



BY: STEVEN EMERSON

AND THE STAFF OF

THE INVESTIGATIVE PROJECT ON TERRORISM



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FOREWORD

he Washington Post, Time Magazine, NPR, the Southern Poverty Law Center, USA Today, the ACLU and even Davos have all described—and several of them have actually also honored—CAIR, the Council on American Islamic Relations, as a "civil rights group." This label bestows total legitimacy on this organization by anointing it with the same aura of respectability as those who fought in the trenches for the civil rights of Black people with Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy Jr. And most recently, the Biden Administration announced that CAIR would play a role in educating the country about the threat of antisemitism.

We live in a world where facts are inverted and the truth is turned upside down, but the reality buttressed by cold hard demonstrable inarguable facts laid out in this book from documented sources—is that CAIR is a radical Islamist Hamas front group whose DNA is dominated by antisemitic genes. Two years in the making, this new book is the product of extensive meticulous research into the most dangerous Islamist political group in the U.S. today—CAIR. It is dangerous because it was created as a front group for Hamas in 1993—in a secret meeting of Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas leaders, including CAIR's current leader Nihad Awad, held in a downtown Marriott Hotel in Philadelphia in 1993, a meeting the FBI wiretapped.

Since its corporate inception in 1994, CAIR has been the number one promoter of incendiary vile antisemitic tropes and conspiracies in the U.S. by any "mainstream" Islamist group. I use the word mainstream in quotations because CAIR has successfully duped virtually the entire media establishment—many of whom have willingly collaborated—into portraying this Hamas front group as a "Muslim civil rights organization." CAIR

is soaked with antisemitism, yet we hear NOT a word about this reality from the gatekeepers.

To the extent CAIR continues to get away with injecting the poison of antisemitism and its support for terrorism into the American bloodstream, it is a stain on the integrity of those institutions—the media, the political left, mainstream religious groups and leaders, and some 150 members of members of Congress who have appeared at CAIR events or have sent them congratulatory missives. CAIR's outspoken antisemitism is matched only by its fierce defense of terrorist groups such as Hamas and its championing of scores of convicted Islamic terrorists in prison in the U.S. Read the incendiary antisemitic exhortations by CAIR officials at their events that if uttered by right-wing white supremacists, would be reported on the front pages of the New York Times, as incitement to violence.

The litany of CAIR's continued antisemitic epithets is mind numbing. It routinely calls for the destruction of the State of Israel which of course is an echo of the same demand of its mother group, Hamas, which also vows to kill every Jew. CAIR's antisemitism runs so deeply through its veins, as this book demonstrates, that it has allied itself with Holocaust deniers, with convicted Hamas terrorists, with jihadists, with Libya's Muammar Gaddafi and even with one of the world's most notorious Holocaust deniers, Iran's Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

Words have consequences, as the world ultimately realized in the Nazi's obsession with eradicating the Jews. This book is a flashing red light.

Steven Emerson Executive Director The Investigative Project on Terrorism

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Brotherhood-created, Hamas-support network in the United States, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)¹ and its senior leadership have made repeated statements and taken positions that illustrate the organization's deep antisemitic bias. This book spotlights the lengthy record of antisemitic rhetoric amassed by CAIR and its officials that meets the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)'s working definition of antisemitism.² The working definition was adopted by the U.S. State Department in 2016³ and numerous governments have since embraced and promoted it.⁴

While criticizing the Israeli government or its policies is, by itself, not antisemitic, insinuations that American Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the United States fall within the parameters of the IHRA definition. So does "demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews…or the power of Jews as a collective" and "denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination."⁵

CAIR and its leaders cross these lines repeatedly. They falsely smear Israel as an apartheid state,⁶ call for a Palestinian state "from the river to the sea," thus wiping Israel off the map, and have called the Jewish state and its supporters "Zionazis." CAIR officials also equate Israel to ISIS9 and the Taliban.¹⁰

In November 2021, CAIR's Executive Director Nihad Awad¹¹ made clear he does not believe Israel should exist, when he called its most populous city, Tel Aviv, "occupied" and prayed "it will be free later." At the same conference, CAIR's San Francisco chapter leader Zahra Billoo¹³ called on American Muslims to reject overtures from "polite Zionists," even on issues on which they might work together, and warned that any groups supporting Zionism "are not your friends." ¹⁴

After Billoo's remarks drew strong condemnation, CAIR rushed to her defense painting her as a victim of an "online smear campaign." The Islamist organization further portrayed the criticism as "false allegations of anti-Semitism in a cynical attempt to silence American Muslims who speak up for Palestinian human rights." ¹⁵

Billoo repeated her blanket dismissal of pro-Israel Jews at an April 9, 2022 event that was advertised as focusing on "Islamophobia" in France and India. "If you are pro-Israel and you are working actively to harm our community here and abroad, we don't want to work with you," she said. "We have so many other friends and partners to work with, so many other things that we can do. If you're with the Anti-Defamation League, if you're with the Jewish Community Relations Council, if you're with the Jewish Federation, if you're with any of these pro-Israel organizations, enough is enough...If you don't support human rights abroad, then we don't believe you when you're supporting them here. We're not here to partner with in that way."16

Billoo has been making similarly outrageous statements for years¹⁷ leading the Simon Wiesenthal Center to describe her in a December 2021 report as "one of venomous professional Israel and Jew-haters who use non-existent dots to create phony links between Israel and U.S. social crises." The report also lists CAIR among 10 of the world's worst antisemitic organizations. ¹⁹

During the May 2021 Gaza war, CAIR and its leaders posted antisemitic comments on social media and co-sponsored and endorsed pro-Palestine rallies featuring strident antisemitic rhetoric and chants that included calls for Israel's destruction.²⁰ This overt display of virulent antisemitism on social media and at pro-Palestine rallies during and after the war corresponded with a surge in violent attacks against Jews and other antisemitic incidents across the United States.²¹

The self-proclaimed civil rights group has additionally opposed legislation to combat antisemitism at both the federal²² and state levels.²³

While CAIR never loses an opportunity to demonize Israel and paint it as a pariah

"apartheid" state, 24 neither CAIR nor Executive Director Nihad Awad²⁵ criticizes Turkev's autocratic, Hamas-supporting, 26 Islamist leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan, named the world's "worst jailer of journalists" in 2017.²⁷ CAIR and its leaders have traveled to Turkey28 in support of the regime and met repeatedly with its officials when they come to the United States.²⁹ During a 2016 meeting, Awad lamented "a pathological fear of Turkey here" and suggested the Turkish government make "more efforts to explain what is happening [in] Turkey to American public opinion."30 Awad, the only executive director CAIR has ever had, met with Iranian President Hasan Rouhani in 2018³¹ and spoke at a 2008 interfaith program with thenPresident Mahmoud Ahmadinejad,³² who has denied the Holocaust³³ and vowed to wipe Israel off the map.³⁴ Three years later, Awad appealed to Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi for help underwriting a campaign to give copies of the Quran to Americans and to help launch a new foundation.³⁵ The Islamist group's leadership also refuses to specifically condemn the terrorist group Hamas.³⁶

This book presents a compilation of CAIR's antisemitic statements over the years that have been thematically organized around the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)'s working definition of antisemitism,³⁷ which the State Department embraced in 2016.³⁸

HIGHLIGHTS

uring a November 2021 conference sponsored by the rabidly anti-Israel American Muslims for Palestine (AMP),³⁹ Awad called Tel Aviv "occupied" and prayed for it to be freed. "We have to fight. We have to take the fight to the other side. Moving the [U.S.] embassy, our embassy, from Tel Aviv which is occupied, to a city [Jerusalem] that's supposed to be protected under international law, to move that embassy we should not accept that as a de facto," Awad said. "We have to pressure the administration to take our embassy back to Tel Aviv. And inshallah [God willing], it will be free later."⁴⁰

Tel Aviv is Israel's most populous city, the place where the Jewish nation declared its independence. Awad's reference to an "occupied" Tel Aviv revealed that he does not accept Israel's right to exist. At the same conference, CAIR's San Francisco chapter director Zahra Billoo accused Jews of being behind "a well-funded project" to push "Islamophobia...to marginalize us, to imprison us, to deport us, to silence us."

Her blind hatred for anyone who supports Israel⁴³ prompted her to shun what she described as "polite Zionists," even on issues on which they might work together. "We need to pay attention to the Anti-Defamation League," Billoo said. "We need to

pay attention to the Jewish Federation...the Zionist synagogues...Hillel chapters on our campuses."44

On August 26, 2021, CAIR joined anti-Israel groups Americans for Justice in Palestine Action (AJP Action),45 the Palestinian Youth Movement,46 U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights,47 Jewish Voice for Peace Action,48 and others to protest President Biden's meeting⁴⁹ with Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett.⁵⁰ Hosting Bennett. CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad argued at the protest, is as bad as welcoming the Taliban to the White House. "Imagine if [the] Taliban forms the government, [and] continues to do what it was doing to the people in Afghanistan before they were defeated in 2001," Awad said. "And they became national and international leaders, and if the president of the United States, President Joe Biden, decides to host in the White House the leader of [the] Taliban, what would be the reaction of the U.S. media? What would be the reaction from the public? What would be the reaction of politicians by the fact that Joe Biden would be hosting the leader of [the] Taliban? ...Today it's no different. President Joe Biden is hosting the leader of the Israeli Taliban. Joe Biden is hosting the leader of a settler colonial movement in Israel."51

The Taliban, an Islamist fundamentalist organization, ruled Afghanistan from 1996 until its overthrow following the U.S. invasion in 2001.⁵² The Islamist group provided sanctuary to 9/11 mastermind Osama bin Laden⁵³ and its August 2021 return to power was celebrated worldwide by jihadists.⁵⁴

Nihad Awad speaking at AMP National March for Palestine, May 29, 2021, AMP Facebook

CAIR was a "partner" in the May 29, 2021 National March for Palestine⁵⁵ in Washington, D.C., led by the U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO)⁵⁶ and American Muslims for Palestine (AMP).⁵⁷ The march was part of a broader campaign to "sanction Israel" to end "Israeli settler-colonialism, ethnic cleansing, apartheid, military occupation, and blockade." Speakers



Free Palestine rally at the Lincoln Memorial, May 29, 2021 Photo by Diane Krauthamer, *Flickr*

spewed inflammatory antisemitic and anti-Israel rhetoric and led chants calling for the destruction of the Jewish state.⁵⁹

Among them, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," meaning a new Palestinian state will go from the Jordan River to the Med-

iterranean Sea and swallow up all of Israel. Other chants included: "Israel you can't hide, we charge you with genocide," "Justice is our demand, no peace on stolen land," and "[President] Biden you will learn, refugees will return, in our millions will return,"60 "5, 6, 7, 8, Israel is a terrorist state."61

CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad spoke immediately after anti-Israel student activist Nerdeen Kiswani⁶² led the "From the river to the sea" and other chants. Awad did nothing to caution protesters about

going too far. Instead, he called on them "to work to unseat members of Congress who are apologists for the crimes of the State of Israel."⁶³

Awad also urged the crowd to repeat a "Palestine pledge" to "support candidates who work to end Israeli apartheid" and "to work against elected officials who support Israel's occupation of Palestinian land."⁶⁴

"Apartheid" was the official policy in South Africa from 1948-1994. Under that system, blacks were barred from voting and holding political office; relegated to inferior neighborhoods and schools; and prevented from using the same public accommodations as whites. ⁶⁵ But none of this applies to Israeli Arabs, who have the right to vote and enjoy representation in the Knesset. They own property and businesses and work in professions alongside Israeli Jews. ⁶⁶

Additionally, calling Israel an "apartheid" state qualifies as antisemitic speech under the

International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)'s working definition of antisemitism, 67 which the State Department embraced in 2016.68 The working definition encompasses modern sentiment anti-Israel that "crosses the line into antisemitism"69 to include "Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor."70

Another speaker at the May 29 rally, former CAIR New York board member Lamis Deek,⁷¹ who serves on the national board⁷² of Al-Awda: The Palestine Right to Return Coalition,⁷³ described Israel as a "a global threat, because Israel is a threat to all of us on the streets.

