



The Investigative Project on Terrorism



CAIR

In A Nutshell

**An IPT Investigative Report on
The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)**

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Executive Summary

CAIR's roots in a Muslim Brotherhood-created, Hamas-support network called the Palestine Committee are documented by the committee's own records seized by the FBI and entered into evidence in a 2008 federal terror financing trial.¹ These include a **1994 meeting agenda for the Palestine Committee which lists CAIR as a branch.**² The presiding U.S. District Court judge found “**ample evidence to establish the associations of CAIR ... with Hamas.**”³ [Emphasis added] Hamas is a designated terrorist organization with a stridently anti-Semitic charter which advocates killing Jews.⁴

Several CAIR officials or fundraisers have either been personally **involved in criminal investigations** or **have held leadership roles in organizations that have been identified by the U.S. government as linked to terrorism.**⁵ The group continues to **defend the Holy Land Foundation**, despite a conviction for funneling \$12 million to Hamas, and convicted terror supporter Sami Al-Arian, despite evidence Al-Arian was on the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) governing board. The PIJ, like Hamas, is sworn to Israel's destruction and has been proscribed by the United States as a terrorist group since 1995.⁶ The Holy Land conviction “**was based more on fear-mongering than on the facts,**” CAIR said in a news

¹ For details on CAIR's origins in a U.S.-based Hamas-support network see “CAIR's Origins,” Investigative Project on Terrorism dossier: <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/109.pdf>

² *US v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, 04-CR-240, “GX 003-0078: 1994 Palestine Committee Meeting Agenda,” https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/717.pdf#page=6

³ *US v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, 04-CR-240, “Memorandum Opinion Order” (ND TX July 1, 2009), p. 15, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1425.pdf#page=15

⁴ “U.S. Designates Five Charities Funding Hamas and Six Senior Hamas Leaders as Terrorist Entities,” *U.S. Department of the Treasury*, August 22, 2003, <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js672.aspx>

⁵ For a detailed report on terror ties of CAIR officials see “The Suspect Ties of CAIR Officials, Fundraisers & Trainers,” <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/111.pdf>

⁶ Holly Fletcher, “Palestinian Islamic Jihad Background,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, April 10, 2008, <https://www.cfr.org/background/palestinian-islamic-jihad>





release.⁷ [Emphasis added] In 2014, **CAIR honored Al-Arian** and his family with its “Promoting Justice Award”⁸ just days before the **UAE designated CAIR as a terrorist group.**⁹

CAIR officials **refuse to condemn Palestinian terrorist groups like Hamas, and its officials** try to **equate the brutal slaughter of ISIS to the Israeli army’s defense of its people from terror attacks.** For example, CAIR-Los Angeles Executive Director Hussam Ayloush was challenged to condemn Hamas in 2013. He refused, saying the question itself is “not acceptable,” and “proves that you have nothing but bigotry in you.”¹⁰ In September 2014, Zahra Billoo **executive director of CAIR San Francisco Bay Area (CAIR-SFBA),¹¹ equated ISIS with the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF),** saying she “wonders who has recruited more Americans? The IDF or ISIS?”¹² In February 2015, Billoo repeated the meme asking, **“Have more American youth joined the IDF than American youth have joined ISIS? Is one genocidal group different than the other? #CVE Summit.”**¹³ [Emphasis added]

CAIR also has a long history¹⁴ of **undermining law enforcement counter terror investigations** by urging Muslims not to cooperate with agents, falsely accusing the FBI of using excessive force and by crying entrapment when stings lead to arrests of

⁷ “CAIR Says HLF Verdict Based on ‘Fear-Mongering,’” *CAIR Press Release*, November 26, 2008, https://www.cair.com/cair_says_hlf_verdict_based_on_fear_mongering

⁸ “Meet the CAIR-SFBA 20th Anniversary Banquet Honorees,” CAIR California, November 2014, <http://web.archive.org/web/20180330171936/https://ca.cair.com/sfba/2014/11/meet-the-cair-sfba-20th-anniversary-banquet-honorees/>

⁹ “UAE Cabinet approves list of designated terrorist organizations, groups,” *WAM Emirates News Agency*, November 15, 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20141129033519/http://www.wam.ae/en/news/emirates-international/1395272478814.html>

¹⁰ “CAIR’s Ayloush Gives Dishonest, Bullying Answer to Hamas Question,” *IPT News*, November 18, 2013, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/4214/cair-ayloush-gives-dishonest-bullying-answer-to>

¹¹ “Zahra Billoo, Executive Director,” CAIR California, <https://ca.cair.com/sfba/member/zahra-billoo/>

¹² Zahra Billoo Twitter, September 15, 2014, <https://twitter.com/ZahraBilloo/status/511600785981845504>

¹³ Zahra Billoo Twitter, February 16, 2015, <https://twitter.com/ZahraBilloo/status/567452508717457411>

¹⁴ “CAIR’s Deceptive Spin on FBI Support,” *IPT News*, January 21, 2011, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/2515/cair-deceptive-spin-on-fbi-support>





Muslims who plotted attacks.¹⁵ **Its San Francisco chapter published a flyer depicting a shadowy FBI agent lurking outside a home: “Build a Wall of Resistance,” it said, “Don’t Talk to the FBI.”**¹⁶ [Emphasis added]

The **FBI cut off outreach communication with CAIR in 2008.**¹⁷ In a 2009 letter to U.S. Sen. Jon Kyl, Assistant FBI Director Richard Powers explained the ban would last until it can **“resolve whether there continues to be a connection between CAIR or its executives and HAMAS.”**¹⁸ The policy remains in effect.

CAIR’s Roots in a U.S.-Based Hamas-Support Network

CAIR’s roots in a **Hamas-support network** called the **Palestine Committee** are documented by the committee’s own records seized by the FBI and entered into evidence in the 2008 Holy Land Foundation (HLF) terror financing trial.¹⁹ These include a 1994 meeting agenda for the Palestine Committee in which **CAIR is listed as one of its “working organizations.”**²⁰ CAIR was **founded that year by Omar Ahmad and Nihad Awad,**²¹ leaders of the **Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP)**, a group determined by a federal judge to have “acted in support of

¹⁵ “CAIR Whips Pre-Election Hysteria and Fear Against FBI,” *IPT News*, November 7, 2016, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/5698/cair-whips-pre-election-hysteria-and-fear-against>

¹⁶ “CAIR Imagery Makes Obstructionist Goal Clear,” *IPT News*, January 12, 2011, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/2492/cair-imagery-makes-obstructionist-goal-clear>

¹⁷ “Letter from Assistant Director Richard C. Powers to Senator John Kyl,” April 28, 2009, <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/265.pdf>; See also Mary Jacoby, “FBI Cuts Off CAIR Over Hamas Questions,” *IPT News*, January 29, 2009, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/985/fbi-cuts-off-cair-over-hamas-questions>

¹⁸ “Letter from Assistant Director Richard C. Powers to Senator John Kyl,” April 28, 2009, <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/265.pdf>

¹⁹ For details on CAIR’s origins in a U.S.-based Hamas-support network see “CAIR’s Origins,” Investigative Project on Terrorism dossier: <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/109.pdf>

²⁰ *US v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, 04-CR-240, “GX 003-0078: 1994 Palestine Committee Meeting Agenda,” https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/717.pdf#page=6

²¹ Nihad Awad, “Muslim-Americans in Mainstream America,” *The Link*, February-March 2002.





