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Senate Judiciary Committee: Joint Subcommittee- Crime and Counterterrorism, Border Security and Immigration

Hearing: Biden's Afghan Parolee Program- A Trojan Horse with Flawed Vetting and Deadly Consequences

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I. Introduction

Since 2022, the U.S. government has granted hundreds of millions of dollars to the states for Afghan immigration legal services.¹ The Department of Health and Human Services under the Biden Administration allowed states to subgrant this money to non-profits of their choosing with virtually no transparency and no meaningful federal oversight.²

States, wittingly or unwittingly, used this discretion to channel federal funds to non-profits in the United States that support Hamas.³ States obscured their obligations under federal contracting and grant rules, including the duty to ensure that all grantees do not support terrorism.⁴ Organizations such as the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) were chosen as Afghan immigration providers.⁵

CAIR masquerades as a Muslim civil rights group; but it is not.⁶ CAIR was formed by the political founder of Hamas, Mousa Abu Marzook, with the explicit purpose of

¹ Immigration-Related Legal Assistance Allowable Under ORR ASA Funding Policy Letter 22-11; Afghan Refugee Support Services Supplement: FY 2023 Dear Colleague Letter 23-20; Legal Assistance Allocation; Afghan Refugee Support Services Supplement: FY 2022 Third Allocation: Legal Assistance Dear Colleague Letter 22-11 <https://acf.gov/orr/policy-guidance/dear-colleague-letters>

² California Department of Social Services Afghan Legal Services Funding Non Profit Contact List Fiscal Year 2022-2023 <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1HpYBVb2tyjxOZVA25cNDEBIJZzUu1qsN32bWFX7idI/edit?usp=sharing>

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Uniform Administrative Requirements, Cost Principles and Audit Requirements for Federal Awards, <https://www.ecfr.gov/current/title-2/subtitle-A/chapter-II/part-200>

⁵ Muslim Group Linked to Hamas Accused on Financial Irregularities with 7 Million Dollars of Taxpayer Cash Now Unaccounted For, NY Post, March 14, 2025, <https://nypost.com/2025/03/14/us-news/muslim-group-cair-accused-of-financial-irregularities/>

⁶ Opinion, Julie Marzouk, *Congress Moves to Strip Tax Exempt Status of U.S. Non-profits Supporting Terror*. Jewish News Syndicate (JNS), September 16, 2024, <https://www.jns.org/congress-moves-to-strip-tax-exempt-status-of-us-nonprofits-supporting-terror/>

advancing Hamas's agenda in America.⁷ In 1993, the FBI wiretapped the meeting where CAIR was created.⁸ The transcript details how the Muslim Brotherhood needed an organization that looked legitimate and could interact with American civic society.⁹

CAIR was named as an unindicted co-conspirator in the 2008 Holy Land Foundation trial, the largest terrorist-financing case in U.S. history.¹⁰ In 2009, a federal judge confirmed that "the government has produced ample evidence to establish the association of CAIR with . . . Hamas."¹¹ The current National Executive Director of CAIR, Nihad Awad, the same person who was at that wiretapped Philadelphia meeting in 1993, continues to express his support of Hamas.¹² He proclaimed his "happiness" at seeing the Hamas terrorist assault on Israel on October 7, 2023.¹³

After the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Biden Administration paroled Afghans into the United States and granted money to immigration service non-profits, effectively delegating one of its most sensitive functions, screening and advising noncitizens on eligibility for asylum and other forms of immigration relief to organizations that themselves have supported terrorism.¹⁴

CAIR-California alone received more than fifteen million dollars in federal HHS/ORR money.¹⁵ The State of Washington gave CAIR more than one million dollars in federal immigration funding.¹⁶

Lutheran Immigration and Refugees Services (LIRS) received \$221 million federal HHS/ORR dollars.¹⁷ LIRS, sub-granted at least \$1.1 million dollars of federal Afghan

⁷ CAIR—*Why History Is Important*, Program on Extremism, Geo. Wash. Univ. (Nov. 3, 2025), https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-11/CAIR_Revised.pdf

⁸ Gov't Ex. "Complete Philadelphia Conference Transcript," 3:04-CR-240-G, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief & Development*, et al. at 129-30 (N.D. Tex. 1993) (PDF Pagination), https://www.investigativeproject.org/case_docs/us-v-holy-land-foundation/2039/complete-philadelphia-conference-transcript.pdf (hereinafter "Philadelphia Transcript").