Because so long as there is Israeli colonization, and Israeli apartheid and Israeli genocide and Israeli repression, we risk the resurrection of apartheid in South Africa, we risk the resurrection of colonization in Algeria."⁷⁴



NYC Rally Condemning Trump's Deal of the Century, Jan. 31, 2020, AMP NJ Chapter Facebook

Falsely calling Israel a "global threat" and accusing it of "apartheid" and "genocide" is hate speech that can stir people to violence against Jews,⁷⁵ the kind witnessed across the United States during the May 2021 Gaza war.⁷⁶ there is no legal basis to claim any Israeli activity

amounts to genocide and such vicious and spurious allegations only go to demonize the Jewish state and diminish the gravity of real genocidal crimes.⁷⁷

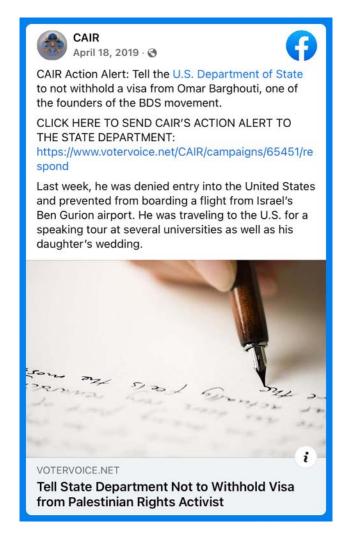
On January 31, 2020, after the Trump administration unveiled its "Deal of the Century" peace plan to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, eight radical groups, including Samidoun, New Jersey chapters of CAIR, American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), and the Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) at New York's John Jay Col-



Lamis Deek speaking at AMP National March for Palestine May 29, 2021, AMP Facebook

lege organized and sponsored the "Say No to the Steal of the Century" protest in Manhattan's City Hall Park.⁸¹

The protest featured chants and speeches repeatedly calling for the destruction of the Jewish state and for terrorist attacks, which protesters euphemistically referred as the "resistance," against Israel. "Resistance is justified when people are occupied," protesters repeatedly shouted, adding in the ubiquitous chant, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free."82



In April 2019, CAIR urged its supporters to petition the State Department to grant a visa for Omar Barghouti,⁸³ co-founder of the international Boycott Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement,⁸⁴ who is currently based in Israel and was scheduled to give two lectures and meet with members of Congress in Wash-

ington, D.C.⁸⁵ Barghouti was subsequently denied entry for reasons believed to be based on national security matters and a tax evasion case against him.⁸⁶ He openly supports "armed resistance" against Israel.⁸⁷ He also promotes a one-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and "rejects the existence of a Jewish nation state," the Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center reports.⁸⁸

Opponents consider the BDS movement antisemitic because it singles out the world's only Jewish state for treatment not imposed on other states with much worse human rights records, and because it is reminiscent of the Nazis' economic warfare against Jewishowned companies.⁸⁹

In December 2019, CAIR's National Strategic Communications Director Ahmed Rehab⁹⁰ posted an ugly rant cursing and vilifying Zionists and France. "F*** Zionism. And F*** you too France," Rehab wrote.⁹¹ Rehab, who also runs CAIR's Chicago office,⁹² was reacting to a French Parliament decision to adopt IHRA's antisemitism definition.⁹³ "Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination," the crux of Zionism, is among the main examples of antisemitism cited.⁹⁴

According to Rehab, the resolution showed that France wants "to criminalize peaceful free speech that dares to criticize murderous, plunderous, thieving apartheid that mauls with impunity under the auspices of wealthy hyper-militarized super powers. F******** you. (Apologies for my French)."95

The resolution was proposed by French Parliament Member Sylvain Maillard in response to an alarming escalation of antisemitic acts in France.⁹⁶

In a "translation" of a May 12, 2021 tweet in which former Arizona Gov. Doug Ducey said "Arizona stands with Israel," Rehab wrote: "Governor Doug Ducey stands with powerful AIPAC lobbyists in fear of losing reelection financing." He forwarded his "translation" of Gov. Ducey's tweet and posted: "But of course,"

it is all about the Benjamins. And the Jacksons and the Hamiltons. It usually is with all US lobby-centric politics. If the naked truth offends you, I'm happy to chip in for your therapy."99

Rehab's Facebook post invokes Congresswoman Ilhan Omar's earlier antisemitic tropes about Jewish control of American policy. In a February 2019 tweet, Omar cast American support for Israel as solely driven by political contributions. "It's all about the Benjamins baby," Omar wrote to explain why she and fellow Democrat Rashida Tlaib draw attention for their "criticisms of Israel." Who is the source of this popular reference to cash? "AIPAC!" Omar added, referring to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. 101

The strongest defense for Omar came from U.S.-based Islamist groups and leaders. CAIR, for example, issued a statement acknowledging that antisemitism is real, but Omar hasn't engaged in it. Supporters of Israel, according to CAIR, are the real problem. "CAIR applauds Reps. Ilhan Omar and Rashida Tlaib¹⁰³ for their courage in speaking the truth about Israel's racial, religious and ethnic segregation. Agenda-driven groups -- like AIPAC -- have for decades enabled that segregation and the resulting denial of human rights for Christian and Muslim Palestinians." 104

CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad thanked Omar and Tlaib for their "courageous and principled stance" against the "Israeli Lobby." 105

But CAIR's leadership seems to forget that they run an "agenda-driven group," devoted to white-washing Hamas¹⁰⁶ and other terrorist activity against Israel while CAIR leaders praise Islamist regimes,¹⁰⁷ like Recep Tayyip's Erdogan's Turkey, which earned the distinction of being the world's top jailer of journalists.¹⁰⁸

At a December 2017 rally hosted by the anti-Israel American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), ¹⁰⁹Awad alleged that President Donald Trump was "putting the interests of a foreign state, like Israel, and its domestic lobby here…above the United States' interests. This is dangerous and

reckless."¹¹⁰ This statement is among numerous examples, spread out over decades, of Awad and his CAIR colleagues dropping dual loyalty canards against people who support Israel. Describing Israel as an "apartheid state" that "has been oppressing the Palestinian people," Awad added, "The United States has financed and armed and defended and shielded Israel all over the world, in the United Nations. This is at the expense of our policies."¹¹¹



At an AMP event in November 2018, Zahra Billoo, the executive director of CAIR's San Francisco Bay Area (CAIR-SBFA) office, 112 acknowledged that she is "not going to legitimize a country [Israel] that I don't believe has a right to exist." Being pro-Israel, she has written, is tantamount to being "pro-terror, pro-violence, pro-land theft, and pro-apartheid." Billoo has similarly supported Palestinian terrorists attacking Israelis and openly called for the destruction



Nihad Awad - AMP Rally for Jerusalem Washington, D.C., Dec. 16, 2017, AMP Facebook

of the Jewish state: "From the river to the sea, #Palestine will be free." 115

During a 2018 "Islamophobia" program at the Islamic Institute of Orange County, CAIR California Executive Director Hussam Ayloush¹¹⁶ complained about Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) programs unjustly targeting Muslims. He asserted CVE programs should instead target American Jews who move to Israel and join the Israel Defense Forces that are "committing war crimes."¹¹⁷

There's no similar focus on white communities, he said in a video highlighted by the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI). "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." But "[n]o 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," he added. "19

During his 2014 debate at the Islamic Institute of Orange County, Ayloush compared Israeli tactics to those used by the Islamic State. "The Jewish State of Israel claims that it's being attacked because it's Jewish. And it claims it has the right to the land of Palestine because it's Jewish. And it justifies its crimes in Gaza because of its Jewishness or defense of the Jewish people. This is exactly what the Islamic State, ISIS, does."¹²⁰

He has also called for the Jewish state to be terminated. 121 "Iran's regime calling Israel a 'cancerous tumor' is like the pot calling the kettle black. All the people of that region will be better off

once both murderous regimes are terminated," Ayloush wrote in a November 2018 tweet. 122

Some CAIR officials invoke religious belief to demonize and attack Jews as the source of Muslims' problems. During a May 2012 sermon at the Islamic Organization of North America mosque in Warren, MI, CAIR Michigan Executive Director Dawud Walid¹²³ responded to his own question, "Who are those who incurred the wrath of Allah?" saying "hum al-yahud, hum al-yahud [They are the Jews, they are the Jews]."124 He added: "One of the greatest social ills facing America today is Islamophobia, and anti-Muslim bigotry. And if you trace the organizations and the main advocates and activists of 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."125

From: CAIR S. CA
To: ra***ry
Sent: Monday, March 18, 2002 11:25 AM
Subject: Re: quotes

Of course, these were all lies and taken out-of-context. Why would anyone say such things? Indeed, the zionazis are a bunch of nice people; just like their nazi brethren! It is just that the world keeps making up lies about them! It is so unfair.

They also liken Israel and its supporters to Nazis. "Indeed, the zionazis are a bunch of nice people," Ayloush wrote in a 2002 email, "just like their nazi brethren! It is just that the world keeps making up lies about them! It is so unfair." In his Facebook notes from February 2009, former CAIR Florida director Hassan Shibly equated Israelis with Nazis, juxtaposing images from the Holocaust with images of Israeli soldiers interacting with Palestinians. 128

BACKGROUND & HISTORY

he Council on American Islamic Relations' (CAIR) 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. These internal records include a 1994 Palestine Committee meeting agenda which lists CAIR as a branch. The presiding U.S. District Court judge found "ample evidence to establish the associations of CAIR... with Hamas." Hamas is a designated terrorist organization with a stridently antisemitic charter which advocates killing Jews. 133

CAIR was also named an unindicted co-conspirator in the trial,¹³⁴ which ended with convictions against the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF) and five former officers on 108 counts related to illegally funneling millions of dollars to Hamas.¹³⁵ The convictions were upheld by a federal appeals court in 2011.¹³⁶

An FBI affidavit obtained by the Investigative Project on Terrorism (IPT) through a Freedom of Information Act request identifies CAIR co-founder Omar Ahmad (a.k.a Omar Yehya)¹³⁷ as "one of the leaders of HAMAS."¹³⁸ The affidavit further notes that Palestine Committee members were "active" members of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood.¹³⁹

Both the Muslim Brotherhood and its Palestinian offshoot Hamas¹⁴⁰ are deeply antisemitic.¹⁴¹ While Muslim Brotherhood leaders have called for the killing of Jews and the destruction of Israel, ¹⁴² Hamas's founding covenant not only mentions the obliteration of the Jewish state, but also the notorious Protocols of the Elders of Zion, a forgery alleging a Zionist conspiracy to take over the world. ¹⁴³

CAIR founders Omar Ahmad and Nihad Awad each appear in a phonebook of Palestine Committee members admitted into evidence at the HLF trial. ¹⁴⁴ In 1994 – the same year CAIR was created and appeared on the Palestine Committee roster – CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad ¹⁴⁵ publicly declared, "I am in support of the Hamas

movement" instead of the secular PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization). 146

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. 147 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's (PIJ) governing board. 148 The PIJ, like Hamas, is sworn to Israel's destruction and has been proscribed by the United States as a terrorist group since 1997.¹⁴⁹ The Holy Land Foundation conviction "was based more on fear-mongering than on the facts," CAIR said in a news release. 150 In 2014, CAIR honored Al-Arian and his family with its "Promoting Justice Award" 151 just days before the United Arab Emirates designated CAIR as a terrorist group. 152

CAIR officials refuse to condemn Palestinian terrorist groups like Hamas, and try to equate the brutal slaughter carried out by ISIS terrorists to the Israeli army's defense of its people from terror attacks. For example, CAIR Los Angeles Executive Director Hussam Ayloush¹⁵³ 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."154 In September 2014, Zahra Billoo, executive director of CAIR San Francisco Bay Area (CAIR-SFBA), 155 equated ISIS with the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), saying she "wonders who has recruited more Americans? The IDF or ISIS?"156 In February 2015, Billoo reiterated the comparison asking, "Have more American youth joined the IDF than American youth have joined ISIS? Is one genocidal group different than the other? #CVE Summit."157

CAIR also has a long history¹⁵⁸ of undermining law enforcement counterterror investigations by urging Muslims not to cooperate with agents, falsely accusing the FBI of using excessive force,¹⁵⁹ and by

crying entrapment when stings have led to arrests of Muslims who plotted attacks. 160 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." 161

The FBI cut off outreach communication with CAIR in 2008. ¹⁶² 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." ¹⁶³ Since the U.S. Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General's 2013 audited adherence to the policy, ¹⁶⁴ there has been no indication of any change in the policy.

CAIR'S ROOTS IN A U.S.-BASED HAMAS-SUPPORT NETWORK

CAIR emerged out of the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP),¹⁶⁵ an organization that served as a propaganda arm of a now-defunct Hamas-support network called the "Palestine Committee."¹⁶⁶ The Committee was created by the Muslim Brotherhood to help Hamas politically and financially in the United States.¹⁶⁷ As the committee's propaganda outlet, the IAP organized "annual conventions and meetings, which were regularly addressed by members of Hamas brought

from the Middle East."¹⁶⁸ The outlet published magazines with articles supporting the terrorist group. It also "published the Hamas charter in English and distributed Hamas communiques."¹⁶⁹

Founded in 1994, CAIR was incorporated by three IAP leaders — Nihad Awad, Omar Ahmad, and Rafeeq Jaber. To Mousa Abu Marzook, a member of the Hamas Politburo, To "served as a member of IAP's advisory board and served"

as its chairman in 1988-90."¹⁷² He also provided IAP with \$490,000.¹⁷³ IAP, which is now defunct, was long a central player in Hamas' U.S. support network.

In August 2002, a federal judge ruled that there was evidence that "the Islamic Association for Palestine ("IAP"), has acted in support of Hamas."¹⁷⁴

In November 2004, a federal magistrate judge held IAP civilly liable for \$156 million in damages in the 1996 shooting of an American teenager by a Hamas member in the West Bank. The judge ruled that there was "an abundance of evidence" that "IAP...desired to help Hamas' activities succeed, and...engaged in some act of helping those activities succeed. The added, "If IAP has never outrightly cheered on Hamas' terrorist activities, it has come awfully close."