Hamas.”²² The presiding U.S. District Court judge found “ample evidence to establish the associations of CAIR ... with Hamas.”²³ CAIR was also **named an unindicted co-conspirator** in the trial.²⁴ The trial ended with convictions against HLF and its former officers on 108 counts of illegally funneling millions of dollars to Hamas.²⁵ The convictions were upheld by a federal appeals court in 2011.²⁶ Hamas is a designated terrorist organization with a stridently anti-Semitic charter which advocates killing Jews.²⁷

An FBI affidavit obtained by the IPT through a Freedom of Information Act request identifies CAIR-co-founder **Omar Ahmad (a.k.a Omar Yehya)**²⁸ as a “**one of the leaders of Hamas.**”²⁹ The affidavit further notes that **Palestine Committee members were “active” members of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood.**³⁰

CAIR founders Omar Ahmad and Nihad Awad both appear in a phonebook of Palestine Committee members submitted at the HLF trial.³¹ In 1994 – the same year

²² *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, 2d 57 70, “Memorandum Opinion,” 219 F (D.D.C. 2002).

²³ *US v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, 04-CR-240, “Memorandum Opinion Order” (ND TX July 1, 2009), p. 15, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1425.pdf#page=15

²⁴ *US v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, 04-CR-240, “Attachment A: List of Unindicted Co-conspirators and/or Joint Ventures,” p. 5, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/423.pdf#page=5

²⁵ “HLF Founders Sentenced to Long Prison Terms,” *IPT News*, May 27, 2009, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/1046/hlf-founders-sentenced-to-long-prison-terms>

²⁶ *USA v. Mohamad El-Mezain, et al.*, “Appeals from the United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas” (United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit December 7, 2011), https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1851.pdf

²⁷ “Profile: HAMAS,” <https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/129/hamas>

²⁸ “An IPT Investigative Report: Omar Ahmad and the Palestine Committee,” <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/635.pdf>

²⁹ “Declaration of Special Agent: In the Matter of Nabil Sadoun”, United States Department of Justice Executive Office for Immigration Review, p. 7, <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/846.pdf#page=7>

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15, <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/846.pdf#page=15>

³¹ *US v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, 04-CR-240, Ashqar Search-1: Important Phone and Fax Numbers Palestine Section/America, p. 4, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/3654.pdf#page=4





CAIR was created and appeared on the Palestine Committee roster – CAIR Executive Director **Nihad Awad**³² publicly declared, “**I am in support of the Hamas movement.**”³³

The **FBI cut off communication with CAIR in 2008.**³⁴ In a 2009 letter to U.S. Sen. Jon Kyl, Assistant FBI Director Richard Powers explained the ban would last until it can “**resolve whether there continues to be a connection between CAIR or its executives and HAMAS.**”³⁵ The policy remains in effect.

CAIR Officials’ Terror Ties

Several CAIR officials or fundraisers have either been personally involved in criminal investigations or have held leadership roles in organizations that have been identified by the U.S. government as linked to terrorism.³⁶

- **Ghassan Elashi** was a **founding Board Member of CAIR-Texas**³⁷ and **Chairman**³⁸ and **Treasurer**³⁹ of HLF. In 2009 Elashi was **sentenced to 65 years in prison for providing material support to Hamas.**⁴⁰ He

³² “Profile: Nihad Awad,” <https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/113/nihad-awad>

³³ “Video: Nihad Awad announcing his support for Hamas at Barry University on March 22, 1994,” <https://www.investigativeproject.org/223/cairs-awad-in-support-of-the-hamas-movement>

³⁴ “Letter from Assistant Director Richard C. Powers to Senator John Kyl,” April 28, 2009, <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/265.pdf> ; See also Mary Jacoby, “FBI Cuts Off CAIR Over Hamas Questions,” *IPT News*, January 29, 2009, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/985/fbi-cuts-off-cair-over-hamas-questions>

³⁵ “Letter from Assistant Director Richard C. Powers to Senator John Kyl,” April 28, 2009, <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/265.pdf>

³⁶ For a detailed report on terror ties of CAIR officials, see “The Suspect Ties of CAIR Officials, Fundraisers & Trainers,” <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/111.pdf>

³⁷ CAIR Articles of Incorporation, Texas Secretary of State, September 29, 1998.

³⁸ IRS Form 990, HLF, 1999.

³⁹ IRS Form 990, HLF, 1993 and 1998.

⁴⁰ “Federal Judge Hands Down[sic] Sentences in Holy Land Foundation Case,” *U.S. Department of Justice Press Release*, May 27, 2009, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/federal-judge-hands-downs-sentences-holy-land-foundation-case>





was earlier sentenced to 80 months following his conviction on several charges related to export violations⁴¹ while serving as **Vice President of Marketing for Infocom**, a webhosting company based in Richardson, Texas.⁴²

- **Randall Royer**, the former **CAIR communication specialist**⁴³ was indicted on charges stemming from participation in the ongoing jihad in Kashmir, specifically doing propaganda work for Lashkar-e-Taiba,⁴⁴ a Specially Designated Global Terrorist group⁴⁵ that was behind the 2008 Mumbai terror attacks.⁴⁶ Royer pled guilty to weapons and explosives charges⁴⁷ and was sentenced to 20 years in prison.⁴⁸
- **Bassam Khafagi** served as **CAIR's Director of Community Relations**.⁴⁹ In September 2003, Khafagi pled guilty to bank and visa fraud⁵⁰ and a judge ordered him deported to Egypt.⁵¹

⁴¹ “Federal Judge Hands Downs [sic] Sentences in Holy Land Foundation Case,” *U.S. Department of Justice Press Release*, May 27, 2009, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/federal-judge-hands-downs-sentences-holy-land-foundation-case>

⁴² “More Federal Convictions for Elashi Brothers and Infocom Corporation at Second Trial,” *U.S. Department of Justice Press Release*, April 14, 2005, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/76.pdf

⁴³ Biography of Ismail Royer, *Islam Online.net*

⁴⁴ *US v. Randall Todd Royer*, 03-CR-296, Statement of Facts (E.D.Va. June 16, 2001), https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1476.pdf

⁴⁵ “Washington File: Powell Names Two Groups as Foreign Terrorist Organizations,” *U.S. Department of State International Information Programs*. December 26, 2001, <https://web.archive.org/web/20030404010946/http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/terror/01122601.htm>

⁴⁶ “Mumbai Terror Attacks Fast Facts,” *CNN*, November 12, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2013/09/18/world/asia/mumbai-terror-attacks/index.html>

⁴⁷ *USA v. Randall Todd Royer*, 03-CR-296, Plea Agreement, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1476.pdf

⁴⁸ “Randall Todd Royer and Ibrahim Ahmed Al-Hamdi Sentenced for Participation in Virginia Jihad Network,” *U.S. Department of Justice News Release*, April 9, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/April/04_crm_225.htm

⁴⁹ Khafagi was listed as the Director of Community Relations for CAIR at a fundraiser held on November 1, 2002.

⁵⁰ “Ex-Head of Islamic Charity Pleads Guilty,” *Associated Press*, September 10, 2003.

⁵¹ “Former Head of Islamic Charity Sentenced in Fraud Case,” *Associated Press*, November 13, 2003.





Khafagi also served as founding member and **President of the Islamic Assembly of North America (IANA)**.⁵² IANA was **investigated for** money laundering and recruiting terrorists over the Internet⁵³ and the **FBI raided its offices** in February 2003.⁵⁴

- **Nabil Sadoun**⁵⁵ is a **former board member of CAIR**.⁵⁶ In 2010, a Dallas immigration judge ordered Sadoun **deported to his native Jordan** following U.S. **government allegations tying him to Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood**.⁵⁷
- **Riad Abdelkarim** served as **CAIR's Western Region Communications Director** from 2000-2002,⁵⁸ as well as a **CAIR Western Region Board Member** in 2000⁵⁹ and 2002.⁶⁰ He also served as **HLF's Secretary in 2000**⁶¹ and was an **HLF Board Member** when the organization was shut down in

⁵² Islamic Assembly of North America Articles of Incorporation, Colorado Secretary of State, May 10, 1994.