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Holy Land Found'n, No. 3:04-cr-00240-P Memorandum Opinion Order, July 1, 2009, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/2340/federal-judge-agrees-cair-tied-to-hamas>

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *White House Disavows U.S. Islamic Group After Leader's October 7 Remarks*, New York Times, December 8, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/08/us/politics/white-house-cair-nihad-awad.html>

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Opinion Contributor, Julie Mazouk, The Hill, *Trump's DOJ Should Stop Treating CAIR as a Legitimate Immigration Provider*, June 15, 2025, <https://thehill.com/opinion/immigration/5349087-3-cair-california-funding-accusations-controversy/>

¹⁵ California Open Fiscal State Transparency Portal, Open.Fiscal.Ca.gov <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1xyUffnoT03XQRzDyjlW-x7WYu49iJE2/view?usp=sharing>

¹⁶ Washington State Spending Reports for 2021-23, 2023-25, 2025-27 to CAIR Washington for Immigration Services with Federal Funds at <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Rour4ml18r8dLMzGQxahKUELsvywD3Xe/view?usp=sharing>; https://drive.google.com/file/d/1CjsHuRGY8hTGUBG81VILfrM7GJ_aeBTY/view?usp=sharing; https://drive.google.com/file/d/1GYP1Uoubv1Y_OFAwmqHlh3l3pc-p7aoN/view?usp=sharing

¹⁷ Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services Federal Tax Form 990 for fiscal year 2023, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1q4N8N4L9MqGlv30mXN-APVMow7xvKXsN/view?usp=sharing>

money to Islamic Circle North America (INCA) in 2023.¹⁸ ICNA is a CAIR affiliate.¹⁹ ICNA has its own documented ties to terrorism.²⁰ Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services partnered with ICNA in Georgia, Arkansas, California, Arizona, Texas, Washington, and Pennsylvania.²¹ Catholic Charities of Fort Worth also received over \$200 million of federal HHS/ORR funds in 2023.²² Catholic Charities partnered with ICNA in Texas.²³

CAIR does not appear as a federal recipient on any federal oversight dashboards, like Sam.gov, because the HHS/ORR contracts are between the states and the non-profits, not directly with the federal government.²⁴ Yet, CAIR's own press releases and publicity specifically state that CAIR California²⁵, CAIR Washington²⁶, CAIR Oklahoma²⁷, CAIR Florida²⁸, and CAIR Texas²⁹ all provided asylum immigration legal services for the arriving Afghans.

¹⁸ Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services Federal Tax Form 990 for fiscal year 2023, Schedule I, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1pG5bhKPxYcwP1VCcUZAwwltDCgkvDWqf/view?usp=sharing>

¹⁹ CAIR Dallas Fort Worth Press Release documenting partnership with ICNA, September 9, 2021, https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-dfw-to-join-9-11-day-of-service-collection-drive-to-help-victims-of-hurricane-afghan-refugees/

²⁰ An IPT Investigative Report on Jamaat-e-Islami Network's Support for Jihad and Islamism, Investigative Project on Terrorism, June 2019,

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1kHuD_pe60Lks5iDKfGoXESSP9ANaRXz0/view?usp=sharing

²¹ ICNA Relief Refugee Resettlement Partnership with LIRS Facebook Post July 21, 2023,

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/icnareliefsouthern Cali/posts/1253584658861001/>;
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1qk_GP2mFl3ZiAmZGYl585OyPPDMtE3V2/view?usp=sharing

²² Catholic Charities of Fort Worth Federal Tax Return 990 Fiscal Year 2023,

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1-EHEChJ177Q46-b3gUMN_wEkzr6TRj_j/view?usp=sharing

²³ Catholic Charities of Fort Worth Partner Organization Has Islamic Terrorism Ties The Islamic Circle of North America has ties to the Pakistani terrorist group Jamaat-e Islami, September 30, 2024, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1FAIqZ_wHDy9sZC6clseWuGy1V637oF3c/view?usp=sharing; INCA Relief Facebook post, July 18, 2022, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1v0kqOBXlkoRIHqIXp_lT-Bjn03ZWmy3F/view?usp=sharing

²⁴ California Department of Social Services Afghan Legal Services Funding Non Profit Contact List Fiscal Year 2022-2023

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1HpYBVb2tyjxOZVA25cNDEBIIJzUu1qsN32bWFX7idl/edit?usp=sharing>

²⁵ CAIR CA 2023 Annual Report at

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/112vbKWc35o71uNsGqGwcCBggaVMoflja/view?usp=sharing>; CAIR 2024 Annual Report at <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1NBl1sAW2HenCwBLZZ-BshF-VakZs48ps/view?usp=sharing>

