AN IPT INVESTIGATIVE REPORT:

ZAHRA BILLOO

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
CAIR - SFBA

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CAIR’s Face in the 21st Century

“Not knowing Islam and not knowing Muslims is a problem in America. And we see it today. We see it in light of the recent Fort Hood shootings, we see it in light of FBI raids, we see it in light of mosque seizures.”

- Zahra Billoo

Zahra Billoo is not only the executive director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) San Francisco Bay Area chapter; she also is a rising star within the organization. She is far more outspoken than most CAIR chapter executive directors and regularly speaks to the media on CAIR’s behalf.

Her ideas and comments often are more raw and unpolished than other CAIR spokespeople, exposing an underlying radical ideology that CAIR tries hard to mask.

She appears on Press TV, an Iranian TV station that airs in English. She uses her Twitter page as a forum to disparage the United States, the FBI, what she refers to as “apartheid Israel,” among other topics.
Zahra Billoo has worked for CAIR in the San Francisco Bay Area since 2009 after graduating with a J.D. from California’s Hastings College of Law. She also graduated from California State University, Long Beach, with degrees in Human Resources Management and Political Science. She got her foot in the door with CAIR when she interned in its Los Angeles office in 2004.

Billoo served as the MSA West Adviser from 2005-2010. She also served as the adviser to the MSA at California State University, Long Beach between 2006–2007. MSA, founded by Muslim Brotherhood (MB) members who came to the United States for college, has a history of promoting MB goals of spreading Islam in the U.S.

She identifies herself as a radical on her social media profiles, which she uses for both personal and CAIR purposes. On Twitter, she describes herself as an “American, Pakistani, litigious, feminist, hippie, anarchist, outspoken, rebellious, socially conscious Muslimah.” She jokingly comments that she participated in “all the ‘terrorist’ orgs you could imagine!” during her time as a student at California State University.

CAIR was named an unindicted co-conspirator in HLF’s trial. The co-conspirator designation, which CAIR unsuccessfully challenged, was based upon exhibits in evidence placing CAIR and its founders as part of the Hamas support network in America. Five former HLF officials were convicted of providing material support of the Hamas terrorist organization. Billoo still voices her support for HLF.

On one Twitter post written the same day the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the convictions, she wrote that she “is praying for justice in the Holy Land Foundation case. Imagine being testified against by anonymous [Apartheid] Israeli witnesses ...”

Although the trial allowed two Israeli security officials to testify anonymously the appellate court
found that the lower court had acted properly, as “there was a serious and clear need to protect the true identities of [the two witnesses] because of concerns for their safety. The Government showed that Hamas and other terrorist organizations seek out the true identities of ISA agents and their families and publish descriptions of ISA officers on websites so that they can be targeted.”

In another post Biloo wrote, “Our [IN]justice system continues to fail us. BREAKING: 5th Circuit: Holy Land Foundation convictions upheld on appeal…”

Speaker Amir Abdul Malik Ali expressed support of Hamas and its takeover of Gaza during a 2006 conference in Sacramento. He also praised the group’s founders, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and Sheikh Abdel Aziz Rantisi:

“...Hamas won, we felt good. We felt good.”

Speaking at an event sponsored by MSA West later in 2006, CAIR Los Angeles Executive Director Hussam Ayloush criticized the closure of Hamas-connected charities, likening the move to “genocide” against the Palestinians:

“...And any attempt to close down a legitimate relief organization is an attempt to starve the Palestinian people. And we have to say that. These are strong words, but they’re very, very correct. An attempt to close down relief for the Palestinians is an attempt at genocide.”

At the MSA West 2007 conference, MSA West
President Amir Mertaban gave a speech entitled “Methods of Da’wah.” In it, he referenced Muqtada al Sadr, leader of Iraq’s largest Shia militia, the Mehdi Army. While al-Sadr-allied Iraqis have participated in the Iraq government, his militia was responsible for much of the upheaval in Iraq, including insurgent warfare waged against the U.S. military, Americans, and massacres of Iraqi Sunnis. That shouldn’t matter, Mertaban said. Mertaban spoke about al-Sadr as though the media vilified him and employed that image to characterize all Muslims.

“Time Magazine had this one article on Muqtada al-Sadr. Who knows who Muqtada al-Sadr is? He is one of the individuals in Iraq who is one of the leaders of the Shi’a resistance movement against U.S. troops. Anyways, Time Magazine dramatizes everything. So here is Muqtada al-Sadr, ok? …. They’re attacking Muslims not based on you and how you look and how you look - based on how he looks. I don’t even know the guy. The guy is probably a tight Muslim. I don’t even know him. I don’t really care too much about him to tell you the truth. But the idea is how they use individuals like that to portray Muslims.”

