



The Suspect Ties of CAIR Officials, Fundraisers & Trainers

A number of CAIR officials and some other individuals who have raised funds for CAIR have in some cases committed criminal acts themselves, or in other cases have ties to organizations connected to Islamic extremism. The fact that such individuals have played significant roles for CAIR casts doubt on CAIR's claims of moderation and restraint. The individuals discussed in this section of the report are included not to suggest that any is responsible for the acts of the others or that those convicted of crimes should be lumped together with those that have not been, but rather to demonstrate a pattern of extremism that appears to pervade CAIR.

- **Ghassan Elashi**

Though Elashi attended the 1993 Philadelphia Hamas meeting (see installment 1 of this series) and was a founding board member of CAIR-Texas,¹ CAIR attempts to minimize his ties to the group. That is understandable, given Elashi's 2004 conviction on six criminal counts, including making false statements, conspiracy to violate the Export Administration Regulations and the Libyan Sanctions Regulations, and conspiracy to file false shipper's export declaration forms.² Jurors were unable to reach unanimous verdicts on the charges against him in the HLF trial.

In Senate testimony, CAIR's Nihad Awad said "Mr. Elashi was never an employee or officer of our corporation. The fact that he was once associated with one of our almost twenty regional chapters has no legal significance to our corporation."³ Again, in January 2007, Awad had this to say when U.S. Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-Cal.) rescinded an award to CAIR employee Bassim Elkarra: "Ghassan Elashi was a former member of CAIR in Dallas -- he did not do it on CAIR's behalf. This is true guilt by association. We have tens of thousands of members nationwide, and it will be very unfair to hold the organization responsible for the actions of an individual."⁴

Elashi was also chairman⁵ and treasurer⁶ of HLF and vice president of marketing for Infocom, a computer export company.⁷ On December 17, 2002, Elashi and Infocom were indicted for engaging in financial transactions with Libya, Syria, and Mousa Abu

¹ "Articles of Incorporation for CAIR," Texas Secretary of State, September 29, 1998.

² "Elashi Brothers Convicted," US Department of Justice Press Release, July 8, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/usao/txn/PressRel04/elashi_conv.pdf (accessed July 9, 2004).

³ Supplemental Testimony of Nihad Awad Before the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Homeland Security, *Terrorism: Two Years After 9/11, Connecting the Dots*, September 17, 2003, 5.

⁴ Stephen Magagnini and David Whitney, "Boxer Pulls Muslim Award, CAIR Director's Honor Rescinded Over Concerns About Group's Activities," *The Sacramento Bee*, January 4, 2007, <http://www.sacbee.com/101/story/102832.html>

⁵ "1999 HLF RD Form 990," *Internal Revenue Service*. Note: Ghassan Elashi is listed on HLF's (then known as the Occupied Land Fund) IRS forms as principal officer/secretary in January 1989. See: "1989 Articles of Incorporation, Occupied Land Fund Form 1023," *Internal Revenue Service*.

⁶ "1993, 1998 HLF RD Form 990," *Internal Revenue Service*.

⁷ *US v. Elashi*, 3:02-CR-052-R, "Superseding indictment," (N.D. Tex. December 17, 2002).



Marzook.⁸ According to the indictment, Elashi and Infocom received at least \$250,000 from accounts controlled by Marzook.⁹

Infocom was found guilty on all 10 counts with which it was charged.¹⁰ Additionally, Elashi and his brothers, Basman and Bayan, were found guilty of the Marzook-related charges on April 13, 2005.¹¹

The Elashi brothers were convicted on the Infocom computer equipment charges in July 2004¹² and on the Marzook/Hamas related charges in April 2005.¹³ Ghassan and Basman Elashi were sentenced to 80 months in prison and Bayan Elashi was sentenced to 84 months in prison.¹⁴ Ihsan Elashi was sentenced to 72 months in prison; he had already been sentenced to 48 months on separate charges and his terms will run consecutively. Hazim Elashi was sentenced to 66 months in prison and will be deported upon completion of his term.¹⁵

- **Randall (Ismail) Royer**

According to a biography posted on IslamOnline.net, Royer began working as a CAIR communication specialist in 1997.¹⁶ According to media reports, he continued to work for CAIR at least through the beginning of October 2001.¹⁷

When police stopped Royer for a traffic violation in September 2001, they found in his automobile an AK-47-style rifle and 219 rounds of ammunition.¹⁸

⁸ *US v. Elashi*, Case No. 3:02-CR-052-R, “Superseding indictment” (N.D. Tex. December 17, 2002). Note: Mousa Abu Marzook is married to Elashi’s first cousin.

⁹ *US v. Elashi*, Case No. 3:02-CR-052-R, “Superseding indictment,” (N.D. Tex. December 17, 2002).

¹⁰ “Elashi Brothers Convicted,” US Department of Justice Press Release, July 8, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/usao/txn/PressRel04/elashi_conv.pdf (accessed July 9, 2004).

¹¹ *US v. Elashi*, 3:02-CR-052-R, “Verdict of the jury” (N.D. Tex. April, 13, 2005) and David Koenig, “Brothers Found Guilty of Terrorism Support,” *Associated Press*, April 13, 2005, http://news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&u=/ap/20050413/ap_on_re_us/hamas_trial_1 (accessed April 14, 2005) and Art Moore, “CAIR leader convicted of terror charges; Founding board member of Texas Chapter funded Hamas,” *World Net Daily*, April 14, 2005, http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=43805 (accessed April 14, 2005).

