for their speech, as not all speech is protected by the First Amendment. Some speech that is designed to cause harm, either emotional or physical, such as incitement, is not protected.¹⁹⁷ An individual cannot scream fire in a crowded movie theatre because of the panic it would cause. A person cannot make a threat online to kill someone else because of the emotional trauma to the victim.¹⁹⁸ And people cannot use speech, in whatever form, to provide material support to a designated foreign terrorist organization if done so at the direction or control of, or in collaboration with, the terrorist organization.¹⁹⁹

Conclusion

The 2008 conviction of the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) and its officials exposed a broader, long-running network in the United States tied to Hamas through individuals and organizations associated with the Muslim Brotherhood. Evidence presented at the HLF trial, including documents seized in FBI investigations, outlined a structured “Palestine Committee” originally made up of groups such as HLF, the IAP, and the UASR, which worked together to provide financial, media, and political support to Hamas. The agenda of the Palestine Committee was to support Hamas.

In the *1993 Philadelphia Meeting*, a conspiratorial meeting that was captured on FBI wiretap, members of the Palestine Committee defined the scope of the conspiracy, and it was out of that conspiratorial meeting that CAIR was created to protect the other elements of the network. That network has evolved since 1993, but elements of that network appear to be continuing the conspiracy and committing acts in furtherance thereof. Each organization and individual within this conspiracy has/had their own role. The HLF’s role in this conspiracy, before it was designated as a terror front, was to send money to Gaza and the West Bank to support the Hamas radicalization of society. The IAP’s role was to disseminate Hamas propaganda. CAIR’s role in the conspiracy was to defend and protect the other elements of the network and to pressure others to adopt its narratives or remain quiet.

Regarding the last point, in the *1993 Philadelphia Meeting*, this network in effect plotted to silence the free speech of those who disagreed with them via intimidation. Specifically, in a discussion between CAIR co-founders Nihad Awad and Omar Ahmad, as well as others, Omar Ahmad stated they must “pressure” others to adopt their narratives or “remain neutral.” The pressure tactics

¹⁹⁷ “[T]he First Amendment precludes punishment, whether civil or criminal, unless the speaker's words were ‘intended’ (not just likely) to produce imminent disorder.” *Counterman v. Colorado*, 600 U.S. 66, 76 (2023).

¹⁹⁸ Title 18, United States Code, Section 875(c).

¹⁹⁹ “[S]peech itself may be criminal under certain circumstances. As relevant to the case at bar, for example, the Supreme Court recently upheld § 2339B in an as applied First Amendment challenge, holding that Congress could criminalize speech that provides material support to designated terrorists. See *Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project*, 561 U.S. 1, 130 S. Ct. 2705, 2724, 177 L.Ed.2d 355 (2010) (stating that Congress could ‘prohibit what plaintiffs want to do—provide material support to [the designated terrorist organizations] in the form of speech’). The Court held that § 2339B is not limited to prohibiting monetary support of terrorists, and the statute is tailored to reach only material support ‘coordinated with or under the direction of a designated foreign terrorist organization.’” *Id.* at 2726. *United States v. El-Mezain*, 664 F.3d 467, 537 (5th Cir. 2011), *as revised* (Dec. 27, 2011).

are still in play today. CAIR and other elements of this network appear to have continued their acts in furtherance of the conspiratorial agenda. Their conduct since October 7, 2023, further suggests that they have not withdrawn from the conspiracy.

For decades, narratives have been intentionally seeded into public discourse that portray terrorist organizations as resistance movements, excuse acts of violence, and intimidate critics into silence. On college campuses, in activist spaces, and across social media, slogans and rhetoric that once existed on the fringes have become normalized. And too often, people who raise concerns are immediately labeled hateful, intolerant, or extremist themselves.

But free societies cannot function when intimidation replaces debate.

The First Amendment protects speech. It protects dissent. It protects protest. But it does not protect material support for terrorism. It does not protect criminal conspiracies. And it does not require Americans to ignore evidence introduced in federal court simply because that evidence is politically uncomfortable.

Policy Considerations

Federal Enforcement Entities

Recommend the FBI/IRS/DOJ institute criminal investigations into referenced organizations and individuals with a focus on:

- a. Violations of the Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA).
- b. Violations of 18 USC §2239B, which criminalizes the provision of material support to an FTO.
- c. Tax Evasion/ Tax Fraud.
- d. Violations of the Racketeering Influence and Corruption Act (RICO).

Recommend IRS/DHS/DOJ institute civil/administrative investigations and proceedings for:

- a. Violations of 501(c)3 requirements.
- b. Violations of the Immigration and Nationality Act.
- c. Civil/administrative audits.

Federal Legislation:

- a. Enhance transparency in reporting for 501(c) 3 tax exempt organizations, with specific focus on requirements to identify foreign donors.
- b. Enhance regulatory and enforcement authority for violations of 501(c) 3 requirements.
- c. Update federal laws regarding the provision of material support to an FTO, specifically articulating when speech constitutes a “service” to an FTO in line with the opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court in Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project.

- d. Update federal laws establishing mandatory minimum sentences for terrorism-related convictions.
- e. Require K-12 schools to report foreign funding and transparency.

State Agencies:

- a. Enact legislation requiring K-12 schools report foreign funding and ensure state agencies have corresponding investigative and enforcement authorities.
- b. Enact legislation requiring individuals and entities register with the state if they are doing political, lobbying, public relations, or educational activities on behalf of a foreign government, a foreign entity, and/or a foreign individual.
- c. Enhance reporting requirements for entities who operate within a state and receive tax benefits, state vouchers, or other state benefits.
- d. Enact legislation that requires K-12 curriculum to be void of language that advocates for violence against a protected class.