In December 2008, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals upheld damages against the American Muslim Society, which the court described as "an alter ego" for the IAP.¹⁷⁸

And evidence from the Dallas trial charging HLF and its officers with providing material support for Hamas shows that the IAP played a central role in the Muslim Brotherhood's Palestine Committee.¹⁷⁹

Bate #ISE-SW 1B64/ 0000412

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Meeting Agenda for the Palestine Committee 7/30/1994

- $1-\sqrt{\text{Latest news}}$ and developments of the Cause of Palestine.
- 2-√Reviewing resolutions of previous Committee meeting.
- $3-\sqrt{\text{Reviewing reports of the working organizations and it includes:}}$
 - Reviewing work report of the previous stage.
 - -Financial situation.
 - Future suggestions to develop work of the following organizations:

IAP HLF UASR

Coordination CAIR

Palestine Committee 1994 Meeting Agenda (Government Exhibit Elbarasse Search 19)

According to the Committee's 1994 meeting agenda and a 1991 organizational chart¹⁸⁰ introduced into evidence, the IAP, the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development and a Virginia think-tank Marzook founded were the Committee's primary components.¹⁸¹

A November 1991 committee status report approved by the Shura Council explained that the Ikhwan, or Brotherhood, created IAP "to serve the cause of Palestine on the political and media fronts...The Association's work has developed a great deal since its inception, particularly with the formation of the Palestine Committee, the beginning of the Intifada at the end of 1987 and the proclamation of the Hamas Movement "182

The documents about IAP's key role in the Palestine Committee were found in the home of Ismail Elbarasse, 183 a former assistant to Marzook, records and testimony from the HLF trial show.¹⁸⁴

An internal memo, also taken from Elbarrasse, defines in chilling fashion the role the Muslim Brothers play in North America. 185

the charter of the Hamas movement all over the American continent."187 Similarly, a statement in the December 1988 edition of *Ila Filastin* read, "The call for Jihad for the sake of Allah is the only path for the liberation of Palestine and all the occupied Muslim lands...We [Hamas] pledge to almighty Allah to continue on the path of Jihad and martyrdom, we shall not deviate from it until Almighty Allah give us victory and triumph over against His enemies"188

Again, Nihad Awad and Omar Ahmad were part of the IAP before launching CAIR, and CAIR joined the IAP on the Palestine Committee immediately after CAIR's 1994 founding.

THE 1993 PHILADELPHIA HAMAS **MEETING**

In order to fully understand CAIR's origins and its close relationship with IAP and HLF, it is critical to examine a meeting in a Philadelphia, PA Marriott hotel that took place less than a year before CAIR's incorporation.

> Abdelhaleem Ashgar, 190 who indicted in August 2004 for allegedly participating in a 15-year racketeering conspiracy to finance Hamas' activities, 191

Organized

Hamas operative¹⁸⁹

meeting was called

in the wake of the

Oslo Accords. In the

by

the

Accords, Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin agreed to a future of coexistence and independence for the Israelis and Palestinians. 192

The 25-person¹⁹³ gathering represented, according to the FBI, "a meeting...among senior leaders of HAMAS, the HLFRD and the IAP."194

According to the November 2008 HLF superseding indictment, "The purpose of the meeting was

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

The process of settlement is a "Civilization-Jihadist Process" with all the word means. The Ikhwan must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and "sabotaging" its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated and God's religion is made victorious over all other religions. Without this level of understanding, we are not up to this challenge and have not prepared ourselves for Jihad yet. It is a Muslim's destiny to perform Jihad and work wherever he is and wherever he lands until the final hour comes, and there is no escape from that destiny except for those who chose to slack. But, would the slackers and the Mujahedeen be equal.

An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America 5/22/1991 (Government Exhibit Elbarasse Search 3)

Records from a 2004 civil litigation (Boim v. Ouranic Literary Institute) show how the IAP acted upon these plans. As the magistrate judge noted, IAP has "published and distributed an abundance of pro-Hamas documents."186 The group published the Hamas charter – a viciously antisemitic document that calls for the murder of Jews – and noted in the October 1988 issue of its Arabic-language publication, *Ila Filastin*, "The Islamic Association for Palestine will deliver to determine their course of action in support of Hamas' opposition to the peace plan and to decide how to conceal their activities from the scrutiny of the United States government."¹⁹⁵

Attendees at the FBI-monitored meeting included five HLF officials who were indicted with the group in July 2004: Executive Director Haitham Maghawri, Chief Executive Officer Shukri Abu Baker, Treasurer Ghassan Elashi, 196 Chairman of the Board Mohammad El-Mezain, 197 and fundraiser Mufid Abdulqader. 198

But the most notable attendees were future CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad, whose presence is documented in the FBI-certified hotel registry, ¹⁹⁹ and

future CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad.²⁰⁰

Ahmad is identified as Omar Ahmad Yehya in FBI transcripts of the secretly-recorded meeting.²⁰¹ Although

he claimed in a 2003 deposition that he did not recall attending this meeting,²⁰² he acknowledged that "some people call me" Omar Yehya "because it's like one of my middle names."²⁰³ Ahmad also acknowledged knowing many of the men who were in Philadelphia, including Ashqar, Abu Baker, Elashi and Maghawri.²⁰⁴

Meeting participants apparently attempted to cover up their true agenda. As an FBI analysis of the wiretaps states, they "spent much effort hiding their association with the Islamic Resistance Movement, a.k.a. HAMAS. Instead, they referred to HAMAS as 'Samah,' which is HAMAS spelled backwards." 205

In addition to trying to obscure their ties to "Samah," those at the meeting discussed how organizations in the United States could support

Hamas. A speaker noted, "The institutions here should be at the service of the Movement over there...This should include finance, information, political, and everything." Another urged his colleagues that "[p]eople who are directly connected with Jihad should get more assistance." 207

In conjunction with their support for the jihad in Palestine, the participants also recognized the critical importance of domestic lobbying. Stressing the need for deeper engagement with the American Muslim community, one attendee discussed the groups "attempting to encourage the Islamic community to be involved in the political life in this country." He commented, "We should

assist them in this task. This will be an entrance for us to put, through the Islamic community, pressure on the Congress and the decision makers in America."²⁰⁸

"we don't have influence over the Congress... This will bolster our position in America with the U.S. administration and other media and political organizations."

—CAIR Founder Omar Ahmad

CAIR Founder Omar Ahmad went a step further, envisioning a lobby because "we don't have influence over the Congress...This will bolster our position in America with the U.S. administration and other media and political organizations."²⁰⁹

He concluded:

"This can be achieved by infiltrating the American media outlets, universities and research centers as we previously said. ... if Muslims engage in political activism in America and started to be concerned with Congress and public relations we will have an entry point to use them to pressure Congress and the decision-makers in America."²¹⁰

CAIR was incorporated the following summer.

CAIR'S ANTISEMITISM AND THE IHRA DEFINITION

States,²¹¹ the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)²¹² and its senior leadership have repeatedly made statements and taken positions that reflect the organization's strong antisemitic bias.²¹³ That includes applying double standards against Israel not expected of other democracies, denying the Jewish people's right to self-determination, claiming that Israel was founded as a racist entity, pushing dual-loyalty smears, and canards about Jewish control over American policy.

CAIR's antisemitic attitude is also reflected in its strident opposition to legislation proposed to combat antisemitism. In an April 2019 press release, for example, the Islamist organization urged its supporters to pressure Congress to oppose the "Anti-Semitism Awareness Act of 2019.²¹⁴ The bill "incorrectly conflates legitimate First Amendment protected discussion on American college campuses about Israel's human rights abuses against Palestinians with the vile bigotry of anti-Semitism," the press release claimed.²¹⁵

The bipartisan legislation reintroduced by U.S. Sens. Tim Scott (R-SC), Robert P. Casey, Jr. (D-PA), Marco Rubio (R-FL) and Johnny Isakson (R-GA)²¹⁶ directs the Department of Education to adopt the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)'s working definition of antisemitism,²¹⁷ which the State Department embraced in 2016.²¹⁸ Numerous governments, including the United Kingdom, Germany, and many other European states, have embraced and promoted this working definition.²¹⁹

Elements of this working definition encompass modern anti-Israel sentiment that "crosses the line into anti-Semitism"²²⁰ and include:

Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective—such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of

Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.

- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor
- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it [Israel] a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.²²¹

But CAIR is apparently concerned that if the U.S. Department of Education adopts this definition, U.S. Islamist groups will be inhibited in their efforts to stoke anti-Israel sentiment on college campuses. If enacted, CAIR said, the bill "would dangerously politicize anti-Semitism by equating it with legitimate criticism of Israeli policy." But the IHRA definition of antisemitism specifically debunks this point with the clarification: "Manifestations might include the targeting of the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. However, criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic." 223

The Islamist group made similar claims when the bill had been introduced the previous year as the "Anti-Semitism Awareness Act of 2018."²²⁴

"The falsely-titled Anti-Semitism Awareness Act of 2018 would only create confusion between

what are real and punishable anti-Semitic hate crimes and the protected free speech rights of American students and faculty members," CAIR National Executive Director Nihad Awad²²⁵ said in a CAIR press release.²²⁶ "It is not anti-Semitic to criticize the Apartheid-like policies of a foreign government or for Americans to engage in the international Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS)²²⁷ campaign," he added.²²⁸

CAIR has challenged similar legislation combating antisemitism at the state level. In July 2019, the New Jersey Chapter of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR-NJ), announced its opposition to New Jersey Senate Bill 4001²²⁹ that "[p]rohibits anti-Semitism in public schools and institutions of higher education."²³⁰ It called on all New Jersey residents "to urge their State Senators to oppose and not co-sponsor the act."²³¹

The bill "incorrectly conflates legitimate First Amendment protected discussion on American campuses about Israel's human rights abuses against Palestinians with the vile bigotry of anti-Semitism," said a CAIR-NJ press release.²³²

The bill "would only create confusion between what are real and punishable anti-Semitic hate crimes and the protected free speech rights of American students and faculty members," CAIR-NJ Executive Director Jim Sues said in a CAIR statement that parroted Awad's language a year earlier. "It is not anti-Semitic to criticize the [a]partheid-like policies of a foreign government or for Americans to engage in the international Boycotts, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaign,"233 Sues added.

In this book, CAIR's antisemitic statements and positions over the years are thematically organized around the IHRA definition²³⁴ under the following categories:

- Applying Double Standards Against Israel Not Expected of Other Democracies
- Denying the Jews their Right to Self-Determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.

- Dual-Loyalty Smears and Canards About Jewish Control Over American Policy
- Denying the Holocaust, Comparing Israeli policy to Nazis and IDF to ISIS Terrorists

APPLYING DOUBLE STANDARDS AGAINST ISRAEL NOT EXPECTED OF OTHER DEMOCRACIES

CAIR's application of double standards against Israel is best exemplified in the Islamist organization's staunch support for the Boycotts, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement against the Jewish state. The international BDS movement aims to isolate Israel through economic, cultural and academic boycotts and sanctions modeled on the 1980s boycotts against South Africa's apartheid government.²³⁵ Opponents consider the movement antisemitic because it singles out the world's only Jewish state for treatment not imposed on other states with much worse human rights records, and because it is reminiscent of the Nazis' economic warfare against Jewish-owned companies.²³⁶

CAIR's pro-BDS stance stands in marked contrast to its unwavering praise for Turkey, despite authoritarian President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's brutal crack-down on dissidents, repression of press freedoms and arrests of journalists by the score.²³⁷ CAIR also failed to criticize Ankara's war crimes against Kurds in northern Syria²³⁸ even as Awad continued to meet with Erdogan²³⁹ and cast Turkey as a beacon of democracy.²⁴⁰

The Islamist group has also not condemned Turkey's illegal occupation of a third of Cyprus for nearly 50 years. Only Turkey recognizes an independent Turkish Cypriot state and has 35,000 troops stationed in the occupied territory.²⁴¹

In April 2019, CAIR urged its supporters to petition the State Department to grant a visa for BDS cofounder Omar Barghouti, currently based in Israel, who was scheduled to give two lectures and meet with members of Congress in Washington, D.C.²⁴² Barghouti was scheduled to appear on a panel discussion with former CNN pundit Marc Lamont

Hill²⁴³ and Rebecca Vilkomerson, then-director of the anti-Israel group Jewish Voice for Peace,²⁴⁴ at New York University.²⁴⁵

CNN fired Hill in November 2018 after he concluded a United Nations speech with a wish for "a free Palestine, from the river to the sea." That slogan, which is a staple of anti-Israel events, envisions a future in which Israel does not exist, and is replaced by a Palestinian state.

Barghouti's U.S. tour also was supposed to include a talk April 17, 2019 at Harvard University as an extension of "Israel Apartheid Week" there.²⁴⁷

Barghouti was subsequently denied entry to the U.S. for reasons believed to be based on national security matters and a tax evasion case against him.²⁴⁸ He openly "armed supports resistance" against Israel. "No, we most definitely have a moral and legal right to an armed resistance against the military occupation of our land, even according to international law, as long as we attack legitimate targets, that is, the occupation, settlers [i.e. Israeli civilians] and people who are armed," Barghouti said in a 2010 interview with al-Adab magazine.²⁴⁹

In July 2019, the U.S. House voted 398-17 approving a resolution condemning BDS for "encouraging

the Palestinians to reject negotiations in favor of international pressure." It cited Barghouti's statement that, "We oppose a Jewish state in any part of Palestine. No Palestinian, rational Palestinian, not a sell-out Palestinian, will ever accept a Jewish state in Palestine."²⁵⁰

In December 2018, CAIR urged its supporters to petition members of the House and Senate appropriations committees to oppose the Israel Anti-Boycott Act (HR 1697/S. 720)²⁵¹ that may be "buried" in the 2019 appropriations bill.²⁵²

The CAIR Action Alert said:

"The Israel Anti-Boycott Act (S. 720 / H.R.1697) is a threat to the free speech of all Americans and is clearly unconstitutional. The act would criminalize American business owners and individuals supporting any international boycott directed by the United Nations, the European Union or any other international governmental organization that is aimed at Israel's illegal occupation of Palestine territories with criminal penalties resulting in up to 20 years in prison and a \$1 million fine.