¹² “Elashi Brothers Convicted,” Department of Justice press release, July 8, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/usao/txn/PressRel04/elashi_conv.pdf

¹³ “More Federal Convictions For Elashi Brothers And Infocom Corporation At Second Trial,” Department of Justice press release, April 14, 2005, http://www.usdoj.gov/usao/txn/PressRel05/elashi_conv_part2.pdf

¹⁴ “INFOCOM CORPORATION AND ITS OPERATORS SENTENCED IN FEDERAL COURT; ELASHI BROTHERS CONVICTED FOR DOING BUSINESS WITH TERRORIST,” Department of Justice Press Release, October 13, 2006,

<http://dallas.fbi.gov/dojpressrel/pressrel06/terroristsupport101306.htm>; Michael Grabell, “Holy Land group’s co-founder sentenced,” *Dallas Morning News*, October 12, 2006, <http://www.dallasnews.com/sharedcontent/dws/dn/latestnews/stories/101306dnmetelashi.302f898f.html>

¹⁵ “Elashi Brothers Sentenced” Department of Justice press release, January 25, 2006, http://www.usdoj.gov/usao/txn/PressRel06/elashi_hazim_ihsan_sen_pr.html

¹⁶ Biography of Ismail Royer, <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Guestcv.asp?hGuestID=605R88> (accessed October 14, 2004).

¹⁷ Mike Snider, “Harassment Intrudes on Chat Sites,” *USA Today*, September 18, 2001 and Dave Lenckus, “US Muslims Advised to Address Racism Risks; Advocates Encourage Community Work,” *Crain Communications, Inc. Business Insurance*, October 1, 2001.



He was indicted in June 2003, with 10 others, on a variety of charges stemming from participation in the ongoing jihad in Kashmir. Specifically, the indictment charged that Royer engaged in propaganda work for Lashkar-e-Taiba and “fired at Indian positions in Kashmir.”¹⁹ Lashkar-e-Taiba was designated a Foreign Terrorist Organization on December 26, 2001.²⁰

Thus, while news reports indicated he still worked for CAIR, according to a federal indictment, Royer purchased an AK-47 assault rifle and 219 rounds of ammunition, distributed newsletters for a group later designated as a foreign terrorist organization, and fired at Indian targets in Kashmir.²¹ Again, Awad has minimized CAIR’s ties to Royer, noting Royer was also “a former employee of Starbucks Coffee.”²² In January 2007, in response to Senator Boxer’s withdrawal of the award to Elkarra, Awad claimed that “CAIR had no knowledge of Royer’s travels and activities before he joined CAIR.”²³

Additional charges listed in a superseding indictment against Royer and his 10 co-conspirators included conspiracy to levy war against the United States and conspiracy to provide material support to Al Qaeda.²⁴

On January 16, 2004, Royer pleaded guilty to weapons and explosives charges and agreed to cooperate fully with the government.²⁵ He was sentenced to 20 years in prison.²⁶

¹⁸ *US v. Royer*, 03-296-A, “Superseding indictment,” (E.D. Va. September 23, 2003).

¹⁹ *US v. Royer*, 03-CR-296, “Sealed indictment,” (E.D. Va. June 25, 2003).

²⁰ “Powell Names Two Groups as Terrorist Organizations,” US State Department, December 26, 2001, <http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/terror/01122601.htm> (accessed July 9, 2004). Markaz al-Dawa wal Irshd, the admitted political wing of Lashkar-e-Taiba, was first established in 1986 for the purpose of “organi[zing] the Pakistanis participating in Afghan Jihad.” See: Markaz ad-Da’wa wal Irshad & Lashkar-e-Taiba, Pakistan, former URL <http://www.dawacenter.com/> via *MSA News*, March 7, 2000.

²¹ *US v. Royer*, 03-CR-296, “Sealed indictment,” (E.D. Va. June 25, 2003).

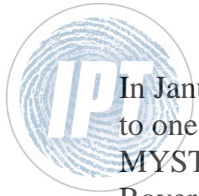
²² Supplemental Testimony of Nihad Awad Before the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Homeland Security, *Terrorism: Two Years After 9/11, Connecting the Dots*, September 17, 2003, 4. Note: As an example of the close ties between Awad and Royer, see the October 5, 2000 IslamOnline chat that the two men participated in together. See: “Live Dialogue with Nihad Awad and Ismail Royer,” Executive Director and Communications Specialist: Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), October 5, 2000, <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Browse.asp?hGuestID=605R88> (accessed October 29, 2004).

²³ Stephen Magagnini and David Whitney, “Boxer Pulls Muslim Award, CAIR Director’s Honor Rescinded Over Concerns About Group’s Activities,” *The Sacramento Bee*, January 4, 2007, <http://www.sacbee.com/101/story/102832.html>

²⁴ US Department of Justice News Release, September 25, 2003, <http://www.usdoj.gov/usao/vae/ArchivePress/SeptemberPDFArchive/03/royer092603.pdf> (accessed April 8, 2004).

²⁵ “Two Defendants in Virginia Jihad Case Plead Guilty to Weapons Charges, Will Cooperate with Ongoing Investigations,” US Department of Justice News Release, January 16, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/January/04_crm_030.htm (accessed July 7, 2004).

²⁶ “Randall Todd Royer and Ibrahim Ahmed Al-Hamdi Sentenced for Participation in Virginia Jihad Network,” US Department of Justice News Release, April 9, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/April/04_crm_225.htm, accessed July 7, 2004. In total, six members of the cell pleaded guilty, three were convicted, and two were acquitted. See: “Defendants Convicted in Northern Virginia Jihad Trial,” US Department of Justice News Release, March 4, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/March/04_crm_139.htm, accessed July 13, 2004 and Jerry Markin, “Final Defendant in ‘Va. Jihad’ Case Acquitted,” *The Washington Post*, March 9, 2004.



In January 2007, two weeks after U.S. Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-Cal.) rescinded an award to one of its employees, CAIR released an open letter, ironically titled, “DE-MYSTIFYING ‘URBAN LEGENDS’ ABOUT CAIR.”²⁷ It once again downplayed Royer’s conviction and ties to CAIR, writing:

FACT: WHATEVER ISMAIL ROYER DID OR DID NOT DO HAS NO BEARING ON HIS PREVIOUS WORK FOR CAIR

In January 2004, Royer pleaded guilty to weapons charges and did not plead guilty to any charge of “terrorism.” Notwithstanding the fact that any criminal action to which he pleaded guilty was done when Royer was no longer employed with CAIR and not at CAIR’s direction, it is important to note that the only crimes that he pleaded guilty to were weapons charges, not charges of terrorism.