²⁶ CAIR Washington Press Release, July 24, 2023 at <https://www.cairwa.org/blog/the-ijps-first-asylum-case-approval/>

²⁷ CAIR Press release: CAIR OK Welcomes Final Afghan Refugee, February 16, 2022,

<https://www.cairoklahoma.com/blog/catholic-charities-cair-ok-welcome-final-afghan-refugee-family-to-okc/> Oklahoma State Senate Report: Examining the Afghan Placement and Assistance (APA) Program in Oklahoma,

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1xrlMnunAcyKUYlOsuBf9C3Dv8uRTL3Aj/view?usp=sharing>

²⁸ CAIR-Florida Press Release: Afghan Refugee Who Served at US Embassy in Kabul Granted Asylum, January 12, 2023, https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-florida-afghan-refugee-who-served-at-u-s-embassy-in-kabul-granted-asylum/

²⁹ CAIR-Press Release: How We are Helping the People of Afghanistan by CAIR Texas Austin and CAIR Texas Fort Worth at <https://www.cairtx.org/component/content/article/184-how-we-re-helping-the-people-of-afghanistan-cair-tx-austin-dfw?Itemid=101&catid=8%3Anews>

The convoluted Afghan Allies federal funding scheme that flowed from HHS/ORR to the states and then from states to non profits, with no federal oversight, makes it difficult to clearly track all of the subgrants. CAIR likely received federal money as subgrants of HHS/ORR dollars in a fashion similar to the subgrants to ICNA. There is simply not a direct way to track CAIR's receipts with publicly available federal and state transparency portals. Federal investigatory oversight is necessary in order to "follow the money."

CAIR attorneys, like all licensed immigration attorneys, are tasked with screening immigrants for purposes of applying for asylum or other immigration relief. Attorneys are professionally and ethically obligated to ask clients about past associations, organizations clients have supported, and any intent clients may have to engage in or support terrorism.³⁰ Those obligations should have been central to any organization entrusted with federally funded immigration work.³¹ Those questions, in addition to how they are framed, documented, or avoided, are the frontline of national security.

CAIR understood the power of being the federal and state funding immigration provider for Afghan asylum seekers. In its application to the State of California for Afghan immigration funds, CAIR highlighted its experience in navigating terrorism-related inadmissibility grounds, in effect touting its ability to coach clients around the enforcement of such laws.³² CAIR, an organization with a thirty-year association with Hamas,³³ was entrusted to vet Afghan applicants for terrorism.

In short, the federal government paid CAIR to represent Afghan immigrants, while CAIR undermines the very security and values this country is trying to protect.

Federal oversight is urgently needed to investigate and audit all Afghan immigration grants routed through the states, require transparent reporting for Afghan immigration and refugee legal services, and bar organizations that have ties to a U.S. designated terror organizations from receiving any federal or pass-through funding.

II. CAIR's Financial Misconduct and Misrepresentation of Legal Status

In 2022, California Department of Social Services (CDSS) awarded CAIR more than \$7.2 million in federal HHS/ORR funding under the Afghan Legal Services Program.³⁴ However, this grant was not awarded to a legally recognized nonprofit entity. It was awarded to "Council on American-Islamic Relations, Greater Los Angeles," a name not

³⁰ 8 CFR § 1003.102 Professional Conduct for Practitioners-Rules and Procedures;

<https://www.ecfr.gov/current/title-8/chapter-V/subchapter-A/part-1003/subpart-G/section-1003.102>

³¹ Best Practices and Resources for Representing Operation Allies, USC International Human Rights Clinic published in connection with American Immigration Lawyer Association, April 22, 2023, <https://humanrightsclinic.usc.edu/2023/04/22/best-practices-and-resources-for-representing-operation-allies-welcome-parolees-and-afghan-nationals/>

³² Contract Between California Department of Social Services and CAIR of Greater Los Angeles for \$7.2 million of Federal HHS/ORR funding at page 23. <https://drive.google.com/file/d/146nelIRi57RHZGWNqeZDI-ZNKX-OH4q/view?usp=sharing>

³³ CAIR—*Why History Is Important*, Program on Extremism, Geo. Wash. Univ. (Nov. 3, 2025), https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-11/CAIR_Revised.pdf

³⁴ Contract Between California Department of Social Services and CAIR of Greater Los Angeles for \$7.2 million of Federal HHS/ORR funding. <https://drive.google.com/file/d/146nelIRi57RHZGWNqeZDI-ZNKX-OH4q/view?usp=sharing>

registered with the California Secretary of State, lacking an EIN, and never authorized to receive federal funds.³⁵