Responding to public backlash over the bill curbing the free speech rights of Americans, Senator



Rally and March for Gaza 8/2/14, Photo by Susan Melkisethian, Flickr

Cardin has stated that he is open to amending the legislation and other congressional co-sponsors are now re-examining or withdrawing their support for the act. However, CAIR believes that no amendment can be offered to fix the legislation's true purpose — to intimidate Americans from supporting the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement of Israel's illegal occupation of Palestine territories. CAIR believes that American involvement in foreign boycotts started with throwing tea in Boston Harbor.

It is un-American and illegal for the U.S. Government to deny U.S. businesses and persons the

right to work to change the illegal and discriminatory actions of a foreign government."²⁵³

In October 2018, Israel's Supreme Court granted anti-Israel activist Lara Alqasem's request to enter the country. Alqasem had been denied entry because of her pro-BDS activism and close affiliation with the anti-Israel group, Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP). After Alqasem was granted entry, Hassan Shibly, former Chief Executive Officer of CAIR Florida, told *WMNF News*:

"Look, I think this whole incident has been a wake-up call for the hypocrisy in how Israel treats Palestinian-Americans and how it treats American citizens. The fact of the matter is the Israelis tried to stop this Florida student from studying in Israel even though she got accepted at the university there. She had a valid visa to study there.

And the reason they wanted to stop her from studying is because they believe that she had participated in the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement [BDS], which basically calls for people all over the world to boycott and divest from companies — especially those that do business in the Occupied Territories that are illegally occupied by the Israeli government — until Palestinians receive equal rights as the Israelis.

This is a very similar movement to the movement that was presented against South Africa when they were engaging in Apartheid. And as Jimmy Carter — former U.S. President Jimmy Carter's called, he said what's happening in Israel in terms of the unequal treatment of Palestinians is no different than the Apartheid that was enacted in South Africa."257

Shibly resigned as director of CAIR's Florida chapter in January 2021,²⁵⁸ weeks after his wife went public with spousal abuse allegations.²⁵⁹ CAIR's announcement of his departure made no mention of those allegations, and thanked Shibly for leaving "the organization stronger than ever."²⁶⁰

In December 2019, CAIR's National Strategic Communications Director Ahmed Rehab²⁶¹

posted an ugly rant cursing and vilifying Zionists and France. "F*** Zionism. And F*** you too France," Rehab wrote. 262 Rehab, who also runs CAIR's Chicago office, 263 was reacting to a French Parliament decision to adopt IHRA's antisemitism definition. 264 "Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination," the crux of Zionism, is among the main examples of antisemitism cited. 265

According to Rehab, the resolution showed that France wants "to criminalize peaceful free speech that dares to criticize murderous, plunderous, thieving apartheid that mauls with impunity under the auspices of wealthy hyper-militarized super powers. F******** you. (Apologies for my French)."²⁶⁶

The resolution was proposed by French Parliament Member Sylvan Maillard in response to the alarming escalation of antisemitic acts in France.²⁶⁷

"For some years now, France, the whole of Europe, but also almost all Western democracies are facing a rise in antisemitism," Maillard's resolution states. "Anti-Zionist acts can at times hide antisemitic realities. Hate toward Israel due to its perception as a Jewish collective is akin to hatred toward the entire Jewish community." In France today, "dirty Zionist...means dirty Jew," Maillard told the French newspaper *La Croix*.²⁶⁸

DENYING THE JEWISH PEOPLE THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND CLAIMS THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL IS A RACIST ENDEAVOR

During a November 2021 conference sponsored by the rabidly anti-Israel group American Muslims for Palestine (AMP),²⁶⁹ Awad called Tel Aviv "occupied" and prayed for it to be freed. "We have to fight. We have to take the fight to the other side. Moving the [U.S.] embassy, our embassy, from Tel Aviv which is occupied, to a city [Jerusalem] that's supposed to be protected under international law, to move that embassy we should not accept that as a de facto," Awad said. "We have to pressure the administration to take our embassy back

to Tel Aviv. And inshallah [God willing], it will be free later "270"

Tel Aviv is Israel's most populous city, the place where the Jewish nation declared its independence.²⁷¹ Awad's reference to an "occupied" Tel Aviv revealed that he does not accept Israel's right to exist.

At the same conference, CAIR's San Francisco chapter director Zahra Billoo called on the American Muslim community to shun what she described as "polite Zionists," even on issues on which they might work together. "We need to pay attention to the Anti-Defamation League," Billoo said. "We need to pay attention to the Jewish Federation...the Zionist synagogues...Hillel chapters on our campuses." 272

Billoo warned that those who advocate for a two-state solution – one that leaves Israel intact – "are your enemies": "There are organizations and infrastructures out there who are working to harm you. Make no mistake of it. They would sell you down the line if they could. And they very often do behind your back. I mean, the Zionist organizations, I mean the foreign policy organizations who say, they're not Zionists, but want a two-state solution."²⁷³

She repeated her blanket dismissal of pro-Israel Jews at an April 9, 2022 event that was advertised as focusing on "Islamophobia" in France and India. "If you are pro-Israel and you are working actively to harm our community here and abroad, we don't want to work with you," she said. "We have so many other friends and partners to work with, so many other things that we can do. If you're with the Anti-Defamation League, if you're with the Jewish Community Relations Council, if you're with the Jewish Federation, if you're with any of these pro-Israel organizations. enough is enough...If you don't support human rights abroad, then we don't believe you when you're supporting them here. We're not here to partner with in that way."274

On January 31, 2020, after the Trump administration unveiled its "Deal of the Century" peace

plan to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, nine radical groups, including Samidoun²⁷⁵ and area chapters of CAIR, American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), and Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP)²⁷⁶ organized and sponsored the "Say No to the Steal of the Century" protest in Manhattan's City Hall Park.²⁷⁷

Had the protest taken issue with specific aspects of the proposal, it would not be noteworthy. But it featured chants and speeches repeatedly calling for terrorist attacks – which protesters euphemistically referred as the "resistance" – and for the destruction of the Jewish state. The chants included calls for an intifada, and claims that "Resistance is justified when people are occupied." Protesters repeatedly shouted, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free."

Also at the protest, former CAIR New York board member Lamis Deek,²⁷⁹ who openly rejects Israel's right to exist,²⁸⁰ said the latest U.S. peace initiative, "and Israel itself, is not just a threat to Palestinians, but it is a threat to all people."²⁸¹

"We must be sure that we demand full liberation of all Palestinian land, the full return of every single Palestinian refugee, and full justice and accountability for every crime and every suffering of every Palestinian," Deek said. "And we do not rest until we see a liberated Palestine. From the river to the sea Palestine must be free!"²⁸²

At an American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) event in November 2018, Zahra Billoo, the executive director of CAIR San Francisco, ²⁸³ acknowledged that she is "not going to legitimize a country [Israel] that I don't believe has a right to exist." Being pro-Israel, she has written, is tantamount to being "pro-terror, pro-violence, pro-land theft, and pro-apartheid." Billoo has similarly supported Palestinian terrorists attacking Israelis and openly called for the destruction of the Jewish state, in a not-so-veiled threat: "From the river to the sea, #Palestine will be free."

Legitimate criticism of Israeli government policies are important expressions of free speech. But "From the river to the sea" is not a criticism of

Israeli policy. It is a call to eliminate an existing state. This interpretation is reaffirmed by the U.S. State Department's definition on antisemitism established in 2010.²⁸⁷

CAIR uses the term "apartheid" to describe Israel and accuses the Jewish state of imposing "racial segregation" where "rights and opportunities [are] apportioned according to race, religion and ethnicity."²⁸⁸

In July 2018, CAIR urged the Trump administration, Congress, and the international community to oppose an Israeli law that the Islamist group claimed bestowed Jewish people "an exclusive right to national self-determination" to the exclusion of minorities.



Rally and March for Gaza 8/2/14, Photo by Susan Melkisethian, Flickr

The CAIR statement said:

Israel has long imposed a system of de facto apartheid — with rights and opportunities apportioned according to race, religion and ethnicity — but now Benjamin Netanyahu's government has written that racism into law.

Because billions of American taxpayer dollars are given to Israel each year, and because our nation should stand as a beacon for freedom and equal rights, Congress and the Trump administration must join with the international community in taking concrete steps to push back against this attempt to further legalize racial segregation.

We must repudiate this racist legislation in the same way the world rejected apartheid-era laws requiring that every citizen be classified as a member of one of a number of racial groups and enforcing the segregation of public services.

Our nation's elected leaders, along with the international community, must clearly demonstrate that de jure (in law) racism will not be accepted in the modern era.²⁸⁹ [italics in original]

CAIR was referring to the passage into law of a nation-state bill that describes Israel as "the national home of the Jewish people" and "enshrines the Zionist idea upon which the nation

was founded, namely that Israel is a country established to fulfill the Jewish people's 'right to national self-determination." The law codifies for the first time that Israel is the nation state of the Jewish people, while recognizing the individual rights of all Israeli citizens. The law's detractors, particularly Israeli Arab lawmakers, claim it is discriminatory towards Israel's Arabs and other minorities. ²⁹¹

Soon after the Trump administration unveiled its Mideast peace plan in January 2020 to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, ²⁹² CAIR issued a press release in which Awad described the law as "a roadmap to perpetual Apartheid in which a non-viable and non-sovereign 'State

of Palestine' is in fact a new Bantustan²⁹³ controlled and dominated in every way by Israel and its illegal settlements."²⁹⁴

"Apartheid" was South Africa's "harsh, institutionalized system of racial segregation" that ended in the early 1990s, giving way to a democratic government in 1994.²⁹⁵

But Israel is not an apartheid state. Israel's Declaration of Independence guarantees "complete social and political equality for all its citizens, without distinction on the grounds of religion,

race or sex"²⁹⁶ and Arab citizens of Israel, like their Jewish counterparts, enjoy the same political, civil, social and economic rights.²⁹⁷ An Arab Islamist party now forms part of the Israeli coalition government, but South Africa's erstwhile apartheid regime made no efforts to co-opt the African National Congress (ANC) into the government.

While Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza may face hardships because of checkpoints and security crossings, those remain essential to ensuring the security and safety of Israeli civilians from terrorist attacks.²⁹⁸

Additionally, a key reason South Africa's regime ended was the African National Congress's willingness to renounce violence and engage in negotiations. In contrast, Hamas shows no such inclination and continues to wage terror attacks against Israel with the ultimate goal to destroy the Jewish state.²⁹⁹

Although any new peace initiative will generate praise or criticism, Islamist groups such as CAIR and their radical left allies will oppose any deal that guarantees Israel's security and existence.³⁰⁰ In fact, after the Trump administration announced its peace plan, CAIR's New Jersey chapter, along with other radical groups, organized the "Say No to the Steal of the Century" protest in Manhattan's City Hall Park.³⁰¹ The protest featured chants and speeches that repeatedly called for the destruction of the Jewish state as well as calls for an intifada, and claims that "Resistance is justified when people are occupied."302 Rally participants also shouted, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free."303 As noted, Palestinian state stretching from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea would eliminate Israel, a goal reiterated in Hamas' revised 2017 charter.

When Hamas attacks trigger new conflict with Israel, CAIR jumps into action to blame only Israel. That's what happened in May 2021, when Israel bombed Hamas targets in Gaza in an attempt to stop the terrorist group from indiscriminately firing rockets at Israeli civilian communities.

CAIR was a "partner" in the National March for Palestine led by the U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO)³⁰⁴ and American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)³⁰⁵ in Washington, DC on May 29, 2021.³⁰⁶ The march was part of a broader campaign to "sanction Israel" to end "Israeli settler-colonialism, ethnic cleansing, apartheid, military occupation, and blockade."³⁰⁷ Speakers spewed inflammatory antisemitic and anti-Israel rhetoric and raised chants calling for the destruction of the Jewish state.³⁰⁸

Demonstrators chanted: "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," meaning a new Palestinian state will go from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea and swallow up all of Israel. Other chants included: "Israel you can't hide, we charge you with genocide," "Justice is our demand, no peace on stolen land," "[U.S. President] Biden you will learn, refugees will return, in our millions will return," 5, 6, 7, 8, Israel is a terrorist state." ³¹⁰

CAIR National Executive Director Nihad Awad³¹¹ spoke immediately after anti-Israel student activist Nerdeen Kiswani³¹² led the antisemitic "From the river to the sea" chant. Awad did nothing to caution the protesters about going too far. Instead, he called on them "to work to unseat members of Congress who are apologists for the crimes of the State of Israel."³¹³ Awad also urged the crowd to repeat a "Palestine pledge" after him that called to "support candidates who work to end Israeli apartheid" and "to work against elected officials who support Israel's occupation of Palestinian land."³¹⁴

Former CAIR New York board member Lamis Deek, 315 who serves on the national board 316 of Al-Awda: The Palestine Right to Return Coalition, 317 described Israel as a "global threat." 318 She said that demonstrators were not just "standing as a voice for Palestine" but as a "voice for global peace and morality."