The word “terrorism” does not, in fact, appear in the charges to which Royer pleaded guilty. But the charges were related to his activities in connection to Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), a Specially Designated Global Terrorist, and in furtherance of the terrorist activities of that group, including against the U.S. military.²⁸

As part of his plea, Royer admitted to calling his LeT contact in Pakistan – in September 2001 while press accounts indicate he was still employed with CAIR – and providing physical descriptions of his associates who wanted to join the *jihad*, as well as giving one of his cell members instructions and contact information for reaching LeT once they arrived in Pakistan. Four of his friends then departed Northern Virginia for Pakistan – two on September 19, 2001 and two on September 20 – to train with LeT with the intention of fighting alongside the Taliban against U.S. forces in anticipation of an American invasion of Afghanistan.

On page two of his plea agreement, Royer “admits the facts set forth in the statement of facts filed with this plea agreement.”²⁹ That statement clearly explains Royer’s relationship to LeT, which the government alleged began in February 2000, meaning almost all of it coincided with Royer’s employment with CAIR.³⁰

1. In or about the fall of 2001, in the Eastern District of Virginia, RANDALL TODD ROYER aided and abetted the use and discharge of a semi-automatic pistol by Masoud Khan, Yong Kwon, Mohammad Aatique, and Khwaja Hasan in Pakistan during, in relation to, and in furtherance of a crime of violence for which the defendant may be prosecuted in a court of the United States. In specific, ***ROYER assisted Khan, Kwon, Aatique, and Hasan in gaining entry to a jihad camp run***

²⁷ http://www.cairphilly.org/files/Demystifying_Urban_Legends_About_CAIR.pdf

²⁸ “Specially Designated Nationals And Blocked Persons,” Office of Foreign Assets Control, <http://www.treas.gov/offices/enforcement/ofac/sdn/t11sdn.pdf>.

²⁹ U.S. v. Royer et. al. “Plea Agreement,” EDVA 03-cr-296 January 28, 2004.

³⁰ U.S. v. Royer et. al. “Superseding indictment,” EDVA 03-cr-296 September 25, 2003.



by the Lashkar-e-Taiba in Pakistan so that they could train in the use of various weapons; as a foreseeable part of that training, and in furtherance of the conspiracy charged in Count One of the Indictment against the defendant, Khan, Kwon, Aatique, and Hasan fired semiautomatic pistols.

2. In or about the summer of 2000, in the Eastern District of Virginia, RANDALL TODD ROYER aided and abetted the carrying of an explosive in Pakistan during the commission of a felony which may be prosecuted in a court of the United States. In specific, ***ROYER aided and abetted the carrying of a rocket-propelled grenade at a Lashkar-e-Taiba camp in Pakistan*** by Ibrahim Al-Hamdi, during the commission of a conspiracy to provide for, ***and prepare a means for taking part in a military expedition and enterprise to be carried on from the United States against the territory and dominion of India, a foreign state with whom the United States was at peace***, in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Sections 371 and 960.

11. On or about April 10, 2000, ROYER entered Pakistan, and found the LET office in Lahore. There, he said that he had previously fought in Bosnia and that he wanted to go help fight in Chechnya. The LET representatives verified Royer's story about having previously fought in Bosnia, and told him that LET could get him to Chechnya.

15. During his time at the LET offices in Lahore, in or about early May 2000, ROYER was taken up to the LET training camps including Ibn Tayrniyaa, Aqsa, and fin Masood, and to the front line in Kashmir. ***At the front line, ROYER was given - - and took - - an opportunity to shoot some rounds at Indian positions in Kashmir with a machine gun.***

31. [After September 16, 2001 and before September 19, 2001] ROYER met with Kwon and Hasan at a 7-11 store in Virginia. Using a long distance telephone card purchased at the 7-11 store, ***ROYER provided to his LET contact in Pakistan the physical descriptions of Kwon and Hasan***, as individuals who wished to go to LET. ***ROYER provided Kwon with instructions and a phone number to call when they arrived in Pakistan.*** (emphasis added)

CAIR's word games regarding the word "terrorism" in Royer's plea cannot change the fact that their employee conspired to engage in a holy war against an ally of the United States, and, as Royer has also admitted, against the U.S. itself.

In later grand jury testimony relating to a Virginia imam and released by the U.S. Attorney's office, Royer admitted again that his terrorist cell's goal was to directly fight the United States on behalf of the Taliban.



Royer's testimony centers on a secret meeting Sept. 16, 2001 with his "Virginia Jihad" cell. There, Royer said, Imam Ali al-Timimi discussed his "view of the September 11th attacks and what the response of Muslims in the United States should be now."³¹ Al-Timimi came equipped with a printout of a *fatwa* from a Saudi Sheikh which approved of the 9/11 attacks, Royer said, and predicted that the U.S. would soon invade Afghanistan and that "it was a positive thing for Muslims to go and help the Taliban defend against U.S. invasion."³²

Royer recalled al-Timimi saying, cell members should go join the mujahedin. To Royer, that meant **"in pretty clear terms that, that it would be beneficial for us to go and help them – help the Taliban."** Royer testified he wanted to act on that advice.

"Well, what I said was that if anyone wanted to, to join mujahedin then they should get training first, and if they wanted to so they, they could obtain it from Lashkar-e-Taiba, an organization based in Kashmir with whom I had contact."³³ (emphasis added)

As stated above, the meeting with al-Timimi, Royer and the other members of the Virginia Jihad cell occurred while news accounts say Royer was still employed with CAIR.