Mertaban also defended Osama bin Laden, polygamy, and jihad in his 2007 MSA West speech:

“War in Iraq or Afghanistan or Osama bin Laden or Saddam Hussein. Don’t ever compromise on Islam! And don’t ever compromise on your Muslim brothers and sisters in which you have no evidence. Osama bin Laden- I don’t know this guy. I don’t know what he did. I don’t know what he said. I don’t know what happened. But we defend Muslim brothers and we defend our Muslim sisters to the end. Is that clear? I am not saying support terrorist acts. I am not saying any of that. I am saying generally speaking. If a man comes and robs a store – if you’re going to rob the store, go ahead and rob the store, are we going to condemn him? No, you support your Muslim brothers whether it is right or wrong. When they do wrong you grab them and you slap some sense into them, you’re doing wrong. You see what I am saying.

“So you never compromise on your faith. You be confident in every aspect of life. In every aspect of Islam you are confident. Four wives? Yes men are allowed to have four wives within this context. Jihad? Yes Jihad! Jihad is the tightest thing in Islam. Don’t compromise on these little things. Be proud of it. Why? Because Islam is a perfect religion. If you sit here and you start saying, ‘Jihad is only an internal this and that,’ you are compromising on your faith.”

At an MSA West conference two years earlier, a former UCLA MSA member named Ahmed Shama also glorified al-Sadr:

“Another complicated situation is in Iraq
you see people like , you know Sistani

Moqtada Al-Sadr
Disparaging the United States

Billoo often issues statements critical of American foreign policy and actions, casting the country as the source of global tensions.

“What do Saddam Hussein, Osama Bin Laden and Muammar Gaddafi all have in common? They were funded by the US,” she wrote in June 2012.37 Ironically, her bosses at CAIR solicited money from Gaddafi in 2009 to fund a program to distribute 1 million Qurans in America.38

Billoo’s June 2012 Twitter posts also criticized U.S. troops, claiming they are terrorists. “And to be clear, I would argue that many of our troops are engaged in terrorism,” she wrote.39

She accused the United States of using concentration camps for Japanese Americans during WWII. “Let’s be clear: Japanese Americans were not sent to relocation centers during WWII. They were sent to American Concentration Camps,” she wrote.40

During the Egyptian revolution, Billoo criticized U.S. military efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. “Egypt did for itself in 3 weeks what the US could not do for Iraq and Afghanistan in nearly 10 years. Peace, not war, overcomes terror,” she wrote.41

Also during the Egyptian revolution, she attacked Vice President Joe Biden for commenting that Hosni Mubarak’s resignation was a “pivotal moment in history.”42

“Wow. Joe Biden has the nerve to comment on #Egypt? WTH?,” she wrote on Twitter.43

The Obama administration is not doing enough for the Muslim community, Billoo argued. “They’ve [Obama administration] been great in terms of condemning Islamophobia and combating anti-Muslim bigotry. Unfortunately, that’s where I think a lot of the good work ends.”44

She encourages the Muslim community to demand attention from the Obama administration. “Are we so afraid of not being invited to the White House iftar that we campaign and vote for Obama without seeking anything in return?” she tweeted.45

Billoo, like many of her CAIR colleagues, has appeared on Press TV, an English language television network controlled by the Iranian government. Her appearances critique U.S. practices and policies. In June 2012 she appeared on Press TV to criticize the effects of one of the U.S. embargos on Iran which prevented a woman from buying an iPad in Georgia.46

In anticipation of the House Committee on Homeland Security’s hearing on “The American Muslim Response to Hearings on Radicalization within their Community,”47 Billoo wrote that she “[i]s entertained and flattered that Rep. King is focusing his entire next hearing on those who rightly opposed his Islamophobic witch hunt.”48

Anti-FBI

Billoo is most vehement about FBI practices and law enforcement techniques. She advocates that the Muslim community avoid talking to law enforcement, vilifies the FBI, and claims that it unfairly targets the Muslim community. In media interviews, she casts doubt on terror arrests triggered by law enforcement sting operations and other investigations involving undercover informants.