⁵³ "Saudi National Charged with Conspiracy to Provide Material Support to Hamas and Other Violent Jihadists," *U.S. Department of Justice News Release*, March 4, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/March/04_crm_137.htm; Alexander Higgins, "Swiss Court OKs Bank Document Handover," *Associated Press*, October 15, 2004; and Susan Schmidt, "Spreading Saudi Fundamentalism in U.S.," *Washington Post*, October 2, 2003.

⁵⁴ "Feds Raid Muslim Charity," *UPI*, February 27, 2003.

⁵⁵ "FOIA Exposes Deported CAIR Official's Support for Jihad," *IPT News*, December 14, 2015, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/5089/foia-exposes-deported-cair-official-support-for>

⁵⁶ CAIR Board of Directors, http://web.archive.org/web/20090310220730/http://www.cair.com/AboutUs/CAIRNationalBoardandStaff.aspx#Nabil_Sadoun

⁵⁷ Scott Gordon, "Dallas Islamic Leader Deported: Government Links him to terror groups," *NBCFW.com*, February 19, 2010, <https://www.nbcdfw.com/news/local/Dallas-Islamic-Leader-Deported-84809767.html>

⁵⁸ Basil Abdelkarim and Riad Abdelkarim, "Can a Dying Boy's Image Be the Catalyst for Peace?" *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.

⁵⁹ Riad Abdelkarim and Hussam Ayloush, "Islam Claims Jerusalem Too," *Los Angeles Times*, July 25, 2000.

⁶⁰ "Profile: Riad Abdelkarim," *Orange County Register*, May 21, 2002.

⁶¹ IRS Form 990, Holy Land Foundation, 2000.





December 2001.⁶² Abdelkarim defended HLF even after the shut down, 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...**”⁶³

- **Rabih Haddad** served as a **fundraiser for CAIR's Ann Arbor chapter**.⁶⁴ Haddad was **co-founder of the Global Relief Foundation**, whose assets the U.S. government froze on December 14, 2001 for financially supporting Al Qaeda.⁶⁵ Also on December 14, 2001, the government took Haddad into custody, detaining him on a visa violation.⁶⁶ **In November 2002, an Immigration Judge denied Haddad's application for asylum and withholding of removal, concluding that he presented “a substantial risk to the national security of the United States.”**⁶⁷ In July 2003, Haddad was deported to Lebanon.⁶⁸
- **Muthanna Al-Hanooti, executive director of CAIR-Michigan**,⁶⁹ was sentenced in 2011 to a year in prison⁷⁰ after he **pleaded guilty to violating U.S. sanctions against Iraq when he received the rights to 2 million**

⁶² IRS Form 990, Holy Land Foundation, 2000 and Terese Watanabe, “Muslim Leaders Back FBI-Targeted Charity,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 7, 2001.

⁶³ Terese Watanabe, “Muslim Leaders Back FBI-Targeted Charity,” *The Los Angeles Times*, December 7, 2001.

⁶⁴ “CAIR and Terrorism,” *Washington Times*, July 24, 2004 and <http://aa-peacemaking.quaker.org/haddad.html>, accessed October 14, 2004.

⁶⁵ OFAC Designation of BIF and GRF, December 14, 2001, <http://www.ustreas.gov/offices/eotffc/ofac/actions/20011214a.html>, accessed May 26, 2004.

⁶⁶ Alexandra Moses, “Local Community Leader Detained by INS, Lawyer Says,” *Associated Press*, December 17, 2001.

⁶⁷ “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 October 14, 2004.

⁶⁸ Sarah Freeman, “Haddad Deported, Family Remains in the U.S.,” *Associated Press*, July 16, 2003.

⁶⁹ “CAIR Opens Regional Office in Michigan,” June 15, 2000, *CAIR News Release*, <http://web.archive.org/web/20010408205437/cair-net.org/nr.asp?date=2000/06/15>

⁷⁰ *USA v. Muthanna Al-Hanooti*, 08-CR-20083, Judgment (E.D.Mich. March 21, 2011), https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/2098.pdf





barrels of oil in exchange for helping Saddam Hussein's government.⁷¹

- **Siraj Wahhaj**⁷² has served as a **member of CAIR's Board of Advisers.**⁷³ He is currently the **Imam of al-Taqwa mosque in Brooklyn**⁷⁴ and provided a platform for Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, the mastermind of the 1995 New York Landmarks bombing case.⁷⁵ Wahhaj later served as a **witness on the Sheikh's behalf in the 1995 "Day of Terror" trial.**⁷⁶ Wahhaj is **named on a list of "unindicted persons who may be alleged as co-conspirators" in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.**⁷⁷

Defense of Islamic Terrorists and Their Financiers

CAIR officials refuse to condemn Palestinian terrorist groups like Hamas and support convicted Islamic terrorists. And yet, when defendants have been found guilty of terror or related criminal charges, CAIR's silence is deafening.

⁷¹ *USA v. Muthanna Al-Hanooti*, 08-CR-20083, Government's Sentencing Memorandum (March 11, 2011), https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1501.pdf

⁷² "Masjid At-Taqwa," <https://www.investigativeproject.org/mosques/409/masjid-at-taqwa>

⁷³ CAIR Newsletter, December 14, 2000.

⁷⁴ "Man arrested at New Mexico compound is son of imam with possible link to 1993 World Trade Center bombing," *CBS News*, August 8, 2018, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/siraj-wahhaj-arrested-amalia-new-mexico-father-imam-possible-link-1993-world-trade-center-bombing-court-documents/>

⁷⁵ Paul Barrett, "Spiritual Journey: One Imam Traces the Path of Islam In Black America," *Wall Street Journal*, October 24, 2003.

⁷⁶ Paul Barrett, "Spiritual Journey: One Imam Traces the Path of Islam In Black America," *Wall Street Journal*, October 24, 2003.

⁷⁷ Letter and enclosure from U.S. Attorney General Mary Jo White to the Honorable Michael B. Mukasey Re: *US v. Omar Ahmad Ali Abdel Rahman, et al.* S5 93 CR 181 (MBM), February 2, 1995. The letter reads in part, "Enclosed is a list of unindicted persons who may be alleged as co-conspirators."





- In 2013, **CAIR California Executive Director Hussam Ayloush**⁷⁸ was challenged to condemn Hamas in 2013. He refused, saying the question itself is “not acceptable,” and “proves that you have nothing but bigotry in you.”⁷⁹
- **Hassan Shibly, Executive Director of CAIR Florida**,⁸⁰ refused to acknowledge Hamas⁸¹ as a terrorist group. He repeatedly sidestepped the question, “Is Hamas a terrorist organization?” on the Sean Hannity TV show in April 2015.⁸²

Hannity: What do you think about Hamas, their charter calls for the destruction of Israel. Is Hamas a terrorist organization?

Shibly: Sean, Sean this is so silly. Every Muslim you bring, every Muslim you bring, changes the topic-

Hannity: Is Hamas a terrorist organization? A simple question.

Shibly: Invite an expert on terrorism to speak then. I’m here as a representative of Hoda’s family to speak about that.

Hannity: Hamas’ charter calls for the destruction of Israel. Is that a terrorist organization?

Shibly: What does that have to do with, I’m so confused.

Hannity: Let me say the question slowly so that you will understand it. Hamas’ charter calls for the destruction of Israel and the killing of Jews.

Shibly: Right.

Hannity: Are they a terrorist organization?