- **Bassam Khafagi**

As late as November 1, 2002, Bassam Khafagi served as CAIR's director of community relations.³⁴ Awad claims that "Khafagi was never an 'employee' of CAIR. He was commissioned as an independent contractor for CAIR, effective November 2, 2001."³⁵

Khafagi was arrested in January 2003 and indicted in February that year on bank fraud charges.³⁶ "At the time of his arrest," the Associated Press reported, "he was community affairs director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations, a Muslim civil rights and advocacy group based in Washington."³⁷ In September 2003, he pleaded guilty to bank and visa fraud³⁸ and agreed to be deported to Egypt.³⁹

Khafagi also served as a founding member and president of the Islamic Assembly of North America (IANA).⁴⁰ IANA was investigated for money laundering and recruiting terrorists over the Internet;⁴¹ the FBI raided its offices in February 2003.⁴²

³¹ U.S. v. John Doe A01-246, Grand Jury Number 04-2, "Testimony of RANDALL TODD ROYER," June 22, 2004.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Khafagi was listed as the Director of Community Relations for CAIR at a fundraiser held on November 1, 2002.

³⁵ Supplemental Testimony of Nihad Awad Before the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Homeland Security, *Terrorism: Two Years After 9/11, Connecting the Dots*, September 17, 2003, 4.

³⁶ *US v. Khafagi*, Case No. 03-CR 80087, "Indictment," (E.D. Mich. February 13, 2003).

³⁷ "Former Head of Islamic Charity Sentenced in Fraud Case," *Associated Press*, November 13, 2003 and Bill Morlin, "Egyptian with UI Ties Held in Probe," *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, March 14, 2003.

³⁸ "Ex-Head of Islamic Charity Pleads Guilty," *Associated Press*, September 10, 2003.

³⁹ "Former Head of Islamic Charity Sentenced in Fraud Case," *Associated Press*, November 13, 2003

⁴⁰ "Articles of Incorporation Islamic Assembly of North America," Colorado Secretary of State, May 10, 1994.



IANA has created a dozen or more Web sites whose objective, prosecutors have stated in court papers, was the “dissemination of radical Islamic ideology, the purpose of which was indoctrination, recruitment of members and the instigation of acts of violence and terrorism.”⁴³

According to corporate records, Khafagi served in a leadership position at IANA during the period that senior Al Qaeda recruiter Abdelrahman al-Dosari (a.k.a. Shaykh Abu Abdel Aziz “Barbaros”) spoke at IANA’s 1993, 1994 and 1995 conferences.⁴⁴

- **Nabil Sadoun**

Nabil Sadoun currently serves on CAIR’s board of directors⁴⁵ and is a board member and past chair of CAIR-Texas.⁴⁶

He helped found the United Association for Studies and Research (UASR) with Hamas leader Marzook.⁴⁷ According to a government motion filed in a criminal prosecution, “UASR, through its Executive Director, has demonstrated its sympathies for Hamas and...several of its key associates are, or have been, integrally involved in Hamas activities.”⁴⁸

As noted earlier, the UASR was listed among the organizations in the Muslim Brotherhood’s “Palestine Committee” in America.

Sadoun also was a co-founder of the Muslim American Youth Association (MAYA)⁴⁹ and was associated with MAYA through at least 2001.⁵⁰ Other co-founders included

⁴¹ “Saudi National Charged with Conspiracy to Provide Material Support to Hamas and Other Violent Jihadists,” US Department of Justice News Release, March 4, 2004,

http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/March/04_crm_137.htm (accessed July 11, 2004) and Alexander Higgins, “Swiss Court OKs Bank Document Handover,” *Associated Press*, October 15, 2004 and Susan Schmidt, “Spreading Saudi Fundamentalism in US,” *Washington Post*, October 2, 2003.

⁴² “Feds Raid Muslim Charity,” *UPI*, February 27, 2003. Note: CAIR sent an email announcement about IANA’s 2000 West Coast Conference. See: “IANA West Coast Conference 2000,” CAIR Southern California email, MSA News, May 19, 2000.

⁴³ “Saudi National Charged with Conspiracy to Provide Material Support to Hamas and Other Violent Jihadists,” US Department of Justice News Release, March 4, 2004,

http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/March/04_crm_137.htm (accessed July 11, 2004) and Susan Schmidt, “Spreading Saudi Fundamentalism in US,” *Washington Post*, October 2, 2003.

⁴⁴ “Articles of Incorporation Islamic Assembly of North America,” Colorado Secretary of State, May 10, 1994 and Shaykh Abu Abdel Aziz, “Jihad and Revival,” Islamic Assembly of North America (IANA), Chicago, IL, 1993.

⁴⁵ CAIR Board of Directors, <http://www.cair-net.org/default.asp?Page=Board> (accessed July 5, 2007).

⁴⁶ CAIR Board of Directors, Sadoun Profile, <http://www.cair-net.org/default.asp?Page=Board&person=Nabil> (accessed July 5, 2007).

⁴⁷ “Articles of Incorporation United Association for Studies and Research,” Illinois, September 18, 1989.

⁴⁸ *US v. Damra*, 03-cr-484, “United States’ Response in Opposition to Defendant Fawaz Damra’s Motion for Permission to Travel to Springfield, Virginia,” (D.C. Oh March 24, 2004).

⁴⁹ “1990 Muslim Arab Youth Association Form 1023,” *Internal Revenue Service*; and “Articles of Incorporation: Muslim Arab Youth Association in North America, Inc. (MAYA),” October 1989.

⁵⁰ “List of Names of Speakers on the MSA Speakers List,” September 1, 2001,

<http://209.85.165.104/search?q=cache:BAbB2CXeQsJ:www.msa-national.org/resources/speakers.pdf+sadoun+maya&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=us>



Osama bin Laden's nephew, Abdullah,⁵¹ and the group was funded with a \$250,000 grant from the Bin Laden Construction Company in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.⁵²

MAYA's conferences, many of which it co-sponsored with IAP, have long supported Hamas.