In February 2011 her CAIR chapter’s website featured a poster for an event that said “Build a Wall of Resistance; Don’t Talk to the FBI.” The poster
featured a sinister looking FBI agent lurking in front of people’s doors. CAIR removed the poster from its website one week after it was exposed by the Investigative Project on Terrorism. But its message is consistent with CAIR’s posture toward law enforcement and, though it was taken down, it made CAIR-SFBA’s viewpoint very clear.

Billoo loudly tells the Muslim community to be careful about speaking to the FBI in any context. In a post on Twitter in June 2012, she wrote as a ‘public service announcement’ that, “it’s never a good idea to speak to an FBI agent without an attorney. NEVER.”

At a “Know Your Rights” seminar at Arkansas State University, Billoo told students, “If you remember nothing else that I say, always remember you have a right to remain silent and a right to an attorney.” She also told the students that they “have an obligation to assert our rights.” We are concerned with the direction our country is going in terms of the erosion of civil liberties,” she said by way of explanation for the event.

Billoo says that she frequently provides legal advice for people about interacting with the FBI. Her advice is:

“We tell people that the only thing that you’re legally required to provide are your name and ID. And after that, you really should assert that right to remain silent, and say that your attorney will call them. And then call groups like CAIR, like the ACLU, like the Asian Law Caucus, that provide free legal service specifically for this. It’s our belief that by asserting your rights and protecting yourself that you in fact protect the community.”

She claims there is an “inherent coercion” in any conversation with the FBI because “they’re in a position of authority.”

Most Muslims who get arrested are not being arrested for terrorist activity, she says; rather, they are being arrested for lying to the FBI. “[T]he FBI can lie to an individual in the process of an investigation. So they can lie to us, but we cannot lie to them. And quite often, making a mistake of material fact can be taken for lying. And so, a simple mistake as to when I last visited Pakistan or India could be construed as lying to the FBI.”

Billoo mischaracterizes the judicial system and seems to believe it is far easier to be convicted of lying to law enforcement than it is in reality. In order to be convicted of misleading law enforcement there must be substantial evidence that someone lied or intentionally misled an officer. For example, Abdullah Omar Fidse and Deka Abdalla Sheikh face charges of lying to law enforcement. They allegedly misled Immigration and Naturalization, Customs and Border Patrol Officers, made false statements in Immigration
Court, and conspired to make false statements. Instead of encouraging collaboration and assisting the FBI, Billoo advocates that Muslims exercise extreme caution when talking to the FBI, even Muslims who “have nothing to hide.” She explains to them that, “everything you say is on the record. This idea that every conversation that you ever have with law enforcement can and will be used against you quite often, and so you want to be very careful in terms of what you say to them.”

Billoo claims that CAIR handles all sorts of calls from Muslims in dealing with the FBI. She said that CAIR will, “answer phone calls at 6:00 in the morning when the FBI visits.” She also gives various ‘Know Your Rights’ presentations throughout the year and tells people:

“I would encourage you to read our material, to come to our presentations, because from a staff perspective and from an organizational perspective, the most rewarding thing that we see in the community is when a client calls and says – The FBI showed up at my door and I knew exactly what to do because I went to that presentation.”

She even told the Muslim community that meeting with FBI could put the entire Muslim community at risk:

“[T]hey [the FBI] can lie to us, but we cannot lie to them...

-Zahra Billoo

She argues against FBI sting operations, claiming that they are not effective although they have prevented numerous attacks:

“The FBI seek out troubled people – nobody is arguing that some of these individuals aren’t deeply troubled – and then enable and facilitate their aspirations. It is the FBI’s job to stop operational terrorists. It is not the FBI’s job to enable aspirational terrorists. Time and again, Muslims prove themselves to be good and smart when it comes to reporting potential crimes. The problem with this method of law enforcement is that strains the very relationships that are critical to effective community policing.”

Courts have rejected this argument, repeatedly ruling that a defendant has not been illegally entrapped if the government can prove a predisposition that the defendant “is ‘ready and willing without persuasion to commit the crime charged and
awaiting any propitious opportunity’ to do so.”

In the cases she and other CAIR officials criticize, the defendants expressed a desire to wage jihad and, in some cases, bypassed suggestions by FBI informants to back away.

In December 2011, Billoo discounted the arrests of two individuals accused by the FBI of plotting to bomb targets in Oregon and Maryland. “What the FBI came and did was enable them to become actual terrorists,” she said. The FBI “is creating these huge terror plots where they don’t exist.”

Instead of applauding the FBI when it thwarted a terror plot in Florida in January 2012, Billoo said she was “wondering how much of the thwarted terror plot in Florida was seeded by the FBI, [a] ppreciating that even the MSM mentioned the informants.”