⁷⁸ “Hussam Ayloush, M.B.A. Executive Director,” CAIR California, <https://ca.cair.com/losangeles/member/hussam-ayloush-m-b-a/>

⁷⁹ “CAIR’s Ayloush Gives Dishonest, Bullying Answer to Hamas Question,” *IPT News*, November 18, 2013, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/4214/cair-ayloush-gives-dishonest-bullying-answer-to>

⁸⁰ Hassan Shibly Official Blog, <http://www.hassanshibly.com/>

⁸¹ “Terrorist Groups,” Counterterrorism Guide, The National Counterterrorism Center, Hamas, <http://www.nctc.gov/site/groups/hamas.html>

⁸² “Reaction to Alabama woman who fled to Syria to join ISIS,” The Sean Hannity Show, *FoxNews.com*, April 22, 2015, 1:50 of 4:11 video, <http://video.foxnews.com/v/4190631136001/reaction-to-alabama-woman-who-fled-to-syria-to-join-isis/?#sp=show-clips>. See also Josh Feldman, “‘Shame on You’: Hannity Cuts Off Muslim Guest After Testy Exchange over Terrorism,” *Mediaite*, April 22, 2015, <http://www.mediaite.com/tv/shame-on-you-hannity-cuts-off-muslim-guest-after-testy-exchange-over-terrorism/>





Shibly: Yeah they're designated as a terrorist organization by the State Department. Again that's not why we're here –

Hannity: And you agree with that?

Shibly: Yeah, but that's not why we're here-

Hannity: all right I'm just checking. I appreciate you being with us.⁸³

- Shibly has spoken out publicly in defense of convicted terrorists. Following a **federal jury's conviction of Sami Osmakac**, a resident of Pinellas Park, Fla., on charges of attempted use of a weapon of mass destruction and possession of a fully automatic firearm,⁸⁴ Shibly alleged government entrapment. He told the *Tampa Tribune* in a June 2014 interview, "I'm concerned **that the government's tactics turned him into a greater threat than he could have been on his own...**There's no need to enable a Hollywood-style terrorist plot...I think that serves nothing but whipping up a sense of fear and paranoia amongst the public, which enables the further curtailing of civil rights." He added, "I have more questions than answers....Would Osmak [sic] have had the ideas and the means to do this crime but for the government informant?"⁸⁵ [Emphasis added]
- In a 2012 interview aired on Iqra TV based in Saudi Arabia, **CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad questioned Aafia Siddiqui's ties to terrorism** and claimed to advocate on her behalf at "a high level in the U.S., and even in diplomatic circles."⁸⁶ "Aafia Siddiqui is originally from Pakistan, as far as I know. **She is incarcerated in the US, having received a long prison**

⁸³ "Reaction to Alabama woman who fled to Syria to join ISIS," The Sean Hannity Show, *FoxNews.com*, April 22, 2015, 1:50 of 4:11 video, <http://video.foxnews.com/v/4190631136001/reaction-to-alabama-woman-who-fled-to-syria-to-join-isis/?#sp=show-clips>. See also Josh Feldman, "Shame on You': Hannity Cuts Off Muslim Guest After Testy Exchange over Terrorism," *Mediaite*, April 22, 2015, <http://www.mediaite.com/tv/shame-on-you-hannity-cuts-off-muslim-guest-after-testy-exchange-over-terrorism/>

⁸⁴ "Pinellas Man Found Guilty of Attempted Use of Weapon of Mass Destruction," *Department of Justice Press Release*, June 10, 2014, http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/2392.pdf

⁸⁵ Elaine Silvestrini, "Osmakac found guilty of planning terror attack," *Tampa Tribune*, June 10, 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20181023015849/https://www.tbo.com/news/crime/osmakac-found-guilty-of-planning-terror-attack-20140610/>

⁸⁶ "CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad: Islam and the U.S. Are Twins, Linked by Common Values, There Are Accounts that Muslims Discovered America before Columbus," *MEMRI TV*, Clip No. 3701, December 27, 2012, <https://www.memri.org/tv/cair-executive-director-nihad-awad-islam-and-us-are-twins-linked-common-values-there-are-accounts/transcript>





sentence, for her alleged involvement in – quote, unquote – ‘terrorist acts,’” Awad said. **“I personally intervened in this case, without talking about it in the media.... I have personally dealt with this case on a high level in the US, and even in diplomatic circles,”** he added.⁸⁷ [Emphasis added]

Siddiqui, a Pakistani scientist also known as **“Lady al-Qaida,”** is serving an 86-year prison sentence after being convicted of attempting to assault and murder American officers in Afghanistan.⁸⁸

- CAIR continued to **defend the Holy Land Foundation,** despite a federal conviction for funneling \$12 million to Hamas.⁸⁹ The jury’s verdict **“was based more on fear-mongering than on the facts,”** CAIR said in a November 2008 news release.⁹⁰ [Emphasis added]

In an October 30, 2012 Facebook post, Shibly linked to an article by the virulently anti-Israel website, Electronic Intifada.net, titled, **“Justice has fled the country’: US Supreme Court wont [sic] hear Holy Land Five case.”** Commenting on the post, Shibly criticized the **Supreme Court’s refusal to hear the appeal**⁹¹ filed by the five defendants in the terrorism financing trial of the Hamas charity, the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF),⁹² including Ghassan Elashi, HLF’s founder and head. **“Because in this case you’ve got Ghassan Elashi,** who’s head of the Foundation, getting a 65-year sentence, and you understand what it’s for—it’s for giving charity to zakat

⁸⁷ “CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad: Islam and the U.S. Are Twins, Linked by Common Values, There Are Accounts that Muslims Discovered America before Columbus,” *MEMRI TV*, Clip No. 3701, December 27, 2012, <https://www.memri.org/tv/cair-executive-director-nihad-awad-islam-and-us-are-twins-linked-common-values-there-are-accounts/transcript>

⁸⁸ “Aafia Siddiqui Sentenced in Manhattan Federal Court to 86 Years for Attempting to Murder U.S. Nationals in Afghanistan and Six Additional Crimes,” *U.S. Department of Justice Press Release*, September 23, 2010, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1380.pdf

⁸⁹ *USA v. Holy Land Foundation, et al.*, 04-CR-240, Jury Verdict (ND TX November 24, 2008), https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/741.pdf

⁹⁰ “CAIR Says HLF Verdict Based on ‘Fear-Mongering,’” *CAIR Press Release*, November 26, 2008, https://www.cair.com/cair_says_hlf_verdict_based_on_fear_mongering

⁹¹ <http://www.supremecourt.gov/Search.aspx?FileName=/docketfiles/11-1390.htm>

⁹² “End of the Line for HLF,” *IPT News*, October 29, 2012, <http://www.investigativeproject.org/3785/end-of-the-line-for-hlf>





committees, which are not even designated as terrorist, **in the theory that they're somehow controlled by Hamas**. And of course if they are, then they would designate them as terrorist—but they didn't do that. USAID has given money to these committees. So you would think that a guy getting 65 years for that, they would at least say, “maybe we should wake up and look at this case.”⁹³ [Emphasis added]

In 2009, a federal judge sentenced senior HLF officials, including Ghassan Elashi, to long prison terms.⁹⁴

- CAIR continued to support convicted terror supporter **Sami Al-Arian**, despite evidence **Al-Arian was on the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) governing board**.⁹⁵ The PIJ, like Hamas, is sworn to Israel's destruction and has been proscribed by the United States as a terrorist group since 1995.⁹⁶ In 2014, CAIR honored Al-Arian and his family with its “Promoting Justice” award.⁹⁷

Following Al-Arian's 2003 arrest, CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad said, “**we are very concerned that the government would bring charges after investigating an individual for many years without offering any evidence of criminal activity. This action could leave the impression that Al-Arian's arrest is based on political considerations, not legitimate national security concerns.**”⁹⁸

⁹³ Hassan Shibly Facebook post, October 30, 2012, <https://www.facebook.com/hshibly/posts/10100801886649678:2?pnref=story>, archived at <https://archive.is/XNv8O>

⁹⁴ “Federal Judge Hands Down Sentences in Holy Land Foundation Case,” *Department of Justice Press Release*, May 27, 2009, <http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/federal-judge-hands-downs-sentences-holy-land-foundation-case>

⁹⁵ “Profile: Sami Al-Arian,” <https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/100/sami-al-arian>

⁹⁶ “Profile: Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ),” <https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/119/palestinian-islamic-jihad-pij>