For example, in 1989, at an IAP/MAYA conference, a masked Hamas commander praised a Hamas operative for driving a civilian bus off the road into a ravine, killing 17 persons.⁵³ The crowd responded with shouts of "God is great!"⁵⁴ And Muhammad Jarrad, a detained Hamas terrorist, acknowledged in an April 1993 interrogation that he had been a member of MAYA for "4 or 5 years."⁵⁵ Jarrad said that, at the 1993 MAYA conference held in Oklahoma City, he had met Hamas leader Marzook.⁵⁶

Another convicted Hamas member, Nasser Hidmi, was invited by a senior Hamas recruiter to a MAYA conference in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1990.⁵⁷ Hidmi alleged that separate meetings were conducted during the conference specifically for Hamas supporters. Hidmi testified that during another MAYA conference in Kansas City in 1991, Hamas members discussed preparing terrorist attacks against Israel.⁵⁸

Additionally, in December 1992, MAYA's Arabic language periodical *Al-Amal* quoted Sadoun as saying that MAYA had "introduced to the whole American [people] symbols of the awakening like Dr. Abdullah Azzam."⁵⁹ Azzam was Osama bin Laden's spiritual advisor⁶⁰ and a co-founder of Al Qaeda's predecessor, the Makhtab-e-Khidamat.⁶¹ In May 1988, Azzam had been invited to address the annual MAYA national conference held in the United States.⁶²

Sadoun also served as a director of American Products International (API).⁶³ Federal investigators say API is a component of the SAAR network. Investigators believe that network provided "material or financial support to international terrorists and terrorist organizations through terrorist front organizations" including Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad.⁶⁴

- **Mohammad El-Mezain**

⁵¹ "1990 Muslim Arab Youth Association Form 1023," *Internal Revenue Service*.

⁵² "1990 Muslim Arab Youth Association Form 1023," *Internal Revenue Service*.

⁵³ Muslim Arab Youth Association /Islamic Association for Palestine Conference, 1989.

⁵⁴ Muslim Arab Youth Association /Islamic Association for Palestine Conference, 1989.

⁵⁵ Interrogation of Muhammad Jarad, April 2, 1993, Ramallah.

⁵⁶ Interrogation of Muhammad Jarad, April 2, 1993, Ramallah.

⁵⁷ *State of Israel v. Nasser Issa Gal'al Hayedmi*, ID#23474141, "Verdict."

⁵⁸ *State of Israel v. Nasser Issa Gal'al Hayedmi*, ID#23474141, "Verdict."

⁵⁹ "Comprehensive Interview with Brother Nabil Sadoun President of Muslim Arab Youth Association," *Al-Amal*, December 1992, 64.

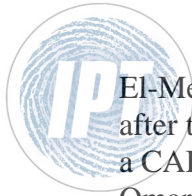
⁶⁰ 9/11 Commission Report, 55.

⁶¹ 9/11 Commission Report, 56.

⁶² Muslim Arab Youth Association Conference, May 5, 1988.

⁶³ Virginia Secretary of State Record, American Products International, File Number 439740, Status Date May 31, 2000.

⁶⁴ *In the Matter of Searches Involving 555 Grove Street, Herndon, Virginia, and Related Locations*, 02-114-MG, "Redacted Affidavit In Support of Application," (USDC ED VA).



El-Mezain is the former chairman⁶⁵ and director of endowments for HLF.⁶⁶ Three years after the Treasury Department froze HLF's assets,⁶⁷ El-Mezain conducted fundraising at a CAIR-New York event, soliciting over \$100,000 for his CAIR hosts⁶⁸ Nihad Awad and Omar Ahmad both attended the event.⁶⁹ Mezain was indicted soon afterward for providing material support to Hamas. Jurors acquitted El-Mezain of all but one count against him in the HLF trial. He still faces a charge of conspiring to provide material support to a terrorist group.⁷⁰

According to an FBI memorandum released in conjunction with freezing assets of the Holy Land Foundation in 2001 for providing material support to a terrorist group, El-Mezain helped raise \$207,000 at the 1994 MAYA conference in Los Angeles. El-Mezain led a fundraising drive after a fiery speech by keynote speaker Sheik Muhammed Siyam, who was introduced as the head of the HAMAS military wing in Gaza.⁷¹

In his speech, Siyam said "Finish off the Israelis. Kill them all! Exterminate them! No peace ever!"

An FBI informant reported that El-Mezain told the audience that money raised by HLF went to Hamas and that he had raised \$1.8 million inside the United States for HAMAS.⁷² Further, the source said, El-Mezain said all HLF money was "strictly for Hamas."

- **Riad Abdelkarim**

Abdelkarim served as CAIR's Western Region communications director from 2000-2002,⁷³ as well as a CAIR Southern California board member in 2000⁷⁴ and 2002.⁷⁵

He also served as HLF's secretary in 2000⁷⁶ and was an HLF board member when the organization was shut down in December 2001.⁷⁷ He defended HLF after the shutdown,

⁶⁵ "1990 Holy Land Foundation Form 990," *Internal Revenue Service*.

⁶⁶ Action Memorandum, Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development International Emergency Economic Powers Act. From Dale Watson, Assistant Director, FBI Counterterrorism Division, To Richard Newcomb, Director of the Office of Foreign Assets Control, Dept of Treasury, "November 5, 2001

⁶⁷ "Shutting Down the Terrorist Financial Network," US Treasury Department, December 4, 2001, <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/po841.htm>.

⁶⁸ CAIR-New York: "The Role of the Seven Million American Muslims in the 2004 Elections," April 10, 2004.

⁶⁹ CAIR-New York: "The Role of the Seven Million American Muslims in the 2004 Elections," April 10, 2004.

⁷⁰ *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, verdict, Oct. 22, 2007 (N.D. Tx.).