After an FBI sting operation led to the arrest of a Muslim man who attempted to detonate a bomb at a Portland Christmas tree lighting ceremony, she responded by questioning FBI motives. “The question is, are we looking to stop radicalization and stop extremism before it becomes a problem or do we want a sensational story?” she said. “And I'd really argue here that the FBI was looking for a sensational story.”

Billoo’s criticism of the FBI is unending. When the Wall Street Journal Digits Blog posted a story titled, “The FBI’s Secret Surveillance Letters to Tech Companies,” Billoo tweeted the article with hash tags “WaronError” and “SurveillanceState.”

ACLU attorney Nusrat Choudhry said that the FBI “wrongly and unfairly cast a cloud of suspicion” over Muslims and “placed them at risk of greater law enforcement scrutiny.”

In response to discontent with FBI outreach in a previous matter, the FBI response was that “information was collected within the scope of an authorized law enforcement activity, whether investigation or liaison, including activities designed to strengthen relationships in various communities.”

Billoo feels so strongly against the FBI that she made comments about not wanting local law
enforcement to even work with the FBI. She said:

“Community trust is the most important tool of law enforcement. By infiltrating organizations and interviewing people who they do not suspect of any wrongdoing, the FBI is obfuscating their ability to counter domestic crime. We do not want our local law enforcement in the same predicament.”

Other Law Enforcement

Billoo has problems with other U.S. law enforcement agencies in addition to the FBI. “The American Muslim community has a difficult time trusting law enforcement in light of what various agencies, most recently the NYPD, have been doing to their friends, neighbors, and religious leaders.”

Her distrust was fueled by a series of Associated Press (AP) stories disclosing NYPD surveillance methods. The AP obtained documents from the NYPD that revealed a widespread surveillance operation of Muslims in the tri-state area. These efforts included monitoring mosque attendees and different members of the Muslim community.

Mitchell Silber, Director of the NYPD Intelligence Division’s Analytic and Cyber Units, explained that despite the AP’s report, the NYPD did not engage in illegal or blanket surveillance of the Muslim community. Plainclothes NYPD officers only frequented establishments and events that were open to the public in neighborhoods with heavy concentrations of people from countries that have high percentages of involvement in NY terror plots. The NYPD also did not conduct ongoing surveillance of communities. Officers would visit locations under this program and record what they saw. They would only return to a location in the event that there was reason to believe it might be a “venue of radicalization.”

“If there are threats or leads to follow, then the NYPD’s job is to do it…The law is pretty clear about what’s the requirement, and I think they follow the law. We don’t stop to think about the religion. We stop to think about the threats and focus our efforts there,” Michael Bloomberg explained while defending the surveillance.

The NYPD also monitored students involved with Muslims Students Association (MSA) chapters in the northeast, the AP reported. This revelation angered many members of the Muslim community. In response, NYPD spokesman Paul Browne listed 12 people arrested or convicted on terrorism charges who were members of MSA. Furthermore, Silber explained that the NYPD’s search of MSA chapters was primarily limited to searching publically available information on the internet. On-the-ground infiltration of MSA groups “fell under a classic investigative framework after information obtained by the NYPD raised the possibility that an individual or group of individuals were engaged in or planning to engage in unlawful activity,” said Silber. One such event that the AP criticized the NYPD for was an MSA rafting trip. Terror plotting during public events however is not a new concept. Operational planning for the subway-bomb-plot trial of Najibullah Zazi and Adis Mefunjanin occurred on the basketball courts in Kissaena Park and while hiking on Bear Mountain.

New Jersey Attorney General Jeffrey Chiesa reviewed the NYPD program because some of the surveillance took place in his state and concluded that it was legal. The Attorney General’s statement said, “[t]he fact-finding review, which is on-going, has revealed no evidence to date that NYPD’s activities in the state violated New Jersey civil or criminal laws.”