People are participating in the rally "not just because Palestinians are threatened by Israeli violence," Deek claimed, but "because Israel is a global threat, because Israel is a threat to all of us on the streets, because so long as there is Israeli colonization, and Israeli apartheid and Israeli genocide and Israeli repression, we risk the resurrection of apartheid in South Africa, we risk the resurrection of colonization in Algeria."³¹⁹

Calling Israel a "global threat" and accusing the Jewish state of "apartheid" and "genocide" only incites hatred and antisemitic violence.³²⁰



Rally and March for Gaza 8/2/14, Photo by Susan Melkisethian, Flickr

"Our nation must live up to its stated ideals by calling for an immediate ceasefire and end to attacks targeting civilians," Awad said in a May 17, 2021 CAIR press release. 321 "Israel must end its brutal treatment of the Palestinian people and eliminate its system of racial and religious apartheid, which has always been the cause of the ongoing conflict. Peace without justice is always temporary. Only justice and dignity for everyone, regardless of race, faith or ethnicity, will result in a lasting peace." 322

Awad also explained the boycott by CAIR and other American Islamist groups of the White House's virtual Eid al-Fitr ("Festival of Breaking the Fast") celebration. "In a clear message to President Biden, we will boycott the White House celebration of Eid al-Fitr today because of his position on the massacres of the Israeli apartheid regime, which is annihilating the innocent in #Gaza

and the rest of occupied Palestine," a translation of Awad's tweet said.³²³ Awad also warned that if Biden does not change his position "he will lose his relationship with American Muslims and the supporters of justice."³²⁴

Contrary to Awad's explanation, there were no "massacres." Nearly half of the more than 200 people killed in the fighting were identified as Hamas

and Palestinian Islamic Jihad fighters. Additionally, an undetermined number of Palestinians were killed when Hamas rockets failed to clear Gaza and landed on their homes.³²⁵

Asked to give his "reaction" to the ongoing war in Gaza on a May 20 CAIR on Air program, Awad condemned the "bombardment and indiscriminate targeting of civilian infrastructure and civilian populations by Israel," describing it as a "reflection" of "apartheid, indiscriminate, or disregard of human lives of the Palestinians."326

The program's host, CAIR Deputy Executive Director Edward Ahmed Mitchell,³²⁷ spoke about the "solidarity" between black and Palestinian

activists pointing to "the obvious similarities between what is being perpetrated against Palestinians and what was perpetrated against black people in the Jim Crow south and against black people in South Africa."³²⁸

On May 17, 2021, CAIR California Executive Director Hussam Ayloush³²⁹posted a Twitter thread condemning "Israel's violent occupation, apartheid, and bombings [that] have by far mostly killed innocent men, women and children, wiped out entire families, and destroyed water, electricity, sewage, and other vital infrastructure."³³⁰ Describing Israel as "the occupier/aggressor," Ayloush called those who support the Jewish state's "right to self-defense" as "an accomplice" in its "crimes against humanity."³³¹

The same day, Ayloush tweeted a Washington Post critique of the Biden administration's approval of

a \$735 million weapons sale to Israel³³² with the comment, "Our country is not merely an enabler of Israeli apartheid and mass murder of Palestinians. We are an accomplice."³³³

In a May 18, 2021 Facebook post, Ayloush wrote: "The majority of Gaza's population are children. The majority are living under poverty



Rally and March for Gaza 8/2/14, Photo by Susan Melkisethian, Flickr

line. The majority are refugees from cities and towns that Israel ban [sic] them from because they are not Jewish. #EndIsraeliApartheid #EndIsraeliOccupation."334

The post was accompanied by a picture of a Palestinian child amidst Gaza rubble with the text, "ISRAEL IS ALWAYS ASKING: Why do Palestinian children hate us? HARD TO TELL. I WONDER IF IT COULD BE BECAUSE YOU ETHNICALLY CLEANSED THEIR GRAND-PARENTS, MURDERED THEIR PARENTS AND SIBLINGS, AND DESTROYED THEIR HOMES?"³³⁵

Ayloush also retweeted³³⁶ a tweet by anti-Israel Australian journalist C. J. Werleman³³⁷ that claimed that "Israel's violence against Palestinians occurs 24/7, 365" and "[t]hey [Palestinians] are caged, expelled, displaced, separated, harassed, bombed and shot." The tweet further

alleged that "the media reports on this 'conflict' only when the Palestinians resist, misleading audiences to believe it started with Hamas rockets." 338

Contrary to Werleman's claim, the May 2021 Gaza war³³⁹ was a culmination of "a long record of Hamas-initiated attacks, clashes, developments

in internal Palestinian politics, rearmament, and Iranian incitement since the 2014 ceasefire."³⁴⁰ The immediate trigger for the war was the firing of hundreds of Hamas rockets from Gaza to cities in southern Israel and Jerusalem leading Israel to launch airstrikes against Hamas targets.³⁴¹

Ayloush was also a speaker at a May 11 protest rally in front of the Israeli consulate in Los Angeles. The rally was led by American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) and endorsed by CAIR. 342

"[T]he struggle against apartheid, the struggle against racism, against occupation, against ethnic cleansing is a global struggle," Ayloush said.

"And the Palestinian people are at the front line on the forefront of the struggle, because they're not just fighting the Israeli apartheid, they're fighting against those who are silent, those who are supporting, those who are funding that occupation, that ugly occupation."³⁴³

Slogans raised at the rally called for Israel's destruction and justified resistance against the Jewish state. Demonstrators chanted: "Long live Palestine, death, death to Israel," "O Zionist get out, Palestine is free, free," and "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free." An Arabic chant translated to: "With our blood and our souls, we would sacrifice for Palestine." "344

On May 21, 2021, the New Jersey chapters of CAIR and AMP sponsored an "Emergency Rally & Phone Bank to Defend Palestine" in front of Sen. Bob Menendez's office in Jersey City, NJ. During the rally, speakers raised chants such

as "Israel is a terrorist state," "Israel is a racist state," "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," and "Hey, hey, ho, ho Zionism has got to go."345

At a pro-Palestine rally on May 11, 2021 in Paterson, NJ, speakers attacked Zionism calling it a "racist ideology rooted in white supremacy and genocide." CAIR New Jersey's Executive Director Selaedin Maksut³⁴⁶ spoke about the interconnectedness of the black and Palestinian struggles and equated Zionism with racism.³⁴⁷

"The powers that are funding the oppression of the Palestinian people are the same powers that are funding the oppression of minority groups in



AMP Executive Director Osama Abuirshaid Speaks at Save Sheikh Jarrah Protest in Washington, D.C., May 11, 2021, AMP Facebook

this country," Maksut said. "It is the same money. They're cutting the same checks. They are the same people. They're sitting in the same offices of government. We cannot forget our struggle is an interconnected struggle. And if we want to succeed, we have to work together." He then led the crowd with chants of "From Patterson to Palestine ethnic cleansing is a crime," "From Patterson to Palestine racism is a crime," and "Zionism is racism." 348

CAIR co-sponsored a May 11, 2021 pro-Palestine rally in front of the State Department in Washington, D.C. ³⁴⁹ Osama Abuirshaid, ³⁵⁰ executive director of the anti-Israel group American Muslims for Palestine, ³⁵¹ called Israel "a militarized apartheid

enterprise." "Condemning Israel and Israel's evil act is not anti-Semitic," he declared. 352

CAIR participated in a May 15, 2021 "March for Palestine" rally in Washington, D.C. Protesters raised radical antisemitic slogans in Arabic such as "Khaybar, Khaybar ya yahud. Jaish Muhammed soufa ya'oud! ("O Jews of Khaybar, the army of Muhammad is returning!"),³⁵³ "Min al maya al maya, falesteen Arabiya" ("From the river to the sea, Palestine is Arab"), "Bil rouh! Bil dam! Nafdeek ya Gaza" ("With our souls and blood we will sacrifice for you Gaza"), and "Al Aksa rajiin, shuhada b'milliyin" ("We are returning to Jerusalem, martyrs in the millions"). Chants were also raised in English: "Israel is a

terrorist state," "Israel is a racist state," and "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free." Rally participants carried antisemitic posters that read: "Israel is an apartheid state," "Zionism=Terrorism," "Zionism is racism," "Boycott Israel, End Apartheid," "Not a Conflict. It's Ethnic Cleansing," "IDF=Pigs, and Pigs=Haram."354 Abuirshaid, who also spoke at the rally, said "Zionism is no different than white supremacy."355

While Abuirshaid falsely equates Zionism – the belief in

a Jewish homeland³⁵⁶ – with white supremacy, he has no qualms meeting with leaders of the 57-nation Organization of Islamic Cooperation to champion Muslim causes.³⁵⁷

In a May 10, 2021, press release, CAIR Philadelphia's Executive Director Jacob Bender³⁵⁸ described eviction proceedings in Israeli courts against Palestinian families in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood in East Jerusalem as an attempt at "Judaizing all of Jerusalem" and "only the most recent example of Israel's decade-long policy of ethnic cleansing."³⁵⁹

Bender further compared the intended Israeli eviction of the Palestinian families to "the centuries of

anti-Jewish persecutions in Christian Europe...the 'Whites Only' terror of the Jim Crow American South and Apartheid South Africa."³⁶⁰ He likened the use of "state power" against "marginalized communities" to "our current struggles on the domestic front" and alleged that "[m]any of the crowd control tactics used by American police forces were taught to them by Israeli forces, funded by US tax dollars." ³⁶¹

CAIR-Philadelphia's allegation that Israel sought to "forcibly expel Palestinians from the Arab neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah in East Jerusalem" ignores the history, legality, or nature of this dispute. 362

"It is an ordinary property dispute between private parties," write experts Avi Bell³⁶³ and Eugene Kontorovich³⁶⁴ in a May 14, 2021 *Wall Street Journal* opinion. "The Jewish claimants' ownership of the few plots of land has been confirmed repeatedly in court, following laws that apply equally regardless of ethnicity. Israeli courts have gone out of their way to avoid evicting the Palestinian residents who haven't paid rent for half a century."³⁶⁵

CAIR leaders rarely hesitate to rush to the defense of Israel-bashing antisemites.³⁶⁶ While acknowledging that antisemitism is real, CAIR openly praises Congresswomen Ilhan Omar (D-MN)³⁶⁷ and Rashida Tlaib (D-MI) despite their antisemitic statements.³⁶⁸

For example, while acknowledging that antisemitism is real, CAIR Communications Director Ibrahim Hooper openly praised Omar and Tlaib, ³⁶⁹ in a February 11, 2019 post. "CAIR applauds Reps. Ilhan Omar and Rashida Tlaib for their courage in speaking the truth about Israel's racial, religious and ethnic segregation. Agenda-driven groups -- like AIPAC -- have for decades enabled that segregation and the resulting denial of human rights for Christian and Muslim Palestinians," Hooper wrote. ³⁷⁰

Awad posted a tweet in defense of Omar and Tlaib six months later. "It's simple. #Israel is afraid of any member of congress visiting occupied Palestinian land and experiencing first hand its #Apartheid and segregationist policies without the guided whitewashing tour led by US lobby AIPAC. @IlhanMN @RashidaTlaib @ shaunking #letthemin," Awad wrote in an August 15, 2019 tweet.³⁷¹

Awad was alluding to Israel's barring of Omar and Tlaib from entering the country as part of a planned visit because of their support for the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement. Explaining the Israeli decision, Prime Minister Netanyahu said that in their travel plans Omar and Tlaib had referred to a trip to "Palestine" not Israel, and had no meetings scheduled with Israeli officials. Also the congresswomen had been invited by the Palestinian organization, MIFTAH, that supports BDS, and individuals affiliated with the organization have advocated terror against Israel. 373

Awad reiterated his displeasure over Israel's banning of the Democratic congresswomen later that day: "Outrageous but not surprising #Israel's decision to ban two Congresswomen @ IlhanMN and @RashidaTlaib is a slap in the face to US taxpayers who fund it with \$3.2 billion dollars annually. #Trump is inspiring another #MuslimBan. Time to #CutUSAidToIsrael."³⁷⁴

Omar is known for spewing antisemitic stereotypes, including claiming that Jewish money controls American foreign policy and that Israel, the world's only Jewish state, has "hypnotized the world." In February 2019, Omar tweeted, "It's all about the Benjamins baby" to explain why she and fellow Democrat Rashida Tlaib (D-MI) draw attention for their "criticisms of Israel." The state of the stat

In fact, soon after panelists on CNN's "Cuomo Prime Time" show denounced Omar for her antisemitic remarks, Awad called out anchor Chris Cuomo: "@ChrisCuomo Disappointed with your one sided panel. You didn't invite anyone to present a different perspective. This is not about anti-semitism which we condemn, it's about whether Americans can criticize Israel

and it's [sic] lobby or not without being called antisemitic. @IlhanMN"378

Others in CAIR rallied to defend Omar. "CAIR supports Representative Omar and her efforts to highlight the lobbying efforts of [AIPAC]...CAIR does not feel there was any anti-Semitic meaning in her tweet, but due to the brevity some took it as such," Robert McCaw, CAIR's Director of Government Affairs,³⁷⁹ said.³⁸⁰ He also thanked Omar for "standing firm in her willingness to speak out" against the influence of the pro-Israel lobby.³⁸¹

Tlaib has generated controversy for some of her anti-Israel positions, including her full support for the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement to boycott Israel and encourage business and academic institutions to divest investments in companies which do business in Israel. "Americans boycotted Nazi Germany in response to the dehumanization, imprisonment and genocide of Jewish people," Tlaib said during a House debate on a resolution outlawing the BDS campaign targeting Israel. "In the 1980s, many of us in this very body boycotted South African goods in the fight against apartheid. Our right to free speech is being threatened with this resolution." "383"

During the American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) 2019 convention in Chicago, Awad cast Zionism as inherently hateful. "For me, at CAIR, as the executive director of CAIR, the nation's largest Muslim civil rights and advocacy organization, we deal with racism, Islamophobia and Zionism on [a] daily basis," Awad said.³⁸⁴

In March 2019, Awad posted on Twitter: "I'm a Palestinian refugee. My relatives live in what is now Israel. They are treated as second class citizens. Now [Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu is running for office on the separate & unequal nation state law. That law codifies discrimination against non-Jews. If this is not #Apartheid. What Is?³⁸⁵ The previous year, Israel's Knesset passed into law a nation-state bill that describes the country as "the national home of the Jewish people" and "enshrines the