⁷¹ Watson Action Memo, 46-47

⁷² Watson Action Memo, 46-47

⁷³ Basil Abdelkarim and Riad Abdelkarim, "Can a Dying Boy's Image Be the Catalyst for Peace?" *The Los Angeles Times*, October 6, 2000 and Riad Abdelkarim, "Ramadan: Reflecting on Sept. 11 and Beyond," *Arab American News*, November 23, 2001, and Riad Abdelkarim, "American Muslims and 9/11: A Community Looks Back...and to the Future," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, October 31, 2002.

⁷⁴ Riad Abdelkarim and Hussam Ayloush, "Islam Claims Jerusalem Too," *The Los Angeles Times*, July 25, 2000.

⁷⁵ "Profile: Riad Abdelkarim," *Orange County Register*, May 21, 2002.

⁷⁶ "2000 Holy Land Foundation Form 990," Internal Revenue Service (IRS).



telling the *Los Angeles Times*, “I think it's shameful that our country's best known and most trusted American Muslim charity has been so horribly lynched by President Bush and offered as a sacrificial lamb to Israel...”⁷⁸

Following HLF's shutdown, Abdelkarim formed an Islamic charity called KinderUSA⁷⁹ with former HLF fundraiser and spokeswoman Dallel Mohmed.⁸⁰ In May 2002, Abdelkarim and Mohmed were detained in Israel and interrogated about their financial support for Hamas.⁸¹ Released after two weeks, he agreed never to return to Israel.⁸² In December 2004, KinderUSA suspended operations and entered a “period of evaluation and review” in the face of an FBI investigation but has since resumed operations.⁸³

- **Rabih Haddad**

Rabih Haddad served as a fundraiser for CAIR's Ann Arbor chapter.⁸⁴ Haddad was chairman of the Global Relief Foundation (GRF). After 9/11, CAIR asked people to donate to GRF to assist the victims of the attacks.⁸⁵

On December 14, 2001 the FBI raided GRF's Bridgeview headquarters and arrested Haddad, its chairman, on a visa violation.⁸⁶ In November 2002, an immigration judge denied his application for asylum, concluding that he presented “a substantial risk to the national security of the United States.”⁸⁷ According to the Treasury Department, Haddad was a member of Makhtab Al-Khidamat, the precursor organization to Al Qaeda.⁸⁸

He was deported to Lebanon in July 2003.⁸⁹

⁷⁷ “2000 Holy Land Foundation Form 990,” Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and Teresa Watanabe, “Muslim Leaders Back FBI-Targeted Charity,” *The Los Angeles Times*, December 7, 2001.

⁷⁸ Teresa Watanabe, “Muslim Leaders Back FBI-Targeted Charity,” *The Los Angeles Times*, December 7, 2001.

⁷⁹ “2002 KinderUSA Form 990,” *Internal Revenue Service*.

⁸⁰ *S.H.A.R.E.*, HLF Newsletter, August 1999 and Mary McKee, “North Texas Woman Released from Israeli Jail,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, May 14, 2002.

⁸¹ Christopher Newton, “Israelis Arrest Californian Associated with Relief Groups,” *Associated Press*, May 7, 2002 and Teresa Watanabe, “O.C. Doctor May Have Planned to Help Fund Terror, Israel Says,” *The Los Angeles Times*, May 16, 2002.

⁸² “Big Welcome for Doctor Released by Israel,” *United Press International*, May 20, 2002.

⁸³ “Letter from KinderUSA Board Members” and “KinderUSA response to Dallas Morning News” <http://www.kinderusa.org/>, (accessed February 14, 2005)

⁸⁴ “CAIR and Terrorism,” *The Washington Times*, July 24, 2004 and <http://aa-peacemaking.quaker.org/haddad.html> (accessed October 14, 2004).

⁸⁵ CAIR web page, Recent News section, “Help for Victims,” <http://web.archive.org/web/20010925192044/http://www.cair-net.org/>, (accessed September 3, 2004).

Note: CAIR also co-sponsored a March 2001 conference with GRF. See: <http://web.archive.org/web/20010202150200/groups.yahoo.com/group/iapinfo/message/883> (accessed November 29, 2004).

⁸⁶ Deanna Bellandi, “FBI issues search warrants at two Islamic charities based in suburban Chicago,” *Associated Press*, December 14, 2001. Alexandra Moses, “Local community leader detained by INS, lawyer says,” *Associated Press*, Dec. 17, 2001.

⁸⁷ “Statement of Barbara Comstock, Director of Public Affairs, on the Haddad Asylum Decision,” Department of Justice Press Release, November 22, 2002, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2002/November/02_civ_691.htm (accessed November 13, 2007).

⁸⁸ “Treasury Department Fact Sheet on the Global Relief Foundation,” <http://usinfo.org/wf-archive/2002/021018/epf510.htm> (accessed November 13, 2007).

⁸⁹ Sarah Freeman, “Haddad Deported, Family Remains in the US,” *Associated Press*, July 16, 2003.



The Global Relief Foundation (GRF) began operating in the United States as a tax-exempt, nonprofit charitable organization in 1992.⁹⁰ Based in Bridgeview, Illinois, it grew into one of the largest Islamic charities in the United States. GRF described itself as a not-for-profit, nongovernmental organization set up to provide humanitarian and charitable relief to Muslims, especially in conflict zones such as Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chechnya, Kashmir, and Lebanon, through a network of overseas offices.⁹¹ In addition to undertaking this charitable work, however, the organization served as a propaganda organ for global jihad, and the U.S. government has alleged that GRF funded violent jihadism.⁹² GRF had an initial budget of about \$700,000.⁹³ By the end of the 1990s, it was reporting more than \$5 million in annual contributions.⁹⁴ The organization's tax filings indicate that 90 percent of the money donated between 1994 and 2000 was sent abroad.⁹⁵ An FBI memorandum notes that "some materials distributed by GRF glorify 'martyrdom through jihad' and state that donations will be used to buy ammunition, equip 'the raiders' and support the Mujahedin."⁹⁶ GRF had overseas registered offices in Islamabad, Pakistan; Brussels, Belgium; Sarajevo, Bosnia; Zagreb, Croatia; and Baku, Azerbaijan.⁹⁷