⁹⁷ “Meet the CAIR-SFBA 20th Anniversary Banquet Honorees,” CAIR California, November 2014, <http://web.archive.org/web/20180330171936/https://ca.cair.com/sfba/2014/11/meet-the-cair-sfba-20th-anniversary-banquet-honorees/>; See also “Days Before UAE Terror Designation, CAIR Awards PIJ Board Member,” *IPT News*, November 20, 2014, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/4660/days-before-uae-terror-designation-cair-awards>

⁹⁸ “AMA, CAIR Express Concern over Professor Arain's [sic] Arrest,” *Pakistan Link*, April 25, 2003, <http://web.archive.org/web/20031024164648/http://www.pakistanlink.com/Community/2003/Feb/28/10.html>





- After **Nuradin Abdi** was indicted in Ohio on conspiracy to provide material support to Al Qaeda,⁹⁹ **Ahmad al-Akhras, president of CAIR-Ohio**, said that the arrest “**raises questions of whether the U.S. government is covering up its troubles in Iraq and elsewhere by reasserting the threat of domestic terrorism and again using immigrants and minorities as scapegoats.**”¹⁰⁰
- Following the conviction of **Ghassan Elashi, Bayan Elashi, Basman Elashi and their Texas-based webhosting company, Infocom**,¹⁰¹ a CAIR-Dallas statement noted, “[w]e believe that these convictions indicate a growing disparity and climate of injustice for Muslims, who we feel are being selectively prosecuted and given unfair sentences precisely because they are Muslim or Arab.”¹⁰² The Elashi brothers and Infocom were convicted of laundering money to Hamas chief Mousa Abu Marzook and violating sanctions against Libya and Syria.¹⁰³ They received sentences ranging from four to seven years in prison.¹⁰⁴
- After **Fawaz Damra** was convicted for concealing his involvement in groups that advocated “violent terrorist attacks against Jews and others” on his citizenship application,¹⁰⁵ **Jad Humeidan**, executive director of CAIR-Ohio, defended Damra as a “**great interfaith leader.**”¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ *U.S. v. Abdi*, (S.D. OH 2:04cr88), indictment unsealed June 10, 2004.

¹⁰⁰ Kevin Mayhood and Encarnacion Pyle, “Mall-Plot Investigation,” *Columbus Dispatch*, June 17, 2004.

¹⁰¹ “More Federal Convictions for Elashi Brothers and Infocom Corporation at Second Trial,,” *U.S. Department of Justice Press Release*, April 14, 2005, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/76.pdf

¹⁰² CAIR Dallas-Fort Worth Press Release, July 9, 2004.

¹⁰³ “More Federal Convictions for Elashi Brothers and Infocom Corporation at Second Trial,,” *U.S. Department of Justice Press Release*, April 14, 2005, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/76.pdf

¹⁰⁴ “Infocom Corporation and Its Operators Sentenced in Federal Court,,” *U.S. Department of Justice Press Release*, October 13, 2006, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/2011.pdf

¹⁰⁵ “Ohio Imam Convicted of Lying About Associations with Palestine Islamic Jihad After ICE/FBI Investigation,,” *ICE Press Release*, June 18, 2004, <http://www.ice.gov/text/news/newsrel/articles/061804akron.htm>, accessed July 8, 2004.

¹⁰⁶ “Imam Convicted of Lying About Terrorism Ties on Citizenship Application,,” *Associated Press*, June 18, 2004.





- In August 1995, the Justice Department requested the arrest and extradition to Israel of Hamas leader **Mousa Abu Marzook**,¹⁰⁷ whom Israel sought to prosecute for murder. CAIR leapt to his defense in a press conference at which **Executive Director Nihad Awad** called the case “politically motivated” and charged that “this campaign has been orchestrated to serve as a wedge between America and Islamic countries.”¹⁰⁸ Marzook was deported to Jordan in May 1997.¹⁰⁹

Undermining FBI and Law Enforcement Counterterrorism Investigations

CAIR has a long history¹¹⁰ of **undermining law enforcement counter terror investigations by urging Muslims not to cooperate with agents, falsely accusing the FBI of using excessive force and by crying entrapment when stings lead to arrests of Muslims who plotted attacks.**¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ “Profile: Mousa Abu Marzook,” <https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/106/mousa-abu-marzook>

¹⁰⁸ Justice Forum: Newsletter of the Marzook Legal Fund, June 1996.

¹⁰⁹ Neil MacFarquhar, “Terror Suspect Freed by US; Flies to Jordan,” *New York Times*, May 6, 1997.

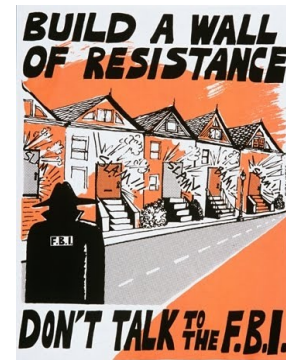
¹¹⁰ “CAIR’s Deceptive Spin on FBI Support,” *IPT News*, January 21, 2011, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/2515/cair-deceptive-spin-on-fbi-support>

¹¹¹ “CAIR Whips Pre-Election Hysteria and Fear Against FBI,” *IPT News*, November 7, 2016, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/5698/cair-whips-pre-election-hysteria-and-fear-against>





- **Zahra Billoo, executive director of CAIR San Francisco Bay Area (CAIR-SFBA),**¹¹² tells the Muslim community to avoid talking to law enforcement, vilifies the FBI, and claims that it unfairly targets the Muslim community.¹¹³ 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.¹¹⁴



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.”**¹¹⁵ [Emphasis added]

- Shibly has **accused the FBI of pressuring Muslim youth to become government informants.** In a November 4, 2014 post quoting the *Los Angeles Times*, he asserted he had represented 33 clients in that year alone “who claimed they had been pressured by the FBI to release information on their religious beliefs and practices.”¹¹⁶ He cited some examples: “In Orlando, they pressured one citizen who happened to be Muslim to spy on mosques, Islamic restaurants and hookah lounges or they would throw him in jail...In another case, they approached an imam with pictures of a woman they claimed

¹¹² “Zahra Billoo, Executive Director,” CAIR California, <https://ca.cair.com/sfba/member/zahra-billoo/>

¹¹³ “An IPT Investigative Report: Zahra Billoo, Executive Director, CAIR-SBFA,” <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/702.pdf>

¹¹⁴ “CAIR Imagery Makes Obstructionist Goal Clear,” *IPT News*, January 12, 2011, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/2492/cair-imagery-makes-obstructionist-goal-clear>

¹¹⁵ “U.S. attorney general to speak to Bay Area Muslims amid distrust over surveillance,” *San Jose Mercury News*, December 9, 2010, <https://web.archive.org/web/20121106042038/https://ca.cair.com/sfba/news/u.s.attorney.general.to.speak.to.bay.area.muslims>

¹¹⁶ Hassan Shibly Facebook post, November 3, 2014, <https://www.facebook.com/hshibly/posts/10102042817624058>, archived at <https://archive.is/gdvSB>





would testify of an affair unless he helped them. These are law-abiding Muslims, not criminals.”¹¹⁷

In a November 13, 2014 op-ed in the *Tampa Tribune*, Shibly spoke against the FBI’s recruitment of American Muslim informants:

“The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) has documented how the FBI has targeted law-abiding American Muslims for interrogation and coerced recruitment as agent provocateurs. According to Trevor Aaronson, executive director of the Florida Center for Investigative Journalism, such FBI tactics are similar to that used by the Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) against the African-American civil rights movement decades ago and **has included engaging in blackmail, extortion and threats of harm to self, family and friends. Coerced individuals are then forced into mosques to promote radical violent extremism — using taxpayer dollars — to unstable and mentally disturbed youths.** [Emphasis added]

“These programs are not only contrary to the protections enshrined in the Constitution, but are ineffective and make our nation less safe and less free. **Even with the rise of Islamic State, those engaging in acts of terrorism on U.S. soil have more often attended churches or synagogue than mosques, and yet the FBI is not engaging in similar tactics against the Christian or Jewish communities — nor should they.**”¹¹⁸ [Emphasis added]

- In a May 2015 Facebook post, **CAIR-LA chief Hussam Ayloush** wrote, “...FBI-paid informants hired to entrap feeble-minded young Muslim men. Both sources of such hatred and violence are bad news.”¹¹⁹ In an earlier Twitter post he posited, “Is **the FBI now going to send informants to entrap,**

¹¹⁷ Hassan Shibly Facebook post, November 3, 2014, <https://www.facebook.com/hshibly/posts/10102042817624058>, archived at <https://archive.is/gdvSB>

¹¹⁸ “Hassan Shibly, “CAIR strikes right balance between protecting security and liberty,” *Tampa Tribune*, November 13, 2014, <http://tbo.com/list/news-opinion-commentary/hassan-shibly-cair-strikes-right-balance-between-protecting-security-and-liberty-20141113/> and archived at <https://archive.is/EVcPz> (accessed May 18, 2015).