Zionist idea upon which the nation was founded, namely that Israel is a country established to fulfill the Jewish people's 'right to national self-determination.'"386

In February 2019, then-CAIR Arizona Executive Director Imraan Siddiqi posted a tweet describing Israel as "an unrepentant, corrupt, murderous apartheid nuclear state."³⁸⁷

Siddiqi commented "Apartheid is a helluva drug" in response to a February 2020 Israel Action Network Twitter post that read: "Think the BDS Movement will call for a boycott of this #coronavirus vaccine? #Israel." The tweet linked to a *Jerusalem Post* article, "Israeli Scientists: In a few weeks, we will have coronavirus vaccine." 389



Siddiqi is now executive director at CAIR Washington.³⁹⁰

CAIR, along with other Islamist groups, co-sponsored a December 2017 rally to protest the Trump administration's recognition of

Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.³⁹¹ Protesters shouted, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free."³⁹² During the rally, Oussama Jammal,³⁹³ Secretary General of the U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO),³⁹⁴ falsely claimed that "Israel is a state that kills children day-in and day-out," and added, "[t]his is not a state that can be respected."³⁹⁵

In 2019, after the ADL expressed concern that the Women's March had picked CAIR-California Executive Director Zahra Billoo to serve on its board of directors, Siddiqi wrote: "When your brand has become more about dogpiling on Muslim women and shilling for apartheid and less about civil rights. Israel is a corrupt, violent nation-state and should always be subject to criticism like any other corrupt, violent nation-state." 396

In response to a May 12, 2016 tweet by Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau congratulating Israel on its 68th anniversary, Siddigi wrote, "Happy Apartheid Anniversary."397 He also responded with a post that simply said "freedoms" to a message from U.S. Rep. Trent Franks (R-Ariz.) congratulating the Jewish state on its 68th independence day. In subsequent posts he clarified: "-Freedom to commit ethnic cleansing -Freedom to conduct apartheid -Freedom to bomb Gaza indiscriminately -Freedom to break international law -Freedom to make life hell for Palestinians -Freedom to discriminate against migrants -Freedom to promote settler violence -Freedom to shoot fisherman -Freedom to bomb hospitals -Freedom to bomb schools -Freedom to arrest children -Freedom to displace indigenous people since 1948 -Freedom to shoot first, ask questions second. -Freedom to foment Islamophobia and fascism."398

After U.S. Rep. Hakeem Jefferies (D-NY) posted a message on Twitter regarding his recent trip to the "HOLY LAND" and the "special relationship" the United States shares with Israel, Siddiqi responded by saying, "Great to know an entire new generation of so-called progressives have bought into the dehumanization and erasure of Palestinian lives and are dedicated to upholding generations of apartheid."³⁹⁹

CAIR and its leadership use every opportunity to demonize and excoriate Israel for trumped up charges of "war crimes," "settler violence" and "genocide," as they continue to shower lavish praise on repressive Islamist regimes in Turkey and Iran that oppress their populations.⁴⁰⁰

In a Twitter post at the height of the 2014 Gaza conflict, Ayloush wrote: "It isn't merely about opposing Israel. It's about defeating racism, colonialism, barbarism, apartheid, Zionism & the culture of murder."⁴⁰¹

In another post a couple of days later, Ayloush compared the "supporters of Israel" to "Nazis" saying it was "interesting how supporters of Israel use exact same excuses that Nazis used to justify their murders [at] the Warsaw ghetto."⁴⁰²

Ayloush also described "supporters of Israel's barbarism in Gaza" as "heartless hateful bloodthirsty humans."⁴⁰³

But Ayloush and CAIR stay quiet when Hamas TV glorifies jihad and calls for "death to Israel" 404 or Hamas and the Palestinian Authority name parks and buildings after terrorists. 405

In a 2002 rebuttal to a column by Steven Greenhut in the *Orange County Register* titled, "Muslim leaders should get off the fence," Ayloush described Zionism as a "political ideology whose tentacles are rooted in racism." The Zionist movement practically translated into the uprooting of homes and lives of the indigenous people - the Palestinians - in favor of European settlers who claim their ancestors used to live there about 2,000 years ago," he added. 407



During the 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict, Hassan Shibly, then-executive director of CAIR Florida, 408 wrote: "No one is as good at defending and justi-

fying war crimes and apartheid like Israel #FreePalestine #GazaUnderAttack #GazaUnderFire." And: "Supporting Israeli apartheid and massacre of civilians is unamerican #GazaUnderAttack #GazaUnderFire." 410

In November 2018, Shibly wrote: "Supporting Americans' right to boycott is supporting the U.S. constitution, which @ilhanmn took an oath to uphold." He urged U.S. Rep. Ilhan Omar to "keep speaking truth to power" adding, "the #ADL was wrong about South Africa Apartheid and they are wrong about #BDS #IStandWithIlhan."

Shibly also denounced a positive portrayal of Israel during the 2014 war: "Those who write talking points 2 justify Israel's annihilation of >1,200 Palestinians & counting could make the devil appear to be a saint." He posted a cartoon showing an Israeli stomping on a Palestinian child lying in a pool of blood while an American stops another individual representing "the world" from interfering. The cartoon was captioned: "U.S. enables Israel to slaughter children." ⁴¹³



Another post blasted American aid to Israel: "Israel has blown up 222 civilians in the past few days and America only votes to increase it's [sic] funding."⁴¹⁴ Another accusing the Jewish state of "Israel helps 10 Muslim children celebrating Eid [Islamic festival] by sending them to heaven courtesy of an air strike targeting the playground they played."⁴¹⁵

Like the 2021 Gaza conflict, 416 the 2014 fighting was triggered by Hamas rocket attacks targeting

Israeli civilians. 417 An assessment of the 2014 conflict by the High Level Military Group (HLMG), comprising military leaders and officials from NATO and other democratic countries, 418 noted that "Hamas not only indiscriminately targeted Israeli civilians throughout the conflict with extensive rocket fire, but willfully sought to draw the IDF into a prepared stronghold amid Gaza's civilian population."419 It added that "Hamas actively sought the death of its own civilians as an advantageous reinforcement of its strategic concept aimed at the erosion of Israel's legitimacy."420

Also, as in the 2021 conflict,⁴²¹ the Palestinian casualty count was grossly inflated and mischaracterized. According to a Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center's (ITIC) analysis of casualties from the 2014 conflict, "nearly half of those killed in Operation Protective Edge were terrorist operatives, and slightly more than half of them were non-involved civilians." Approximately 65 percent of the terrorist operatives were affiliated with Hamas and the remainder were from the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) and other terrorist groups.⁴²³

The report cited an interim IDF analysis that put the total number of Palestinians killed in the operation at 2,125. "At least 936 of the dead (44% of all the fatalities) were terrorist operatives ("militants") and 761 (36% of all the fatalities) were civilians," according to the analysis. "428 of the dead (20% of the fatalities), all males aged 16-50, were designated as unidentified, i.e., it was not possible to determine with certainty whether they were terrorist operatives or non-involved civilians." [emphasis in original]

CAIR officials have denied that Israel is a democracy. "Calling Israel a Middle Eastern Democracy is like saying Jim Crow South was democratic. Nonsense repeated in U.S. mainstream



media," wrote CAIR Michigan Executive Director Dawud Walid⁴²⁵ in a December 2013 Twitter post.⁴²⁶ Earlier that year, Walid blamed U.S. funding for "fueling segregation/apartheid" in Israel. He wrote: "Meanwhile, Americans don't seem to mind that U.S. tax dollars are hard at work fueling segregation/apartheid. #IsraelJimCrow."⁴²⁷

Walid has blamed Jews for police shootings in the United States that have killed unarmed black people. At a 2016 conference hosted by the anti-Israel group American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)⁴²⁸ outside Chicago, Walid said: "The same tear gas that is used in Al Quds [Jerusalem] to tear gas Palestinians is the same tear gas and

the same tear gas company that tear gassed African-Americans in Ferguson. The exact same company. The same militarized police forces that shoot unarmed black people and do this crowd control like what happened in Ferguson – where do the police chiefs, these people, get trained at? In Israel. We, brothers and sisters in Islam, be we black...or lighter skinned...we have a common concern, we have a common struggle."429

During a May 2012 sermon at the Islamic Organization of North America mosque in Warren, MI, Walid responded to his own question, "Who are those who incurred the wrath of Allah?" saying "hum al-yahud, hum al-yahud [They are the Jews, they are the Jews]."430

He added: "One of the greatest social ills facing America today is Islamophobia, and anti-Muslim bigotry. And if you trace the organizations and the main advocates and activists of 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."

In fact, what Pipes said is that American Jews – not Israel – may be threatened by the "increased

stature, and affluence, and enfranchisement of American Muslims, because they are so much led by an Islamist leadership."

Islamists, including CAIR, have exploited the May 2020 killing of George Floyd⁴³³ and the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement⁴³⁴ to advance an anti-Israel agenda and support Palestinian resistance.⁴³⁵

Soon after Palestinian terrorist Ahmed Erakat was shot and killed after his car rammed a checkpoint trying to kill an Israeli soldier, Islamists presented the incident as an accident claiming the Israeli soldiers over-reacted.



Rally and March for Gaza 8/2/14, Photo by Susan Melkisethian, Flickr

Awad was quick to offer his condolences to Erakat's cousin Noura Erakat, a Rutgers University professor, 436 and denounce the Israeli troops who fired in self-defense.

"I'm sorry for your loss, Noura," wrote Awad adding, "Israel had murdered thousands of Palestinians. Total silence and unwavering support is our government's response." Awad also included two hashtags to his post: "Palestinian Lives Matter" and "Black Lives Matter," thereby equating the long, slow death of unarmed George Floyd – who was suspected of nothing more than

passing a fake \$20 bill – with a man who had just rammed his car into human beings. 438

In July 2020, CAIR New Jersey issued a joint press release with the local Black Lives Matter chapter and other groups condemning the ADL for allegedly "attempting to smear a local Muslim leader who expressed solidarity between black and Palestinian communities against similar and connected forms of racist police brutality." ADL's New York/New Jersey office, along with

the Jewish Federation of Northern New Jersey, had issued a statement against CAIR NJ Executive Director Selaedin Maksut for remarks he made at a rally protesting a possible Israeli annexation of the West Bank 440

"New Jersey police officers must stop training with the Israeli government and any other foreign nation that engages in racist acts of police brutality. Chokeholds and other violent tactics used against both African-Americans and Palestinians must end. Police officers must

serve and protect, not occupy and oppress," Maksut said in the release.⁴⁴¹

There is no evidence that the training includes any of the tactics Maksut claims. His statement "only serves to further anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist conspiracy theories and distract and divide us from critical work of combating systemic racism here in the U.S. and supporting the work of Israelis and Palestinians who yearn for peace and equality," the ADL said. 442

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. 443 Above an article titled, "St. Louis Cops Using Anti-Terrorism Learned in Israel On...," Shibly wrote: "THAT EXPLAINS IT! #FergusonPolice have had training by #Israel –country known 4 police abuse. #TariqKhdeir."444

Shibly's allegation of Ferguson police being trained in Israel was reiterated by Dawud Walid in a Twitter post: "Police in Ferguson got training in Israel. No wonder they act that way!" 445



Rally and March for Gaza 8/2/14, Photo by Susan Melkisethian, Flickr

Shibly and Walid were criticizing the ADL's weeklong "Leadership Seminar in Israel" program⁴⁴⁶ that has hosted more than 200 American police officials since it started in 2003. Israel bashers have spent years inciting antisemitism by exaggerating the program's influence in an attempt to link the cause of police killing unarmed black people with Palestinian nationalism. In 2014, Michael Brown was killed by a Ferguson, MO police officer, the BDS Movement tied Israel to his death by coining a slogan, "From Ferguson to Palestine." ⁴⁴⁷

Contrary to claims made by CAIR, the ADL program includes no hands-on, tactical training. Participants on a 2018 trip, for example, met with officials ranging from a "Christian-Arab Police Chief overseeing Jerusalem's Old City, to the Palestinian Commander of the Bethlehem District; from a mother who survived a near-fatal

terror attack who is dedicated to instilling courage in children of disabled parents, to an astute Palestinian journalist who offered an overview of the region's challenges."448

In November 2017, the ADL's Jonathan Greenblatt criticized Linda Sarsour⁴⁴⁹ and Jewish Voice for Peace⁴⁵⁰ for leading an antisemitism panel at The New School, a progressive university in New York.⁴⁵¹ CAIR Chicago's Executive Director Ahmed Rehab⁴⁵² responded, "You have got to be kidding. Why don't you honestly say that your issue with @lsarsour and @jvplive is their calling out of Israel's illegal occupation of Palestinian territories and its human rights abuses. You call that fomenting antisemitism. Smh [Shaking my head]."⁴⁵³

Rehab linked the tweet to his 2010 *Huffington Post* article, "Shilling for the Israeli Occupation: The ADL's New Mission Statement," where he blasted the ADL for its report on the "top ten most influential anti-Israel groups in America." 454

"An organization that describes itself as 'the nation's premier civil rights/human relations agency that fights anti-Semitism and all forms of bigotry, defends democratic ideals and protects civil rights for all' is spending its resources decrying American organizations that are not blindly supportive of a foreign government it likes to align itself with," Rehab wrote in the article. 455

In August 2014, Rehab tweeted: "#BringBack-OurHumanity Stop 'standing with' oppression, apartheid, occupation & civilian massacres. #FreeGaza #FreePalestine." 456

During the 2018 American Muslims for Palestine "Conference for Palestine in the U.S.,"⁴⁵⁷ Zahra Billoo spoke about "connect[ing] the dots" to show that "every single issue and injustice that we see in the United States is in some way connected to what we see in apartheid Israel."⁴⁵⁸ Alluding to the lead seepage into drinking water in Flint, MI, that had caused a massive public health crisis, ⁴⁵⁹ Billoo argued that the "millions of dollars in military aid to apartheid Israel"

could be better spent in improving infrastructure and amenities in the U.S.: "Flint, Michigan still doesn't have clean water. But we send millions of dollars in military aid to apartheid Israel." She also pushed a false antisemitic claim that "if police officers here didn't train abroad, then they might kill fewer people." 461

Billoo's smear was referring to the Anti-Defamation League's weeklong "Leadership Seminar in Israel" to train American police officers in Israel.462 No tactical training is involved but Israel bashers have spent years inciting antisemitism by baselessly blaming the program for police killings of unarmed black people in America.463 Even the Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP)⁴⁶⁴ one of the principal groups pushing that false "deadly exchange" narrative⁴⁶⁵ now acknowledges: "Suggesting that Israel is the start or source of American police violence or racism shifts the blame from the United States to Israel. This obscures the fundamental responsibility and nature of the U.S., and harms Black people and Black-led struggle. It also furthers an antisemitic ideology."466

During the May 2021 Gaza war, Billoo called the "apartheid state of Israel" as the "original and ongoing aggressor" in the conflict. "The apartheid state of Israel is the original and ongoing aggressor in this most recent onslaught of violence, and always. Palestinian deaths in the past few days now outnumber Israeli deaths, more than 10:1," Billoo wrote in a May 15 tweet.