Despite receiving more than \$7 million in federal pass-through funding, CAIR of Greater Los Angeles didn't file a federal Tax Form 990 because it's not a stand alone non-profit.³⁶ But, the state incorporated affiliate CAIR-CA's federal taxes reported \$0 in government grants on its 2022 Form 990 and only \$127,269 in 2023.³⁷ This represents an extraordinary discrepancy that strongly suggests willful misreporting in violation of the Internal Revenue Code. CAIR-CA also failed to disclose required subgrants on Schedule I.³⁸

If it was CAIR-CA that received the federal HHS/ORR funding, and employees of CAIR simply mis-typed and referred to "CAIR of Greater Los Angeles" on the California Department of Social Services contract, then it was CAIR-CA that had contractual obligations to distribute more than \$5 million to partner organizations.³⁹ Again, no such subgrants are shown on CAIR-CA 990 reporting documents. In fact, public documents from the State of California show that CAIR of Greater Los Angeles sub-granted approximately \$3.6 million of the HHS/ORR money from "CAIR of Greater Los Angeles" to "CAIR of Greater Los Angeles", treating internal branches as if they were separate legal entities, undermining all transparency, and engaging in blatant self-dealing.⁴⁰

Publicly obtained documents show that the State of California expressed concern that CAIR (and all its state affiliates) were under-performing on its Afghan Legal Services Contract. In fact, CAIR-CA delivered less than 50% of the legal representation promised to the California Department of Social Services.⁴¹ In its reporting to the State of California Department of Social Services, CAIR CA reported only 66 affirmative asylum cases in FY 2021-2022 and 71 in FY 2022-2023.⁴² CAIR-CA was also the recipient of

³⁵ Intelligent Advocacy Network, Request for Investigation into CAIR-CA's Use of Department of Justice Funds and Executive Office of Immigration Review Accreditation Status, <https://intelligentadvocacy.net>; https://docs.google.com/document/d/1CIHQhjvVeVkJHPfjU_qeKoSaFDdjM5Co9aINoocz0Z7Q/edit?usp=sharing

³⁶ Muslim Group Linked to Hamas Accused on Financial Irregularities with 7 Million Dollars of Taxpayer Cash Now Unaccounted For, NY Post, March 14, 2025, <https://nypost.com/2025/03/14/us-news/muslim-group-cair-accused-of-financial-irregularities/>

³⁷ Intelligent Advocacy Network, Request for Investigation into CAIR-CA's Use of Department of Justice Funds and Executive Office of Immigration Review Accreditation Status, <https://intelligentadvocacy.net>; https://docs.google.com/document/d/1CIHQhjvVeVkJHPfjU_qeKoSaFDdjM5Co9aINoocz0Z7Q/edit?usp=sharing

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ \$3.6 Million Subgrant on California Department of Social Services Grants from CAIR-LA to CAIR-LA <https://drive.google.com/file/d/12bzi0bFi6HyF7bVdOBmy0wjQSoNO6Ffa/view?usp=sharing>

⁴¹ Letter from California Department of Social Services to CAIR-CA documenting 50% under-performance on Immigration Contract; https://drive.google.com/file/d/1VhV7_tGP2hqiQ5-RA2eOgi15_kUoPo9w/view?usp=sharing

⁴² California Department of Social Services- CAIR CA Grant Reporting for Affirmative Asylum cases in FY 2021-2022 and FY 2022-2023, https://docs.google.com/document/d/1LBoljZJ16G_uike_LJZeqAaIRbuXUAGyQd5m2qBvKZ4/edit?usp=sharing;

the majority of a \$13 million dollar federal HHS/ORR grant routed through the California Department of Social Services to help Afghans assimilate in schools and workplaces.⁴³ This grant was given to CAIR-CA despite the fact that CAIR purports to be a legal civil rights organization, not an agency of social workers.⁴⁴ In short, CAIR-CA accepted tens of millions of dollars of federal funds, assisted few Afghan immigrants, and evaded all federal and state transparency requirements.

III. Afghan Immigration Vetting

The most serious risk arising from CAIR's federal funding is the national-security threat created when CAIR was entrusted, and paid, by the U.S. government, to conduct terrorism-sensitive immigration screenings for Afghan parolees under Operation Allies Welcome.⁴⁵

Afghan immigration vetting requires probing extremist ideology, organizational ties, and potential support for extremist groups.⁴⁶ CAIR's own alignment with extremist narratives creates an inherent conflict of interest. An organization that currently supports Hamas and whose creation was designed to further Hamas ideology cannot credibly assess whether Afghan applicants harbor extremist views.⁴⁷ Entrusting such screening to CAIR predictably increases the risk that individuals with extremist affiliations will enter or remain in the United States.