¹¹⁹ Hussam Ayloush Facebook, <https://www.facebook.com/hussam.ayloush/posts/10153008525624825>





radicalize, then arrest young Jewish Americans joining Israel's terrorist army?"¹²⁰ [Emphasis added]

- At the November 2014 CAIR-San Francisco Bay Area (SFBA) banquet, Nihad Awad condemned government spying on Muslim Americans. **“And we cannot allow our government to spy on American Muslims just because they’re active and just because they have point of views different than the government....We cannot allow the police department in New York to spy on Muslims, on Muslim businesses, on schools, on shops, just because they are Muslim, under this guise of national security.”**¹²¹ [Emphasis added]

Responding to a Department of Justice initiative to fingerprint and photograph nearly 100,000 foreigners who were already in the country in an effort to weed out suspected terrorists, **Nihad Awad** said, in **June 2002**, **“What is next? Forcing American Muslims to wear a star and crescent as a means of identification for law enforcement authorities?”**¹²² [Emphasis added]

- In 2010, **CAIR-Michigan Executive Director Dawud Walid**¹²³ said that **“the FBI, by using informants acting as agent provocateurs, has recruited more so called extremist Muslims than al Qaeda themselves.”**¹²⁴ [Emphasis added]

The “Bronx Four,” James Cromitie, David Williams, Onta Williams and LaGuerre Payen, were arrested in May 2009 and indicted in June on charges

¹²⁰ Hussam Ayloush Twitter, <https://twitter.com/hussama/status/493198074794102785>

¹²¹ “Growing Through Service,” CAIR-San Francisco Bay Area (SFBA) Banquet, Santa Clara, CA, November 8, 2014.

¹²² Eric Lichtblau, “Strict New Visa Rules Outlined Amid Protests,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 6, 2002.

¹²³ “An IPT Investigative Report: Dawud Walid, Executive Director, CAIR-Michigan,” <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/454.pdf>

¹²⁴ Dawud Walid speech at the Zainabia Center, Walled Lake, MI, December 15, 2010.





they plotted to attack two targets in New York: a synagogue and New York National Guard Base in Newburgh.¹²⁵

During a radio interview after the arrests, Walid accused the FBI of **“manufacturing their own terrorism suspects to give the appearance that they’re actually doing something tangible in the so called ‘War on Terrorism.’”**¹²⁶ The FBI is **“cultivating and inciting people towards extremism,”** he said.¹²⁷ [Emphasis added]

Only a few days after Walid gave the above interview, he authored a blog post on the “Bronx Four.” In what Walid described as a “so-called terror plot,” he said that the **“agent provocateur was the real mastermind.”** **“Three of these men were petty criminals, who were enticed by money, not extreme ideology,”** said Walid.¹²⁸ [Emphasis added]

Claims the “War on Terrorism” is a “War on Islam”

Since 9/11, CAIR has consistently accused the United States government of targeting Islam itself in the war on terrorism.¹²⁹ This type of sentiment illustrates CAIR’s strategy to propagate that the United States and the West are perpetuating a war on Islam, as opposed to a radical fringe of Islamists who exploit the religion for political goals.

The “war on Islam” narrative is acknowledged to be among the most effective messages in radicalizing Muslims. For example, according to a June 2009 Canadian intelligence report on radicalization, “[t]he message that the world the world fundamentally ‘at war’ with Islam is key to the Islamist ‘single narrative’ —

¹²⁵ *U.S. vs. James Cromitie, et al.*, 09-CR-558, Indictment, (S.D.N.Y. June 2, 2009),

¹²⁶ Dawud Walid, 98.7KISSFM, NY, May 24, 2009.

¹²⁷ Dawud Walid, 98.7KISSFM, NY, May 24, 2009.

¹²⁸ Dawud Walid, “Update on ‘Bronx Four,’” May 26, 2009, Weblog of Dawud Walid.

¹²⁹ For a more details see report titled, “CAIR Claims that the ‘War on Terrorism’ is a ‘War on Islam,’” <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/117.pdf>





or ‘one size fits all explanation’ — that drives terrorism the world over.... The romance of this unequal struggle may be especially appealing to young Muslims, who feel both justified and compelled to come to the aid of their brothers and sisters against the powerful forces arrayed against them.”¹³⁰

- After HLF’s assets were frozen in December 2001 by the Justice Department for funneling money to Hamas, CAIR issued a statement noting that the government’s actions “**could create the impression that there has been a shift from a war on terrorism to an attack on Islam.**”¹³¹ [Emphasis added]
- Following the Elashi arrests, CAIR-Dallas issued a press release that said, “**we are concerned that these charges result from what appears to be a ‘war on Islam and Muslims’ rather than a ‘war on terror.’**”¹³² [Emphasis added]
- After three of Ismail Royer’s co-conspirators were sentenced for providing material support to Lashkar-e-Taiba, ¹³³ CAIR issued a statement that read, “**[i]t is the near universal perception in the Islamic community that these men would never have been charged had they not been Muslims, and that once convicted, prosecutors would never have sought such draconian sentences.**”¹³⁴ [Emphasis added]
- After the FBI announced it would interview Muslims and Arabs during the lead up to the 2004 elections in an effort to gain information concerning

¹³⁰ Royal Canadian Mounted Police, National Security Criminal Investigations, “Radicalization: A Guide for the Perplexed, June 2009,” p. 8, http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2012/grc-rem/PS64-102-2009-eng.pdf

¹³¹ “Freeze on Group’s Assets Questioned by U.S. Muslims,” CAIR Press Release, December 4, 2001, <http://web.archive.org/web/20011205052620/http://www.cair-net.org/asp/article.asp?articleid=531&articletype=3>, accessed July 11, 2004.

¹³² “DFW Muslim Leaders Issue Statement Regarding Elashi Family Arrests,” CAIR-Dallas Press Release, December 19, 2002, <http://web.archive.org/web/20030603224447/www.cairdfw.org/cgi-bin/pr/viewnews.cgi?id=1040326553>, accessed July 11, 2004.

¹³³ Jerry Markon, “Strict Sentences Meted in Va. Jihad Cases,” *Washington Post*, June 16, 2004.