On May 16, 2021, Billoo forwarded a 2016 Amnesty International report critical of U.S. police departments training with a "chronic human rights violator-Israel" and posted "Where Do Many Police Departments Train? In [Apartheid] Israel." 469

CAIR has come to the defense⁴⁷⁰ of Linda Sarsour⁴⁷¹ who wrote in a 2012 Twitter post: "Nothing is creepier than Zionism."⁴⁷² Sarsour repeated the false, unsubstantiated claim that the ADL's police exchange program in Israel fuels police brutality at a September 2018 convention⁴⁷³ sponsored by the Muslim

Brotherhood-tied Islamic Society of North America (ISNA).⁴⁷⁴

She also told the audience, "I am an unapologetic pro-BDS, one-state solution supporting resistance supporter here in the U.S." fully realizing the one-state solution she advocates would upend Israeli demographics and end Israel's status as a Jewish homeland. ⁴⁷⁶

CAIR Chicago's Executive Director Ahmed Rehab⁴⁷⁷ has also defended Sarsour.

In an August 2020 Facebook post, Rehab launched a scathing attack on CNN anchor Jake Tapper, calling him a "weasel" and urging him to "register as a foreign agent/lobbyist" after Tapper retweeted a clarification from Biden campaign spokesman Andrew Bates that Sarsour had no role in then-Democratic candidate Joe Biden's presidential campaign. Andrew Bates that Sarsour had no role in the campaign emerged after she spoke at the Democratic National Convention's "Muslim Delegates and Allies Assembly.

"...She [Linda Sarsour] has no role in the Biden campaign whatsoever," Tapper wrote. "A Dem official [Andrew Bates] says this was a meeting of Muslim delegates to the convention room and not run by the DNC or the Biden campaign." He added in a subsequent tweet, "3/ Bates points to this in DNC platform: 'We oppose any effort to unfairly single out and delegitimize Israel, including at the United Nations or through the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement, while protecting the Constitutional right of our citizens to free speech." 481

In response to Tapper's tweet, Rehab wrote:

"Biden's camp is playing that old grotesque tune, and they had better fix it and quick. Israel is not an American citizen last I checked, nor a voting constituent. It is a God damn foreign entity. Any American can like it or despise it as they please, with no reasons or apologies given. It's a free country.

Muslims plugged into the Biden camp (Muslims For Biden, etc [sic]), come get your boy on this one. It's a bad look. As for that weasel Jake Tapper, he had better register as a foreign agent/lobbyist.

Not to worry: None of this will ameliorate us to the Trump/GOP camp any, but it does not mean we are stuck having to take it from the establishment left, lying down. And we will stand by Linda Sarsour, one of the most consistent justice voices (for all) out there."482

Other CAIR officials joined in Sarsour's defense. Awad even gave an interview to the viciously antisemitic Nation of Islam⁴⁸³ (NOI)'s publication, *The Final Call*, even though the Nation and its leader, Louis Farrakhan, are recognized by the ADL and Southern Poverty Law Center as overtly antisemitic.

An ADL report describes Farrakhan's "wide-ranging campaign specifically targeting the Jewish community, a campaign that has featured some of the most hateful speeches of his tenure as head of NOI" and includes vicious antisemitic allegations "that the Jewish people were responsible for the slave trade and that they conspire to control the government, the media and Hollywood, as well as various black individuals and organizations." A Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) report has also detailed NOI and Farrakhan's "deeply racist, antisemitic and anti-LGBT rhetoric." 485

Despite that record, Awad granted *The Final Call* an interview in which he cast Sarsour as mainstream. He had "called on Joe Biden and his campaign to apologize to American Muslims" for criticizing Sarsour. The mainstream media recognizes that Linda Sarsour is a mainstream activist, but unfortunately it underscores that the Biden campaign does not have the backbone to stand by people who have been mobilizing activists and voters nationwide for so many years on social justice issues," Awad claimed. "She was attacked solely because of her outspoken advocacy on behalf of Palestinian rights. Their action is Islamophobic anti-Palestinian, and should be rejected by all Americans." 487

DUAL-LOYALTY SMEARS AND CANARDS ABOUT JEWISH CONTROL OVER AMERICAN POLICY

Since its earliest days, CAIR has pushed a message that Jews control American government. Support for Israel cannot, in its view, be good policy. It is only the product of serving someone else's agenda, of making American interests subordinate to Israel's.

In March 2019, U.S. Rep. Juan Vargas (D-CA) posted a tweet condemning Ilhan Omar for her antisemitic comments accusing Jews of having allegiance to a foreign government. It is disturbing that Rep. Omar continues to perpetuate hurtful anti-Semitic stereotypes that misrepresent our Jewish community, Vargas wrote, reaffirming that "questioning support for the U.S.-Israel relationship is unacceptable. In response to Vargas' tweet, CAIR Washington Executive Director Imraan Siddiqi, who was then head of CAIR Arizona, sarcastically posted, "How *dare* you throw around the term dual-loyalty?" [sic] "Also - Don't ask any questions of Israel, pls."

At a December 2017 AMP rally, for example, Awad alleged President Donald Trump was "putting the interests of a foreign state, like Israel, and its domestic lobby here...above the United States' interests. This is dangerous and reckless."⁴⁹¹ Describing Israel as an "apartheid

state" that "has been oppressing the Palestinian people," Awad added, "The United States has financed and armed and defended and shielded Israel all over the world, in the United Nations. This is at the expense of our policies." 492

At an August 2014 rally in Washington, D.C. in support of Gaza, Awad called on participants to "hold our elected leaders accountable" by "tell[ing] our members of Congress that they have pledged allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, not the State of Israel."493 He added: "It is our tax money that's going to supply the State of Israel to kill innocent people. No longer should be in our name. This carnage is being committed in America's name. Israel has become a strategic liability on the United States."494 Awad also claimed that the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)⁴⁹⁵ had "corrupted our foreign policy...corrupted our political leaders" and added that "our political leaders who speak their party line, they don't speak their conscience."496

At a June 2014 CAIR-CA empowerment conference and dinner at the Islamic Center of Northridge in Granada Hills, CAIR California Executive Director Hussam Ayloush⁴⁹⁷ justified the "anger" against "pro-Israel groups" saying, "they're seen as always advancing Israeli, an Israeli agenda at the expense of the U.S. interests or U.S. agenda."⁴⁹⁸



CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad Speaks at D.C. Rally for Gaza, Aug. 2, 2014 - CAIRtv YouTube

At a 2010 joint convention sponsored by the Muslim American Society (MAS) and the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), Awad accused lawmakers of favoring the interests of Israel over that of the United States. "Some of members of Congress are willing to put the interests of Israel ahead of the United States' interests."499 Awad said. He also blamed Israel for fueling "anti-American sentiment because of what Israel does,"⁵⁰⁰ and added that "there's a growing movement within Congress and in the public to distinguish between America's interest and Israel's interest."⁵⁰¹ Awad also spoke about the "huge influence" of the "pro-Israel lobby":

"So we in the activist community, yourselves, we always call on the President, on the White House to do things. But there's nothing being done. Why? Because the second power lies with the Congress. Members of Congress compete with each other, whether Democrats or Republicans, to please the Israel lobby, to please Israel. Some of members of Congress are willing to put the interests of Israel ahead of the United States' interests.

Why? Because we have to understand what drives members of Congress. Is it values, principles or votes and money and pressure? The pro-Israel lobby has mastered deception, pressure tactics and exploiting the system of giving money to candidates and putting pressure and threatening some candidates with either scandals or what have you. And they managed over many years to have this huge influence on not only members of Congress but those who want to be elected officials in the United States." 502

MAS was created in 1993 as the Muslim Brother-hood arm in the U.S.⁵⁰³ ICNA's founders support⁵⁰⁴ the ideology of the South Asian Sunni revivalist movement Jamaat-e-Islami (JI),⁵⁰⁵ and seek to establish "Iqamat Deen" or the Islamic system of life in North America.⁵⁰⁶

During a May 11, 2008 Q & A session on Islam Online, Awad claimed: "Everyone is aware that the United States is biased towards Israel at the expense of American interests." Ten years earlier, Awad appeared on *Al Jazeera* with now-deceased radical cleric Yusuf al-Qaradawi⁵⁰⁸ to discuss "The Image of Muslims in American Cinema." When asked about the role of Zionists in marginalizing Muslims politically, Nihad Awad replied, "In the absence of the presence of Islamic or Arabic artistic activity, of course, it seems that automatically the Zionist movement

and its supporters are alone on the stage. There is...no secret in the knowledge that filmmakers in Hollywood are of Jewish origin and they have a big effect."⁵⁰⁹

When votes approached in May 2002 on congressional resolutions supporting Israeli actions against terrorist strongholds in the West Bank, CAIR issued a press release stating that the move "amounted to American elected officials 'pledging allegiance' to a foreign government." Awad added, "It is truly disturbing to see American elected officials falling over themselves in an unseemly attempt to 'pledge allegiance' to a foreign government and its domestic lobby. Perhaps these same politicians should be reminded that they were elected by American, not Israeli voters." 511

On August. 26, 2021, CAIR joined anti-Israel groups Americans for Justice in Palestine Action (AJP Action),⁵¹² the Palestinian Youth Movement,⁵¹³ U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights,⁵¹⁴ Jewish Voice for Peace Action,⁵¹⁵ and others to protest President Biden's meeting⁵¹⁶ with Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett.⁵¹⁷ Awad alleged that Jewish money was driving American policy.⁵¹⁸

The White House meeting, Awad said, sends "a message to the world that Israel is an exception, Israel can abuse human rights because it has an agency on Capitol Hill that pours money in the pockets of candidates and congress people. And that's what matters. What matters is not that people are being killed and maimed and bombed, and their houses are being destroyed on their heads by U.S.-made weapon [sic] supplied to Israel." Awad further claimed that U.S. policy towards the Jewish state is not going to change because "there's money pouring in the pockets of people like Joe Biden to become candidates and to maintain the status quo."⁵¹⁹

In July 2014, Awad wrote, "[o]ur American policy towards Palestine is failed with distinction. Biased, bereft of the values of 'freedom for all people' it lacks respect for human rights, directed by the Israel lobby."520

In another tweet he claimed, "[t]he Israel lobby has corrupted American politicians through deviating foreign policy to support the killing of innocent people in Gaza." 521

On November 2, 2008, Awad appeared on Qatar's *Al Jazeera* news channel, where he discussed the strong influence the pro-Israel lobby wields over American lawmakers. Awad accused AIPAC of paying off congressmen to shape a pro-Israel U.S. policy in the Middle East. He further added that the pro-Israel lobby had led the Arab and Muslim communities to organize "political action in the same way if they want to create a balance in the American position toward an issue such as the issue of Israel and Palestine"

"A Congressman has political interests, the most important thing to him after winning elections is to win in the elections which follow and to keep his seat. He reflects the preferences and the desire of voters in his district except in the case of Israel. It reflects the tendency and the desire of pro-Israel lobby for the absence of strong counter-balance. In the absence of countervailing forces, why should he take a pro-Israel view? Because they ["pro-Israel lobby"] have money and have the votes and have the means to politically destroying him or ending his political career.

Every member of Congress in the eyes of AI-PAC and institutions supporting Israel - and their number exceeds a hundred in Washington – has a political price and value. The one who works in the Armament Committee and the Committee on Foreign Relations, for example, receives fifty to one hundred thousand dollars or even two hundred thousand dollars. The one who works on economic committee, they give him about \$250.

. . .

Reliance of [sic] the method of political destruction and fear is a policy for which the pro-Israel lobby is famous; it has ended the life of many American politicians for their standing in the face of the pro-Israel lobby in Congress,

and through advertising campaigns and smear campaigns or even political isolation attempts.