The FBI began investigating GRF prior to 9/11, suspecting that it supported Islamic extremism⁹⁸ and had high-level affiliations with an al Qaeda precursor organization in Pakistan.⁹⁹ Chicago FBI agents summarized their findings in a January 6, 2000 memo:

Although the majority of GRF funding goes toward legitimate relief operations, a significant percentage is diverted to fund extremist causes. Among the terrorist groups known to have links to GRF are the Algerian Armed Islamic Group, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Gama'at Al Islamiya, and the Kashmiri Harakat Al Jihad El Islam, as well as the Al Qaeda organization of Usama Bin Laden. . . . In the past, GRF support to terrorists and other transnational mujahideen fighters has taken the form of purchase and shipment of large quantities of sophisticated communications equipment, provision of humanitarian cover

⁹⁰ Global Relief Foundation Form 990, 1993.

⁹¹ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, "Monograph on Terrorism Financing," 89.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 88.

⁹³ State of Illinois, Global Relief Foundation, Articles of Incorporation, January 10, 1992.

⁹⁴ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, "Monograph on Terrorism Financing," 89.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ "Feds Claim Muslim Charity Had Contact with Bin Laden Secretary," *Associated Press*, March 28, 2002.

⁹⁷ *Global News* 4, no. 1 (Winter 1997) 8.

⁹⁸ "Monograph on Terrorism Financing," Staff Report to the Commission, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, August 2004, p. 89.

⁹⁹ "Treasury Department Fact Sheet on the Global Relief Foundation," Department of State: Washington File, October 18, 2002.



documentation to suspected terrorists and fund-raising for terrorist groups under the cover of humanitarian relief.¹⁰⁰

On the day of Haddad's 2001 arrest, NATO soldiers and United Nations police raided GRF's offices in Kosovo.¹⁰¹ The U.S. Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) took control of GRF's assets, informing the GRF:

The United States Government has reason to believe that Global Relief Foundation, Inc. ("GRFI") may be engaged in activities that violate the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. §§ 1701-06 ("IEEPA"). You are hereby notified that pursuant to the authorities granted by the IEEPA, the U.S. Department of the Treasury is blocking all funds and accounts and business records in which GRFI has any interest, pending further investigation and resolution of this matter.¹⁰²

GRF sued then-Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill, then-Secretary of State Colin Powell, then-Attorney General John Ashcroft, and FBI Director Robert Mueller, challenging the seizure of its assets, in January 2002.¹⁰³ The district court denied GRF's request for an injunction against the government officials.¹⁰⁴ The case went to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit where the court found in favor of the officials.¹⁰⁵

- **Sayyid Syeed**

Syeed served on CAIR's board of advisors in 2000.¹⁰⁶

He was IIIT's director of academic outreach from 1984-1994,¹⁰⁷ and is a current member of the international advisory board to the American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, an IIIT publication.¹⁰⁸ There are significant financial, ideological and personal connections

¹⁰⁰ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, "Monograph on Terrorism Financing, p. 91.

¹⁰¹ "Feds Close Two More Muslim Groups," CBS News, December 14, 2001.

¹⁰² *Global Relief Foundation, Inc. v. New York Times Company, et al.*, 01 C 8821, "Memorandum Opinion and Order," 7 (ND IL February 19, 2003). See Appendix for the text of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. §§ 1701-06.

¹⁰³ *Global Relief Foundation, Inc. v. Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill, et al.*, 02-C-0674, "Complaint," (ND IL, January 28, 2002).

¹⁰⁴ *Global Relief Foundation, Inc. v. Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill, et al.*, Defendants-Appellees, No. 02-2536, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, 315 F.3d 748; 2002 U.S. App. LEXIS 27172, October 29, 2002, Argued, December 31, 2002, Decided.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ CAIR Newsletter, December 14, 2000 and "CAIR Who Are We?"

<http://web.archive.org/web/20010831084928/http://www.cair-california.org/who.htm#Management%20&%20Staff> (accessed July 5, 2007).

¹⁰⁷ M.M. Ali, "Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Syeed," *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, Vol. 17, No. 3, April 1998.

¹⁰⁸ "AJISS Editors," <http://www.iiit.org/Partner/AJISS/default.asp> (accessed February 28, 2005). Note: CAIR took 11 interns to IIIT headquarters in August 2003. See: IIIT Press Release, "CAIR Interns Visit IIIT HQ," August 8, 2003, http://www.iiit.org/news/news_details/default.asp?l_News_Id=122 (accessed July 5, 2007).



between IIIT and WISE, the latter of which the U.S. government has identified as “a front group” for the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.¹⁰⁹

Syed also was a founding director of the American Muslim Council (AMC) in 1990¹¹⁰ and is listed as a director and/or treasurer of the organization from 1990 to at least 1997.¹¹¹

During this time, AMC was headed by Abdurahman Alamoudi¹¹² -- indicted in September 2003 for illegal financial dealings with Libya¹¹³ and, according to court documents, provided financial support to Hamas and Al Qaeda.¹¹⁴ Alamoudi pleaded guilty to engaging in prohibited transactions with a foreign country¹¹⁵ and was sentenced to 23 years in jail in October 2004.¹¹⁶ He also has admitted his involvement in a plot, masterminded by Libyan leader Muammar Qadaffi, to assassinate Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia.¹¹⁷

Syed has served on the board of advisory editors of UASR’s publication, *Middle East Affairs Journal*.¹¹⁸

Since 1995 Syeed has been the secretary general of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)¹¹⁹, investigated by the Senate Finance Committee for its ties to terrorism.¹²⁰ The investigation ended without drawing any conclusions. HLF (then known as the Occupied Land Fund) was initially located at the same address as ISNA.¹²¹ Furthermore, in 1986, ISNA gave \$170,000 in start-up capital to the Islamic African Relief Agency (IARA),¹²²

¹⁰⁹ *In the Matter of Searches Involving 555 Grove Street, Herndon, Virginia, and Related Locations*, 02-114-MG, “Redacted Affidavit In Support of Application,” (USDC ED VA). Note: For example, in 1991 and 1995, “IIIT contributed at least \$50,000 to PIJ front-group WISE.”