¹³⁴ “CAIR Calls VA Paintball Sentencing ‘Draconian,’” June 16, 2004, http://www.amperspective.com/html/cair_on_harsh_sentence.html, accessed October 15, 2004.





possible terrorist attacks, Awad said, “The way it’s being done stigmatizes the entire community and makes Muslims objects of suspicion to their neighbors and coworkers....**This is more politics than security... Muslims should be enlisted in the war on terror, not blacklisted.**”¹³⁵ [Emphasis added]

- Responding in June 2002 to a Justice Department initiative to locate suspected terrorists, CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad asked: **“What is next? Forcing American Muslims to wear a star and crescent as a means of identification for law enforcement authorities.”**¹³⁶
- In 2003, after U.S. Sens. Jon Kyl (R-AZ) and Charles Schumer (D-NY) held hearings on Wahhabist influence in the United States, **CAIR spokesman Ibrahim Hooper**¹³⁷ declared that Kyl and Schumer **“are jumping on this issue in order to demonize all Muslim groups and all Muslims in America.”**¹³⁸ Again, in 2004, when FBI Director Robert Mueller asked Americans to be on the lookout for seven Muslim terror suspects, Hooper dismissed Mueller's request as “part of the 'round up the usual suspects' mentality.” Hooper added: **“When you don't have any other leads, you gather up the Muslims.”**¹³⁹ [Emphasis added]
- Speaking at a CAIR fundraiser in October 2002, **Omar Ahmad** said, **“These people hated Islam...before September 11. They are using the opportunity of September 11 to detain Islam Muslims or find the problem and attack the foundations of Islam...We are under attack.”**¹⁴⁰ [Emphasis added]

¹³⁵ Richard B. Schmitt and Donna Horowitz, “FBI Starts to Question Muslims in U.S. About Possible Attacks,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 18, 2004.

¹³⁶ Eric Lichtblau, “Strict New Visa Rules Outlined Amid Protests,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 6, 2002.

¹³⁷ “Profile: Ibrahim Hooper,” <https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/168/ibrahim-hooper>

¹³⁸ Jeff Johnson, “Investigation of ‘Terrorist Recruitment’ Concerns Muslims,” CNSNews.com, September 29, 2003.

¹³⁹ Shannon McCaffrey, “US Renews Manhunt for Al Qaeda Suspects,” *Detroit Free Press*, May 27, 2004.

¹⁴⁰ CAIR Fundraiser, Virginia, October 26, 2002.





Allegations of Islamophobia and Portraying Muslims as Victims

CAIR routinely **claims rising Islamophobia and feeds the Muslim victimhood narrative**. CAIR’s Research and Advocacy Department, in fact, runs a **Counter-Islamophobia Project that “focuses on the groups and individuals promoting Islamophobia in the U.S.”**¹⁴¹ [Emphasis added]

“We hold Islamophobia in the United States to be one of the manifestations of the **problem of prejudice and racism that has afflicted the nation since its earliest days,**” states the Project’s website. [Emphasis added] “Muslims have been involved in historical American movements combating prejudice but **only after the 9/11 terror attacks have they become a primary focus for purveyors of hate.** With this in mind, CAIR is dedicated to countering prejudice at large.”¹⁴² [Emphasis added]

CAIR officials claim that *Fox News* and conservative media outlets perpetuate an Islamophobic narrative that leads to a rise in anti-Muslim hate crimes. “There are people who are professionals whose main job is to say and do negative things about and against Muslims, these people have been now given wider stages, have been given more time on the air, on news media,” **then-CAIR legal counsel Nadhira Al-Khalili** alleged in a 2013 interview with Russian Television (RT). “For example, **Fox News, as the gentleman stated before, has now been featuring many more Islamophobes** than they ever had in the past, and we believe that the **media has a direct correlation to the things that are happening in real life.**” [Emphasis added] Law enforcement data shows while there have been increased attacks on Muslims and Islamic targets,¹⁴³ there is **no alarming spike in attacks against**

¹⁴¹ “About Us: Counter-Islamophobia Project,” CAIR Research and Advocacy Department, <http://www.islamophobia.org/about/who-we-are.html>

¹⁴² “About Us: Counter-Islamophobia Project,” CAIR Research and Advocacy Department, <http://www.islamophobia.org/about/who-we-are.html>

¹⁴³ “Man Allegedly Wrecks NYC Mosque During Anti-Muslim Tirade,” *NBCUniversal*, May 17, 2019, <https://www.nbcbayarea.com/news/national-international/Queens-Man-Allegedly-Wrecked-Mosque-While-on-Anti-Muslim-Tirade-Gets-Indicted-on-Hate-Crime-Charges-510033431.html>





Muslims that Al-Khalili and CAIR want people to believe is taking place.¹⁴⁴ According to FBI's 2017 Hate Crime Statistics, Jewish people and institutions accounted for 58.1 percent of religious-based hate crime incidents. Muslims came a distant second at 18.6 percent.¹⁴⁵

- During the 2013 CAIR Ohio's 11th annual banquet, **Shibly** alleged that the "[Muslim] community is facing an organized attack against our faith." He said "this is why some groups, **extremist groups, have spent over \$40 million to undermine Islam in America.** What are the lies that they foment, that they promote? **They promote the same types of lies against the Muslim community that was being promoted against the Jews before the Holocaust,** that Islam is not a religion that Islam seeks to destroy the world, that most Muslims are terrorists, which are all just simply false...."¹⁴⁶ [Emphasis added]
- In a May 21, 2013 Facebook post, **Shibly** posted an article with the comment, "Interesting piece arguing **Islamophobia is a form of anti-Arab racism,** which is very interesting considering only a quarter of Muslims are Arab."¹⁴⁷ [Emphasis added]
- When the founder and the imam of the Masjid As-Salam mosque in Albany, N.Y. were indicted in 2004 on charges of taking part in what they thought was a plot to buy shoulder-fired missiles and to assassinate a Pakistani diplomat,¹⁴⁸ CAIR issued a press release following the indictment calling the allegations "deeply troubling to the American Muslim community...**All too often, these types of cases are used by those with political or religious agendas**

¹⁴⁴ "Another Hate Crimes Report Contradicts Islamist Claims," *IPT News*, November 26, 2013, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/4224/another-hate-crimes-report-contradicts-islamist>

¹⁴⁵ "Victims By Religious Bias: FBI 2017 Hate Crime Statistics," <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2017/topic-pages/victims>

¹⁴⁶ "Upholding our Constitution, Defending Our Faith," CAIR-Ohio 11th Annual Banquet, Cleveland, OH, April 21, 2013.

¹⁴⁷ Screenshot of Hassan Shibly Facebook post, May 21, 2013.

¹⁴⁸ *US v. Aref*, Cr 04-M-330, "Criminal complaint" (N.D.N.Y. August 5, 2004).





to smear Muslims and to demonize Islam. We should stick to the facts of the case and avoid generalizations and stereotypes that only serve to create societal divisions and promote anti-Muslim bigotry.”¹⁴⁹Both men were convicted and sentenced to 15 years in prison for their role in the plot.¹⁵⁰

- **Parents in the San Diego Unified School District (SDUSD) successfully pushed back against a CAIR effort to introduce an Islamic curriculum into the district in March 2019.**¹⁵¹ They settled a federal lawsuit filed by the Freedom of Conscience Defense Fund (FCDF) against the school district out of court. It claimed that **the school district’s anti-Islamophobia program enacted at the April 2017 school board meeting under CAIR’s influence violated the U.S. Constitution and California law by giving an unconstitutional preference to Islam.** The curriculum would have encouraged students to read books about Islam chosen by CAIR, explore the creation of clubs to “promote the American Muslim Culture and the student experiences”; and create safe spaces for Muslim students among other things.¹⁵² Under the settlement, the school district agreed to prohibit speakers such as those CAIR had recommended who advocate a sectarian religion and to ensure they are appropriate for the students’ maturity levels.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ “CAIR Calls Alleged NY Missile Plot ‘Deeply Troubling,’” *CAIR Press Release*, August 5, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20070110171553/http://www.cair-net.org/default.asp?Page=articleView&id=1150&theType=NR>

¹⁵⁰ “Two Sentenced to serve 15 Years in Prison for Terrorism Offenses,” *U.S. Department of Justice*, https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/1495.pdf

¹⁵¹ “Settlement Agreement and Release of All Claims,” https://www.fcdflegal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/FINAL-Settlement-Agreement-Citizens-for-Qual.-Educ.-et-al.-v.-Richard-Barrera-et-al_-002-1.pdf