That risk is no longer theoretical. The recent murder of a National Guard member near the U.S. Capitol by an Afghan asylee underscores the deadly consequences of compromised screening systems.⁴⁸ When the federal government delegates terrorism-sensitive immigration functions to a pro-Hamas organization, national security is placed at an unacceptable risk.

During the chaos of the Afghan evacuation, there was insufficient time for the U.S. government to go through the complete process to vet and grant evacuees formal refugee

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gmyY8njtyzj0frApsNILqcpWcT3sCBqstjBqEKlTlYk/edit?usp=sharing>

⁴³ Press Release from University of California San Diego, Center for Community Health to Lead \$13M Statewide Program for Newly Arrived Afghan Families, <https://today.ucsd.edu/story/center-for-community-health-to-lead-13m-statewide-program-for-newly-arrived-afghan-families>

⁴⁴ Center for Community Health UCSD, <https://communityhealth.ucsd.edu/work/ars-i-aym>

⁴⁵ Opinion Contributor, Julie Mazouk, The Hill, *Trump's DOJ Should Stop Treating CAIR as a Legitimate Immigration Provider*, June 15, 2025, <https://thehill.com/opinion/immigration/5349087-3-cair-california-funding-accusations-controversy/>

⁴⁶ USCIS Law and Policy Resource on Terrorism Related Grounds of Inadmissibility, <https://www.uscis.gov/laws-and-policy/other-resources/terrorism-related-inadmissibility-grounds-trig>; Best Practices and Resources for Representing Operation Allies, USC International Human Rights Clinic published in connection with American Immigration Lawyer Association, April 22, 2023, <https://humanrightsclinic.usc.edu/2023/04/22/best-practices-and-resources-for-representing-operation-allies-welcome-parolees-and-afghan-nationals/>

⁴⁷ Gov't Ex. "Complete Philadelphia Conference Transcript," 3:04-CR-240-G, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief & Development*, et al. at 129-30 (N.D. Tex. 1993) (PDF Pagination), https://www.investigativeproject.org/case_docs/us-v-holy-land-foundation/2039/complete-philadelphia-conference-transcript.pdf (hereinafter "Philadelphia Transcript").

⁴⁸ DC National Guard Shooting Suspect Identified as Afghan National who Had Worked with CIA, CBS News, November 28, 2025, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/suspect-dc-national-guard-shooting-afghan-national-what-we-know/>

status.⁴⁹ As a stopgap measure, the Biden Administration paroled individuals into the United States.⁵⁰ The intention was that the Afghans would then seek permanent legal status to remain in the United States.⁵¹

The money granted from HHS/ORR to the states, and then to individual legal service organizations, was intended for attorneys to assist Afghans with the process of applying for this permanent immigration status, most commonly through asylum applications.⁵²

Terrorism related inadmissibility grounds, INA § 212(a)(3)(B) is translated into security screening questions on the asylum application (Form I-589)⁵³ to ensure that applicants do not have previous involvement with terrorism or extremist groups and do not currently support terrorism.⁵⁴ Most immigration forms, including applications for permanent residency (Form I-485) and naturalization (Form N-400) also contains terrorism-screening questions.⁵⁵

As an immigration legal service provider, CAIR was, and still remains, responsible for asking each applicant every question on all immigration forms and properly assessing whether the immigrant applicant has had, or currently has, any associations or beliefs connected to terrorism that could make them ineligible for immigration relief.⁵⁶

IV. CAIR's History and Current Terrorism Affiliations

CAIR is not the civil-rights organization it presents itself to be.⁵⁷ It was founded by the Muslim Brotherhood's Palestine Committee, a network established by Hamas's

⁴⁹ U.S. Senate Committee on Judiciary Press Release, June 25, 2025, Department of Justice Office of Inspector's General's Report Confirms 55 Afghans Paroled into the United States Were on Terror Watchlist, <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/press/rep/releases/justice-department-watchdog-confirms-grassley-oversight-biden-harris-gave-suspected-terrorists-protected-status-through-afghan-evacuee-program>

⁵⁰ DHS Officials Lacked Critical Data when Vetting Afghan Evacuees, Watchdog Finds, September 7, 2022, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/afghan-evacuees-dhs-watchdog-finds-department-lacked-critical-data-vetting/>