New York Attorney General Eric Schneiderman refused to investigate the issue despite letters from the Muslim community. “While we share some of the serious concerns raised in the letter, there are significant
legal and investigative obstacles that impede our ability to launch a review of the matter at this time,” a spokesman in the Attorney General’s office said.82

Billoo also criticized San Francisco law enforcement in March 2012 saying, “CAIR has heard complaints in San Francisco from individuals who were visited by law enforcement agents and questioned about activity that did not appear to be criminal, such as their religious and political beliefs.” She said there is a need for an ordinance that would “build a layer of protection and accountability at the local level to ensure that San Francisco police officers aren’t engaging in this problematic behavior.”83

**SAMI AL-ARIAN & TARIQ RAMADAN**

Zhaha Billoo derives her inspiration from radical Islamists. In a Twitter post on May 6, 2012 Billoo wrote that she “finds inspiration in both Sami Al-Arian and Tariq Ramadan.”84 Sami Al-Arian was convicted of conspiracy to make or receive contributions of funds, goods or services to or for the benefit of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), a Specially Designated Terrorist Group.85

Ramadan, the grandson of Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna,86 was barred entry to the United States between 2004 and 2010 by the Department of Homeland Security due to his ties to a Muslim charity that supported Hamas.87 Ramadan claimed that he was not aware the charity was linked to terrorist activity when he donated money.88 On Jan. 20, 2010 Secretary of State Hillary Clinton signed an order that revoked the ban on Ramadan’s entry into the country.89 Ramadan’s response to the ban after it was lifted was that it was “a silly decision from the Bush administration.”90 Critics say he conceals his radical Islamist views with polished double-speak. In a 2010 interview with Ramadan, CNN’s Christiane Amanpour confronted Ramadan about rumors that he is an Islamist in sheep’s clothing.

“You, yourself, Mr. Ramadan, are a very controversial figure,” she said. “You describe yourself as a Muslim reformer, as an Islamic reformer, and yet there are many people who say that you speak with a forked tongue... Basically, people are saying, because of some of the positions that you take or do not take, that you present yourself as one thing, but that you are an Islamist in sheep’s clothing, as some people have said. You are a closet fundamentalist.”91

Ramadan responded, “No, this is completely wrong, because you have to come to what I’m saying and not the way it’s described by people.” Then he moved on to a discussion about ending the practice of stoning. Ramadan argued that the practice should be paused and then defer to Islamic scholars to discuss the topic.92 He also has no problem with suicide bombings, so long as they target the military, such as U.S. forces in Iraq. “So anyone who is telling you, I was not clear in suicide bombings, for example, or targeting innocent, he is wrong or she is wrong. This never happened. My position on this is, the Palestinian resistance or the Iraqi resistance is legitimate. The means should be ethical. You cannot target innocent people. You cannot target civilians. I was always clear,” said Ramadan.93

**PRO-MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD**

Billoo’s shared beliefs with the Muslim Brotherhood extend beyond her affiliation with Muslim Brotherhood groups. She was elated when Mohammed Morsi of the Egyptian
Muslim Brotherhood won the presidential election. “Ikhwan [Muslim Brotherhood] were outlawed and its leaders tortured for six decades. Today, their candidate was announced Egypt’s new president. Subhan’Allah.” Subhan’Allah means “glory to God.”

**ANTI-ISRAEL**

Billoo’s strong anti-Israel sentiment falls in line with her other extreme positions. She encourages Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) campaigns against Israel. BDS campaigns are engineered to undermine sales of Israeli products abroad. The BDS movement seeks Israel’s economic isolation until it accepts all Palestinians as full citizens of Israel, allows Palestinians to return to their pre-1948 homes, and ends its “occupation and colonization of all Arab lands occupied in June 1967 and dismantling the wall. This result would essentially erase the state of Israel by imposing a Muslim majority.

She has made various anti-Israel comments and has equated Zionism with racism. “Zionism IS racism,” she wrote in a June 4, 2012 Twitter post “[Apartheid] Israel commits war crimes as a hobby,” she wrote in a separate post a week later.

Every year the American-Israel Political Action Committee (AIPAC) holds a conference on Capitol Hill. In 2012, Billoo participated in a counter-conference called Occupy AIPAC. During the conference she posted many anti-Israel comments on her Twitter account. “The American gov’t funds a racist occupation,” she reposted from Cyrus McGoldrick of CAIR NY.

She also wrote, “Brick by brick, wall by wall, Israeli Apartheid (sic) has to fall.” She said she “is in awe that there were literally thousands of AIPAC folks on the Hill this week, lobbying to push forward on war with Iran. Thousands.”

And yet, despite her hostility toward American policy, members of Congress met with her and other CAIR representatives that week. After returning home, she wrote, “…feeling both exhausted and invigorated after four very full days of CAIR meetings and legislative visits in DC!”

In another example of Billoo’s inherent hatred toward anything to do with Israel, she joined the MSA and an allied group called Students for Justice in Palestine in signing a letter to California State University’s chancellor, asking that he not reinstate an Israel Study Abroad Program.