¹⁵² “Vision 2020/Quality Schools in Every Neighborhood,” District Accountability Report, April 4, 2017, <http://archive.is/dFHCH#selection-671.0-671.103>

¹⁵³ “Settlement Agreement and Release of All Claims,” https://www.fcdflegal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/FINAL-Settlement-Agreement-Citizens-for-Qual.-Educ.-et-al.-v.-Richard-Barrera-et-al_-002-1.pdf





Anti-Semitic and Anti-Israel Statements

- At an April 2018 event titled, “Challenging Islamophobia with My Vote” at the Islamic Institute of Orange County (IIOC), California, **Hussam Ayloush**, executive director of CAIR’s Greater Los Angeles Chapter (CAIR-LA),¹⁵⁴ **equated ISIS terrorists negatively with the Israeli army.**¹⁵⁵ Ayloush complained Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) programs unjustly target Muslims.¹⁵⁶

There's no similar focus on white communities, he said in a video highlighted by the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI).¹⁵⁷ “You know how **many hundreds of Jewish American kids are recruited to join the Israeli occupation army?** Hundreds. Every year. **They leave their country, leave America, to go join with an army that is engaged, with no debate, in major violations of human rights, and maybe some would argue, and I'm one of them, war crimes,**” adding: “No one has ever established a CVE program to see, **why would normal Jewish American kids leave their home and join to be part of an army committing war crimes.**”¹⁵⁸ [Emphasis added]

¹⁵⁴ “Hussam Ayloush,” Investigative Project on Terrorism Dossier, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/709.pdf>

¹⁵⁵ “CAIR's Ayloush Races Past Hate, Goes Straight to Idiotic,” *IPT News*, May 25, 2018, <https://www.investigativeproject.org/7467/cair-ayloush-races-past-hate-goes-straight-to>

¹⁵⁶ Benjamin Kerstein, “CAIR Official Calls on US Government to Investigate American Jews Who Join IDF,” *The Algemeiner*, May 24, 2018, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2018/05/24/cair-official-calls-on-us-government-to-investigate-american-jews-who-join-idf/>

¹⁵⁷ “CAIR-LA Executive Director Hussam Ayloush At Orange County Event: The Governmental 'Countering Violent Extremism' Program Exclusively Targets American Muslims; It Should Target Jewish Kids Who Join The Israeli Army,” *MEMRI*, Special Dispatch No. 7488, May 25, 2018, <https://www.memri.org/reports/cair-la-executive-director-hussam-ayloush-orange-county-event-governmental-countering>

¹⁵⁸ “CAIR-LA Executive Director Hussam Ayloush At Orange County Event: The Governmental 'Countering Violent Extremism' Program Exclusively Targets American Muslims; It Should Target Jewish Kids Who Join The Israeli Army,” *MEMRI*, Special Dispatch No. 7488, May 25, 2018, <https://www.memri.org/reports/cair-la-executive-director-hussam-ayloush-orange-county-event-governmental-countering>





- Ayloush made strikingly similar comments in January 2015 during a speech on “countering violent extremism” at the Islamic Center of Orange County in Garden Grove, California:

“You know, you don't hear about countering violent extremism to deal with the thousands of Jewish-American kids who join the Israeli army killing the people of Gaza. When was the last time the DHS – the Dept. of Homeland Security – or the FBI approached the Jewish community to ask them to deal with this trend? **Actually, there are many more Jewish Americans who have joined the Israeli army than there are Muslim Americans who join ISIS.”¹⁵⁹ [Emphasis added]**

- In a February 4, 2015 Facebook post, Shibly linked to a post by noted anti-Israeli activist, Norman Finkelstein: “#ISIS burnt alive a Jordanian Remember when **Israeli settlers burnt alive 16-yr-old Palestinian Mhmd Abu Khdeir? Terrorism has no religion.**”¹⁶⁰ [Emphasis added]. Muhammad Khdeir was murdered July 2, 2014, allegedly in revenge for the abduction and murder of three Israeli yeshiva students by Hamas operatives in June 2014.¹⁶¹
- In August 14, 2014 post on Twitter, **Shibly alleged the police in Ferguson, Mo. had received training from their Israeli counterparts**, who are “**well known for abuse,**” as exemplified in the case of Tariq Khdeir. **Tariq Abu Khdeir**, a Tampa teenager of Palestinian descent, was reportedly beaten by Israeli police during a protest in Eastern Jerusalem in July 2014.¹⁶² Above an article titled, “St. Louis Cops Using Anti-Terrorism Learned in Israel On...,”

¹⁵⁹ “CAIR’s Hussam Ayloush Compares Jewish Americans Who Join IDF with Muslim Americans Who join ISIS,” *FouseSquawk*, January 11, 2015, <http://garyfouse.blogspot.com/2015/01/cairs-hussam-ayloush-compares-jewish.html>

¹⁶⁰ Hassan Shibly Facebook post, February 4, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/hshibly/posts/10102231470053078?pnref=story#>, archived at <https://archive.is/udFrs>

¹⁶¹ Daniel K. Eisenbud, “Khdeir murder suspect recounts grisly killing,” *Jerusalem Post*, August 13, 2014, <http://www.jpost.com/National-News/Abu-Khdeir-murder-suspect-recounts-grisly-killing-370911>

¹⁶² “Khdeir returns to US: ‘No child, Palestinian or Israeli, deserves to die,’ *Associated Press*, July 17, 2014, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0.7340.L-4545438.00.html>. See also Jake Tapper, “Teen beaten by Israeli police meets at White House as he prepares to return to Jerusalem,” *CNN*, May 11, 2015, <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/05/11/politics/teen-beaten-israeli-police-white-house/index.html>



Shibly wrote: “THAT EXPLAINS IT! #FergusonPolice have had training by #Israel –country known 4 police abuse. #TariqKhdeir.”¹⁶³

- In his Facebook notes from February 2009, Shibly **equated Israelis with Nazis, juxtaposing images from the Holocaust with images of Israeli soldiers interacting with Palestinians.**¹⁶⁴ He also described Israel as an apartheid state and wrote in a July 2014 Twitter post: **“The Israeli government does not value the lives of Palestinian children and on an institutional level treats Palestinians worse than animals.”**¹⁶⁵
- During a May 2012 sermon at the Islamic Organization of North America mosque in Warren, Mich., **Dawud Walid** responded to his own question, **“Who are those who incurred the wrath of Allah?”** saying **“They are the Jews, they are the Jews.”**¹⁶⁶ [Emphasis added] He added: **“One of the greatest social ills facing American today is Islamophobia, and anti-Muslim bigotry. And if you trace the organizations and the main advocates and activists in Islamophobia in America, you will see that all those organizations are pro-Israeli occupation organizations and activists,”** Walid said. “You will see every single last one. Do you know why? Because one of the leading Islamophobes by the name of Daniel Pipes, said the political empowerment of American Muslims is a direct threat to Israel.”¹⁶⁷ [Emphasis added]

¹⁶³ Hassan Shibly tweet, August 14, 2014, <https://twitter.com/hassanshibly/status/500061338044215296>

¹⁶⁴ “THE GRANDCHILDREN OF HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS FROM WORLD WAR II ARE DOING TO THE PALESTINIANS EXACTLY WHAT WAS DONE TO THEM BY NAZIS,” Screenshot of Hassan Shibly’s Notes-Facebook, February 17, 2009.

¹⁶⁵ Hassan Shibly Twitter, <https://twitter.com/HassanShibly/status/486880374048694273>

¹⁶⁶ “Importance of Al-Quds in Islam,” Published by Dawud Walid on May 25, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2LgNxXnAAZA>

¹⁶⁷ “Importance of Al-Quds in Islam,” Published by Dawud Walid on May 25, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2LgNxXnAAZA>