⁵¹ Immigration-Related Legal Assistance Allowable Under ORR ASA Funding Policy Letter 22-11; Afghan Refugee Support Services Supplement: FY 2023 Dear Colleague Letter 23-20; Legal Assistance Allocation; Afghan Refugee Support Services Supplement: FY 2022 Third Allocation: Legal Assistance Dear Colleague Letter 22-11, <https://acf.gov/orr/policy-guidance/dear-colleague-letters>

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ USCIS Affirmative Asylum Procedures Manual, <https://www.aila.org/library/affirmative-asylum-procedures-manual>

⁵⁴ USCIS Law and Policy Resource on Terrorism Related Grounds of Inadmissibility, <https://www.uscis.gov/laws-and-policy/other-resources/terrorism-related-inadmissibility-grounds-trig>

⁵⁵ USCIS Training Manual, Chapter 7 Other Barred Adjustment Applicants, <https://www.uscis.gov/policy-manual/volume-7-part-b-chapter-7>; USCIS Policy Manual on Grounds for Revocation of Naturalization, <https://www.uscis.gov/policy-manual/volume-12-part-l-chapter-2#footnotelink-6>

⁵⁶ 8 CFR 1292 Representation and Appearances by Attorneys and DOJ Accredited Representatives before Executive Office of Immigration Review, <https://www.ecfr.gov/current/title-8/chapter-V/subchapter-B/part-1292>

⁵⁷ *Fighting Peace*, Program on Extremism, Geo. Wash. Univ. (Nov. 14, 2025), <https://extremism.gwu.edu/fighting-peace-0>;

leadership to support Hamas in the United States.⁵⁸ In the 2008 Holy Land Foundation prosecution,⁵⁹ the largest terrorism-financing case in U.S. history, federal prosecutors introduced extensive evidence showing that CAIR's founders and senior leaders held simultaneous roles in Hamas-affiliated organizations.⁶⁰ CAIR was named an unindicted co-conspirator at the Holy Land Foundation trial.⁶¹ In 2009, Federal Judge Jorge Solis upheld that designation, writing: "The government has produced ample evidence to establish the associations of CAIR with Hamas."⁶²

Internal Palestine Committee documents show that after Hamas opposed the Oslo Accords, committee operatives, including Nihad Awad, the current national Executive Director of CAIR, met in Philadelphia, under FBI surveillance, to discuss strategies for covertly supporting Hamas.⁶³ Participants in the Philadelphia meeting referred to Hamas only as "Samah" (Hamas spelled backwards) and emphasized the need for deception.⁶⁴ Within months, Palestine Committee figures Omar Ahmad and Nihad Awad incorporated CAIR, which an internal memo soon listed as one of the Committee's Hamas-support organizations.⁶⁵

Today, CAIR's leadership continues to echo that ideology. Following Hamas's October 7, 2023 massacre, CAIR's co-founder Nihad Awad stated he was "happy to see" the assault.⁶⁶ CAIR-San Francisco's Executive Director, Zahra Billoo, mourned the killing of Ismail Haniyeh, the chief architect of October 7th, and referred to him as a "martyr."⁶⁷ CAIR-Los Angeles Executive Director and CEO of CAIR-CA, Hassam Ayloush, asserted that Israel "does not have the right to defend itself," framing Hamas's actions as legitimate resistance.⁶⁸ In 2025, CAIR-Ohio's director shared a stage with a

⁵⁸ *CAIR—Why History Is Important*, Program on Extremism, Geo. Wash. Univ. (Nov. 3, 2025), https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2025-11/CAIR_Revised.pdf

⁵⁹ Holy Land Found'n, No. 3:04-cr-00240-P

⁶⁰ United States, Government's Amended Memorandum in Opposition to Petitioners Islamic Society of North America and North American Islamic Trust's Motion for Equitable Relief, In re Holy Land Foundation for Relief & Development, No. 3:04-CR-240-P (N.D. Tex. July 11, 2008), https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/images/asset_upload_file142_36171.pdf

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Holy Land Found'n, No. 3:04-cr-00240-P Memorandum Opinion Order, July 1, 2009, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/2340/federal-judge-agrees-cair-tied-to-hamas>

⁶³ Gov't Ex. "Complete Philadelphia Conference Transcript," 3:04-CR-240-G, *United States v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief & Development*, et al. at 129-30 (N.D. Tex. 1993) (PDF Pagination), https://www.investigativeproject.org/case_docs/us-v-holy-land-foundation/2039/complete-philadelphia-conference-transcript.pdf (hereinafter "Philadelphia Transcript").