¹¹⁰ “1990 American Muslim Council Form 1024,” *Internal Revenue Service*, Exhibit D.

¹¹¹ “1990-1997 American Muslim Council Form 990,” *Internal Revenue Service*.

¹¹² “1990-1997 American Muslim Council Form 990,” *Internal Revenue Service*.

¹¹³ *US v. Alamoudi*, 03-1009M, (D.C. VA September 23, 2003).

¹¹⁴ *US v. Alamoudi*, 03-1009M, “Supplemental Declaration in Support of Detention,” (D.C. Va).

¹¹⁵ *US v. Alamoudi*, 03-513-A, “Plea Agreement,” (D.C. VA).

¹¹⁶ “Abdurahman Alamoudi Sentenced to Jail in Terrorism Financing Case,” Department of Justice Press Release, October 15, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/October/04_crm_698.htm (accessed June 30, 2006).

¹¹⁷ *US v. Alamoudi*, 03-513-A, “Plea Agreement,” (D.C. Va) and Patrick Tyler, “Two Said to Tell of Libyan Plot Against Saudi,” *The New York Times*, June 10, 2004.

¹¹⁸ *Middle East Affairs Journal*, Summer/Fall 1998.

¹¹⁹ See M. M. Ali, “Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Syeed.” *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, April 1998, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 35, 102 (profiling Syeed as current Secretary General of ISNA, stating that Syeed had arrived to ISNA “three years ago,” and quoting a 1994 farewell editorial for the *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences (AJISS)* in which Syeed wrote of his “new role as secretary-general” of ISNA). See also: http://www.isna.net/majlis/Sayyid_M_Syeed.asp (accessed December 2, 2004).

¹²⁰ “Records Sought About Tax-Exempt Organizations for Committee’s Terror Finance Probe,” Senate Finance Committee Press Release, December 22, 2003 http://grassley.senate.gov/index.cfm?FuseAction=PressReleases.Detail&PressRelease_id=124&Month=1&Year=2004 (accessed October 14, 2004) and Dan Eggen and John Mintz, “Muslim Groups’ IRS Files Sought,” *The Washington Post*, January 14, 2004.

¹²¹ ISNA and OLF were both located at P.O. Box 38, Plainfield, Indiana, 46168. See: *Ila Filastine*, May 1991, p.14 and *Islamic Horizons*, March/April 1996.

¹²² “1989 Islamic African Relief Agency Form 1023,” *Internal Revenue Service*.



an organization that the U.S. government shut down in October 2004 for funding Hamas and Al Qaeda.¹²³

- **Siraj Wahhaj**

Wahhaj has been a member of CAIR's board of advisors¹²⁴ and a frequent speaker at CAIR events.¹²⁵

As the imam of al-Taqwa mosque in Brooklyn, N.Y., he hosted speeches by Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, the mastermind of the New York City landmarks bombing plot. Wahhaj later served as a witness on the sheikh's behalf during his 1995 trial.¹²⁶ An October 2003 *Wall Street Journal* profile of Wahhaj noted that "the imam takes great pains to remain neutral about Osama bin Laden."¹²⁷

In 1991, Wahhaj told the Islamic Association of Northern Texas that Operation Desert Storm was part of a plan "to destroy the greatest challenge to the Western world, and that is Islam." He continued, "I see the demise of the Soviet Union as a sign for the American people that what happened to the Soviet Union will defiantly happen in America unless America changes its path from the new world order and accepts the Islamic agenda."¹²⁸

- **Ihsan Bagby**

Bagby served on CAIR's national board of directors¹²⁹ and as a member of ISNA's Fiqh Committee.¹³⁰ Bagby has said about Muslims in America, "Ultimately we can never be full citizens of this country...because there is no way we can be fully committed to the institutions and ideologies of this country."¹³¹

¹²³ "Treasury Designates Global Network, Senior Officials of IARA for Supporting bin Laden, Others," OFAC Press Release, October 13, 2004, <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/js2025.htm> (accessed October 14, 2004).

¹²⁴ CAIR Newsletter, December 14, 2000 and "CAIR Who Are We?," <http://web.archive.org/web/20010831084928/http://www.cair-california.org/who.htm#Management%20&%20Staff>

¹²⁵ For example: CAIR Fundraiser, Vienna, Virginia, October 7, 2001, CAIR Fundraiser, Orange County, California, October 19, 2002, CAIR Fundraiser, Anaheim, California, October 4, 2003, CAIR-Seattle fundraiser flyer, <http://www.cair-seattle.org/images/CAIR-Seattle%20Flyer%20R4.jpg>, CAIR 10th Anniversary Banquet Dinner, October 2, 2004, and CAIR-Southern California fundraiser flyer, October 9, 2004.

¹²⁶ Paul Barrett, "Spiritual Journey: One Imam Traces the Path of Islam In Black America," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 24, 2003.

¹²⁷ Paul Barrett, "Spiritual Journey: One Imam Traces the Path of Islam in Black America," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 24, 2003.

¹²⁸ Imam Siraj Wahhaj, "The Muslim Agenda in the New World Order," Address to the Islamic Association of Northern Texas, Dallas, November 15, 1991.

¹²⁹ "CAIR Board of Advisors," <http://web.archive.org/web/20010831084928/http://www.cair-california.org/who.htm#Management%20&%20Staff> (accessed July 6, 2007).

¹³⁰ *Islamic Horizons*, May/June 1987.

¹³¹ Steve A. Johnson, "Political Activities of Muslims in America," in *The Muslims of America* (Chapter 8), ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 115., footnote #12, which states, "Videotape of speech given by Ihsan Bagby, n.d."