She also opposed a month-long festival to celebrate “historic and new interactions between the peoples and cultures of Israel and China.” “Apartheid Israel is attempting to win over SF’s Chinese American community,” she wrote in a Twitter post.

**DISCREDITING CRITIQUES**

Billoo attempts to discredit anyone who she disagrees with on her image of Islam. She has repeatedly disparaged Zuhdi Jasser, a respected, moderate Muslim and head of the American Islamic Forum for Democracy. Jasser testified during House hearings on radicalization within parts of the Muslim community. He disagrees with CAIR and is vocal about CAIR’s roots and relationship with radical groups.
During the hearings, she attempted to discredit him as a source saying that, “Zuhdi brings up his bona fides. He is a “devout Muslim” therefore that gives him legitimacy.”107 She also claimed “That Bill of Rights that people like Congressman King and Herman Cain want to tear up, we study that in school, and we’re not going to let you do that.”108

Billoo wrote on Twitter about Jasser, “So we know selling out your community and the Constitution pays well.”109 She also called him an “Uncle Tom Muslim.”110

When it became clear that the King hearings would proceed despite the protests, Billoo compared them to McCarthyism:

“This year was also a dark time for a good couple of months when we all sort of lamented about what Congressman King was thinking in D.C., how dare he take our country back 60 years to the McCarthy era. And it’s our job at CAIR to hold him accountable. It’s our job as a community to say that we’re not gonna stand for this. And I’m incredibly proud of the presence that CAIR had in challenging him and ensuring that his kind of anti-Muslim sentiment and his singling out of the Muslim community that that would not continue, that he would be held accountable.”111

CAIR California held a Muslim day of advocacy at the state capitol in May 2012. Billoo spoke to Iran’s Press TV about the event. “We thought it was really important that in addition to bringing staff to speak to legislators, that we bring community members, the actual voters in their districts, to say we are here; we want to amplify our voices and our votes and talk to you about the issues that matter to us,” she told Iran’s Press TV.112

Billoo claims that the problem is that Americans do not know enough about Islam, “Not knowing Islam and not knowing Muslims is a problem in America. And we see it today. We see it in light of the recent Fort Hood shootings, we see it in light of FBI raids, we see it in light of mosque seizures.”113

She also attempts to combat what she refers to as Islamophobia. “We have essentially said that in Oakland, San Francisco and San Jose our local tax dollars will not pay for civil rights violations. We jointly issued the first of its kind ‘Islamophobia’ report with UC-Berkeley. We’re pairing our advocacy work with leading academic institutions to build advocacy tools intended to educate and empower.”114
Endnotes

5. For more information about MSA, see http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/84.pdf.
12. Nihad Awad is CAIR’s executive director. More information on Awad can be found here: http://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/113. Omar Ahmad was listed as an unindicted co-conspirator in the HLF case, named as someone who was a member of the US Muslim Brotherhood’s Palestine Committee and/or its organizations.” More information on Ahmed can be found here: http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/635.pdf.
28. A full report of information on MSA can be found at: http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/84.pdf.
31. Ibid.
35. “Striving for Revival: Student Activism for Global Reformation” The 7th Annual MSA West Conference, January 14–17, 2005, University of Southern California (USC).
41. Twitter, February 11, 2011.
43. Twitter, February 11, 2011.
50. Twitter, June 8, 2012.
52. Ibid.


62. For example, United States v. Al-Moayad & Zayed, 05cr483E, United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, October 2, 2008.

63. In the Portland case, Billoo characterized as the FBI “looking for a sensational story,” undercover agents repeatedly suggested there were other ways to serve the cause, but defendant Mohamed Mohamud said “he wanted to become operational.” In a separate conversation, the undercover agent raised the concern that children would be present. Mohamud dismissed the concern, saying he wanted the attack to be “a huge mass that will, you know like for them you know to be attacked in their own element with their families celebrating the holidays.” See: Criminal Complaint, US v. Mohamud, 10cr497, U.S. District Court Oregon. November 29, 2010.


84. Twitter, May 6, 2012.


92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.


95. Twitter, June 7, 2012.

The groups’ chapters often co-sponsor anti-Israel events together, and at the University of California, Berkeley, they share an office. See, for example: “CSU Reinstates Israel Study Abroad Program Despite Protests,” IPT News, January 26, 2012, http://www.investigativeproject.org/3410/csu-reinstates-israel-study-abroad-program.

“An Open Letter to CSU Chancellor Charles Reed Regarding the CSU-Israel Study Abroad Program,” http://www.csun.edu/~vcnmb00m/studyabroad.html.