⁶⁴ *United States v. Holy Land Foundation*, No. 3:04-CR-240-G (N.D. Tex. 1993), Gov. Ex. 016-0051.

⁶⁵ Vidino, Lorenzo, *The Hamas Networks in America: A Short History*, Program on Extremism at George Washington Univ. 10 (Oct. 2023); *United States v. Holy Land Foundation*, No. 09-10560 at 12-13 (5th Cir. 2012).

⁶⁶ *White House Disavows U.S. Islamic Group After Leader's October 7 Remarks*, New York Times, December 8, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/08/us/politics/white-house-cair-nihad-awad.html>

⁶⁷ Talib Ally Mourns Assassination of Top Hamas Leader: "His Martyrdom is not in Vain." Fox News, July 31, 2024; <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/taib-ally-mourns-assassination-top-hamas-leader-his-martyrdom-not-vain>

⁶⁸ *CAIR Los Angeles Leader Israel Does not Have the Right to Defend Itself*, Jewish News Service, December 7, 2023, <https://www.jns.org/cairs-los-angeles-leader-israel-does-not-have-right-to-defend-itself/>

Treasury-designated Hamas leader at an event branded as the Al Aqsa Flood, Hamas's own terminology for the October 7th terrorist attack.⁶⁹

In the context of tens of millions of dollars of federal grants, these statements are not protected political discourse. They directly violate federal anti-terrorism certification requirements⁷⁰ and expose a profound ideological conflict with the responsibilities CAIR assumed when paid to screen Afghan parolees for terrorism-related inadmissibility.

V. CAIR's All-of-Society Extremist Influence Campaign

The misuse of federal dollars is inseparable from CAIR's broader effort to embed extremist, anti-democratic, and anti-American action across public institutions. While receiving millions in federal refugee funding, CAIR engaged in an all-of-society campaign to normalize Hamas-aligned ideology and weaponize civic systems for political ends.⁷¹

CAIR activists have appeared before city councils across California to push narratives that excuse or glorify terrorism.⁷² CAIR has successfully inserted its ideological frameworks into K–12 ethnic studies curricula, embedding an oppressor–oppressed worldview that promotes grievance-based identity politics and delegitimizes U.S. counterterrorism policy and Israel's right to exist.⁷³ CAIR has lobbied school boards, pressured superintendents, and cultivated influence within teacher training programs to institutionalize these views.⁷⁴

CAIR has aggressively infiltrated California's county anti-hate commissions, entities intended to protect vulnerable communities, using them instead to marginalize Jewish

⁶⁹ *CAIR Official Joins Hamas Leader Al Aqsa Flood Event*, Free Press, October 28, 2025, <https://www.thefp.com/p/cair-official-joins-hamas-leader-al-aqsa-flood-event>

⁷⁰ Executive Order 13224, September 23, 2001 Blocking Property and Prohibiting Transactions With Persons Who Commit, Threaten To Commit, or Support Terrorism <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2001/09/25/01-24205/blocking-property-and-prohibiting-transactions-with-persons-who-commit-threaten-to-commit-or-support>

⁷¹ "Rooted in Faith, Growing in Justice," CAIR-CA 2024 Annual Report. <https://ca.cair.com/publications/2024-annual-report/>

⁷² CAIR-SFBA Applauds Dublin's Unanimous Vote to Bar City Investments in War, <https://ca.cair.com/press-release/cair-sfba-applauds-dublins-unanimous-vote-to-bar-city-investments-in-war-mass-surveillance-and-mass-incarceration-industries/>; CAIR LA Commends City of Montebello for Unanimously Adopting Resolution Supporting a Ceasefire in Gaza, <https://ca.cair.com/press-release/cair-la-commends-city-of-montebello-for-unanimously-adopting-resolution-supporting-a-ceasefire-in-gaza/>

⁷³ CAIR Press Release: CAIR Raises Concerns Regarding Santa Ana Unified School Board Settlement in Anti-Palestinian Lawsuit, https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-la-raises-concerns-regarding-sausd-board-of-educations-settlement-in-anti-palestinian-lawsuit-calls-for-ethnic-studies-courses-to-remain-inclusive/

⁷⁴ CAIR Press Release: CAIR San Francisco Bay Area Condemns States Biased Decision Targeting Palestinian Expression in Oakland Schools, https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-sfba-condemns-states-biased-decision-targeting-palestinian-expression-in-oakland-schools/; CAIR Press Release: CAIR-CA Stands in Solidarity with K-12 Educators in California and Across the Nation Participating in a Three Day Hunger Strike for Gaza, https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-ca-stands-in-solidarity-with-k-12-educators-in-california-across-the-nation-participating-in-three-day-hunger-strike-for-gaza/

communities and inflate claims of Islamophobia unsupported by evidence⁷⁵. CAIR substituted its own “hate incident findings” for formal California Attorney General reports, distorting statewide anti-hate programming.⁷⁶ CAIR likewise commandeered California’s Cal vs. Hate initiative, positioning itself as a civil-rights authority⁷⁷ while simultaneously opposing Holocaust education⁷⁸ and lobbying against legislation to protect Jewish students in K–12 schools.⁷⁹

CAIR’s penetration of public universities has been equally extensive.⁸⁰ It played a central organizing and guidance role in campus encampments, partnering with groups that openly endorse Hamas.⁸¹ The organization’s staff and leadership provided legal, media, and strategic support to student activists whose demands mirrored Hamas political objectives.⁸²

This is not standard civic advocacy. It represents a coordinated effort to shift public institutions toward extremist-aligned narratives while benefiting from federal and state funding streams intended to protect the public good.

VI. Conclusion

The evidence demonstrates that CAIR-California misrepresented its legal structure, concealed federal funds on its tax returns, failed to perform critical services for Afghan refugees, and used public resources to advance extremist-aligned political goals. Most

⁷⁵ CAIR-CA Press Release: CAIR CA Says State Hate Crime Report Fails to Capture the Scope of Anti-Muslim and Anti-Palestinian Hate, <https://ca.cair.com/press-release/cair-ca-says-state-hate-crime-report-fails-to-capture-scope-of-anti-muslim-anti-palestinian-hate/>;

⁷⁶ California Office of the Attorney General Press Release: Attorney General Bonta Releases 2024 Hate Crime Report Highlights, <https://oag.ca.gov/news/press-releases/attorney-general-bonta-releases-2024-hate-crime-report-highlights-continued>

⁷⁷ Press Release from the Civil Rights Department of California Featuring Hussam Ayloush, Council on American Islamic Relations-CA CEO as a state wide “Anti-Hate” leader, <https://calcivilrights.ca.gov/2025/09/17/what-theyre-saying-leaders-across-california-stand-united-in-combatting-hate/>

⁷⁸ Anti-Israel Groups Oppose California Holocaust Education Bill that Passed Unanimously, *Algemeiner*, September 4, 2024, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2024/09/04/anti-israel-groups-oppose-california-holocaust-education-bill-that-passed-unanimously/>

⁷⁹ CAIR-CA Press Release: CAIR CA Urges Senate to Reject AB 715, <https://ca.cair.com/press-release/cair-ca-urges-senate-to-reject-ab-715-as-amendments-deepen-threat-to-academic-freedom/>

⁸⁰ CAIR-CA Press Release: CAIR-LA Demand UCI Protect Anti Genocide Student Protestors, <https://ca.cair.com/press-release/cair-la-demands-uci-protect-anti-genocide-student-protestors-rights-to-free-speech-urges-administration-to-call-off-excessive-police-presence/>

⁸¹ CAIR Press Release: CAIR-LA and MSA West Condemn Police Response to UCLA Anti-Genocide Student Encampment, https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-la-and-msa-west-condemn-militarized-police-response-to-ucla-anti-genocide-student-encampment/

⁸² CAIR Press Release: CAIR-LA Condemns UC Irvine Administrators Academic Retaliation Against Students Involved in Peaceful Anti-Genocide Encampments; https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-la-condemns-uc-irvine-administrations-academic-retaliation-against-students-involved-in-peaceful-anti-genocide-encampments/

CAIR Press Release: CAIR-CA Condemns Trump Administration’s Attack on Campus Free Speech Following Investigation into California State University, https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-ca-condemns-trump-administrations-attacks-on-campus-free-speech-following-investigation-into-csu/

alarmingly, CAIR's documented ties to Hamas and its leaders' public praise of terrorist violence render it fundamentally unfit to perform terrorism-sensitive immigration screening. Federal and state oversight failures enabled these abuses, jeopardizing public safety, national security, and the integrity of refugee programs designed to protect America's allies.

Immediate federal action is required to suspend CAIR's funding, investigate its conduct, review IRS filings, audit state pass-through agencies, and enact safeguards to prevent extremist-affiliated organizations from accessing federal funds or influencing terrorism-related immigration processes.