They have hurt many activists, some organizations. The examples are many. The goal is in fact, you know, to give an atmosphere of fear and terror to be a lesson for anyone who wants to repeat the resistance or stand in the face of the pro-Israel current, but they erred, because this way they have alerted other groups of American society and even Arab and Muslim communities and opened their eyes and ears on the need to organize political action in the same way if they want to create a balance in the American position toward an issue such as the issue of Israel and Palestine." 523

In 1998, Awad told a Georgetown University Muslim Students Association audience that the Jewish origin of many Clinton administration officials helps drive U.S. policy. Among Clinton advisers, he asked, "Who is opposing the latest agreement with Iraq? Look at their names. Look at their ethnic, their ethnic or religious or racial background. You will see that these are the same groups that belong to the same interest groups in the administration," Awad said. "These are the same people who are pushing the United States to go to war on behalf of a third party, and they are the same people who are opposing the peace process..."524



Rally and March for Gaza 8/2/14, Photo by Susan Melkisethian, Flickr



It's not just Awad pushing the antisemitic trope that Jews "control" the American government. During the May 2021 Gaza war,⁵²⁵ Rehab⁵²⁶ excoriated U.S. politicians' support for Israel,

and accused them of being influenced by AIPAC:

"You Stand with Israel? OK. You go ahead and stand with a nuclear hyper militarized colonial-settler superpower that has murdered 45 children confined to the world's most dense and poorest enclave, in the last few hours of the conflict alone.

Have the courage to say it, at least and spare us the bombastic monkey dance scripted for you by AIPAC.

And by the way I use "conflict," facetiously.

Look at that photo. This is your "conflict." This is your "both sides." An occupier and an occupied. An abuser and a resister.

So you go ahead and pick your stance.

You stand with your robocops. I'll stand with her

Your guy has all your modern weapons, but no moral courage. Moral courage is all she has.

It's all we have.

No lobby money, corporate media gaslighting, or PR spin can change that. And none can ultimately defeat it. Time is never on the side of cowards."⁵²⁷

In a "translation" of a May 12, 2021 tweet by former Arizona Gov. Doug Ducey that said "Arizona stands with Israel," Rehab wrote: "Governor Doug Ducey stands with powerful AIPAC lobbyists in fear of losing reelection financing." Rehab posted the tweet and his "translation" in a May 15 Facebook post and wrote: "But of course, it is all about the Benjamins. And the Jacksons and the Hamiltons. It usually is with all US lobby-centric politics. If the naked truth offends you, I'm happy to chip in for your therapy."530

Rehab's tweet implies Jewish money and influence drive U.S. government policy and "crosses the line into anti-Semitism" as defined by the IHRA because it perpetuates "the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions." 531

On August 8, 2001, CAIR-NY published an open letter it had sent to the editor of the New York Daily News complaining about "Zionists' Attempts to Intimidate Muslims or Block their Political Rights in America": "[A]ll of the 1.3 billion Muslims of the world, 7 million of whom are American citizens, and all fair-minded people, oppose the Israeli brutal apartheid policies and support the right of the expelled Palestinians to return to their homes under international law. We also categorically reject any attempt by the ADL or extremist Zionists like Dov Hikind to impose a pro-Israel 'litmus test' on Americans exercising their political rights in the election process." 532

A week later, CAIR-NY circulated an open letter to President Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell calling on them to condemn Israel's "ongoing campaign of political assassination." This was in reference to Israel's killing of Palestinian terrorists during the early years⁵³³ of the Second Intifada (2000-2005).⁵³⁴ The letter additionally stated, "Political intimidation by the domestic Zionist and pro-Israeli lobbying groups should never prevent the U.S., a 'superpower,' from upholding the basic standards of international law and human rights."⁵³⁵

DENYING THE HOLOCAUST, COMPARING ISRAELI POLICY TO NAZIS, AND IDF TO ISIS TERRORISTS

On August 26, 2021, CAIR joined anti-Israel groups Americans for Justice in Palestine Action (AJP Action),536 the Palestinian Youth Movement,537 U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights, 538 Jewish Voice for Peace Action, 539 and others to protest President Biden's meeting⁵⁴⁰ with Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett.541 Hosting Bennett, CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad argued at the protest, is as bad as welcoming the Taliban to the White House. "Imagine if [the] Taliban forms the government, [and] continues to do what it was doing to the people in Afghanistan before they were defeated in 2001," Awad said. "And they became national and international leaders, and if the president of the United States, President Joe Biden, decides to host in the White House the leader of [the] Taliban, what would be the reaction of the U.S. media? What would be the reaction from the public? What would be the reaction of politicians by the fact that Joe Biden would be hosting the leader of [the] Taliban? ... Today it's no different. President Joe Biden is hosting the leader of the Israeli Taliban. Joe Biden is hosting the leader of the settler colonial movement in Israel."542

The Taliban, an Islamist fundamentalist organization, ruled Afghanistan from 1996 until its overthrow following the U.S. invasion in 2001.⁵⁴³ The Islamist group provided sanctuary to 9/11 mastermind Osama bin Laden⁵⁴⁴ and its

return to power in August 2021 was celebrated worldwide by jihadists.⁵⁴⁵

During the May 2021 Gaza war, CAIR California Executive Director Hussam Ayloush⁵⁴⁶ compared the destruction of Al Shorouk Tower in Gaza City during Israeli air raids to the World Trade Center's destruction on September 11 by al-Oaeda terrorists: "I still remember how mad we were when Al-Qaeda terrorists destroyed our towers and murdered our innocent people. I can only imaging [sic] how the people of Gaza feel seeing their towers attacked every day by Israel's terrorism," Ayloush wrote in a May 14, 2021 Twitter post. 547 The post was accompanied by an Al Jazeera English video story showing the air raid on the Al Shorouk Tower with the caption, "This is the moment the 14-storey al-Shorouq tower, housing media offices in Gaza City, was completely destroyed by multiple Israeli air raids on Wednesday."548



Ayloush, of course, failed to mention that the Al Shorouk Tower was targeted because it "housed Hamas military intelligence offices & infrastructure used to communicate tactical-military information." In addition, the IDF had "warned civilians in the building & provided them sufficient time to evacuate."

During the 2014 Gaza war, Billoo compared Israel with Nazi Germany when she wrote: "Israel 'defending' itself from Palestinians is analogous to Nazi Germany defending itself from Jewish uprising." ⁵⁵¹



Ayloush used the term "zionazis" to describe Israeli Jews. In email correspondence, he compared Israelis to Nazis, writing: "Indeed, the zionazis are a bunch of nice people; just like their nazi brethren! It is just that the world keeps making up lies about them! It is so unfair." In January 2013, he wrote: "...Modern states operate on basis of laws. Racist states (such as old S. Africa, Nazi Germany, Israel) operate on basis of race." 553



While serving as a CAIR New York board member,⁵⁵⁴ Lamis Deek⁵⁵⁵ used the term "zionazi" multiple times to refer to Israeli Jews.

During the 2014 Gaza war, Deek disparaged⁵⁵⁶ Israel's attempt to minimize civilian casualties by warning Gaza civilians to evacuate before a target is bombed.⁵⁵⁷ "Photo: countless zionazi flyers descend over #Gaza MT @DrBasselAbuward NOT snow Israel warning to leave to NO WHERE!" Deek wrote in a July 30, 2014 Twitter post. The post was accompanied by a photo of an Israeli aircraft dropping leaflets, which looked like falling snowflakes, warning Gaza residents to seek safer shelter.⁵⁵⁸

Earlier the same month, Deek commented on pictures of Israeli soldiers in Huwara in the West Bank saying, "Right now in Huwarra! The beginning of a settlement, ie [sic] bunch of ziopig colonizers stealing Palestinian [sic] land and supporting zionazi colonizing soldiers on top of main hill, huwarra [sic] is already surrounded, thus [sic] is terrible...."559

In another Facebook post she wrote, "Israhell is bombing every 3 seconds, zionazi colonizing army to enter or already in gaza [sic] city, Shujaiyeh area terribly destroyed...a family of 30 trapped saying with them r [sic] many martyrs." 560

In February 2020, CAIR Washington Executive Director Imraan Siddiqi⁵⁶¹ wrote: "AIPAC's cool with Nazis and Nazi-adjacents - just as long as they don't support Palestinian rights."⁵⁶²

Likewise, 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.⁵⁶³

Ayloush and Billoo have criticized Jewish American youth who move to Israel and join the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) as becoming "part of an army committing war crimes" and compared them to ISIS terrorists.⁵⁶⁴

During a program at the Islamic Institute of Orange County on "Islamophobia," Ayloush complained about Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) programs⁵⁶⁵ that he said unjustly target Muslims.⁵⁶⁶

There's no similar focus on white communities, he said in a video highlighted by the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI). ⁵⁶⁷ "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." But "[n]o 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," he added. ⁵⁶⁸

During a December 2014 debate at the Islamic Institute of Orange County, Ayloush compared Israeli tactics to those used by the Islamic State. "The Jewish State of Israel claims that it's being attacked because it's Jewish. And it claims it has the right to the land of Palestine because it's Jewish. And it justifies its crimes in Gaza because of its Jewishness or defense of the Jewish people. This is exactly what the Islamic State, ISIS, does."⁵⁶⁹



Billoo wrote in a February 2015 tweet: "Have more American youth joined the IDF than American youth have joined ISIS? Is one genocidal group different than the other? #CVESummit."⁵⁷⁰ In another post she "wonders who has recruited more Americans? The IDF or ISIS?"⁵⁷¹

She reaffirmed the comparison in a May 2018 tweet: "Both ISIS and the IDF are violent, immoral gangs. They're literally baby killers." 572

ISIS recruits traveled overseas to wage jihad against infidels and fight western troops in

Muslim lands with the long-term goal of establishing a global caliphate ruled by sharia. In contrast, Israel's size and the nature of the threats against it, make military service compulsory for most young men and women who live in the country.⁵⁷³

In a February 4, 2015 Facebook post, Shibly linked to a separate post by noted anti-Israel 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." 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. The killing shocked Israeli society and the three people responsible – including two minors – were convicted of murder, with two receiving life sentences. The statement of the sentences of the sentences.

Past CAIR events featured neo-Nazis who call for Israel's destruction. For example, CAIR invited the Rev. William Baker to speak at multiple events, including a September 7, 2002 CAIR New York event at which he was the keynoter, 577 a CAIR-Florida meeting on August 12, 2003, 578 and an October 18, 2003 CAIR New Jersey conference. 579

Baker was chairman of the "Populist Party," founded by neo-Nazi Willis Carto in 1984, and organized its national convention that year.⁵⁸⁰ Carto, a founder of the American Nazi party, also started the Southern California-based Institute for Historical Review, a group whose central purpose is to deny the Holocaust.⁵⁸¹

Baker has attempted to reinvent himself, seeking to jettison his past as a member of a neo-Nazi party and become known as a pro-Palestinian Middle East expert. He authored Theft of a Nation, a stridently anti-Israel and anti-Jewish book, published in 1982.⁵⁸² Baker has written that achievement of "true justice and real conciliation" in the Middle East requires that "all Jews who entered Palestine during the British Mandate from 1917 to 1948 and after the establishment of the state of Israel should return to the

various countries of their origin" and also that the "Zionist state of Israel . . . should be dismantled and eventually eliminated." 583

After the Anti-Defamation League wrote letters complaining of CAIR's association with Baker, CAIR countered with a press release attacking the ADL for "attempts to defame Muslims." 584

Rehab's college web page defends Holocaust denial and asserts Jews control the media. As a DePaul University graduate student in the mid-1990s, Rehab published a web page. It featured personal information such as his interests in music and film, his favorite athletes and entertainers and even his pet peeve: "Having to repeat what I just said."585 It also served as an outlet for his essays. In one, entitled "Double Standardism: The Case of the Two Books," Rehab challenges Holocaust history, calling it "the established opinions of the able Jewish historians regarding the details of the holocaust."586 It was written just after a May 1996 Charlie Rose show that featured a debate about St. Martin's Press' withdrawal from a contract to publish a biography of Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels. 587 Rehab contrasted western reaction to David Irving's book, Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich, to that of Salman Rushdie's novel, "The Satanic Verses." 588

In doing so, Rehab rewrote history to cut the number of Jews murdered by the Nazis in half.

"Rushdie targeted a world-wide religion, 1300 years of history, and one billion people," Rehab wrote. "Irving targeted a historical event, 2 years of history and three million people." 589

Rehab distanced his views from the fatwa calling for Rushdie's death, but said the book never should have been published. He defended Irving's book as merely presenting an alternative – and perhaps more sober – viewpoint.

"If the Jewish historians have the right to research the history of the Holocaust and dictate it for schools and Universities, why can't other historians do the same even if their findings are different? aren't [sic] they less likely to be biased and non-objectively sympathetic?" ⁵⁹⁰

Rose stayed mostly out of the fray as guests Christopher Hitchens and Eric Breindel debated St. Martin's decision. But at the end, he asked Hitchens whether he was persuaded by Irving's conclusions about the Holocaust. Hitchens said he wasn't.⁵⁹¹

"By that," Rehab wrote, "Rose confirmed the Jewish control over the media." 592

CONCLUSION

merica has seen a dramatic rise in violent antisemitism in recent years, with perpetrators including left- and right-wing extremists. The 2018 and 2019 shootings at Pittsburgh's Tree of Life synagogue and California's Chabad of Poway respectively were carried out by right-wing extremists.

In January 2022, a British gunman held four Jews hostage at the Beth Israel Synagogue in Colleyville, TX, demanding the release of convicted terrorist Aafia Siddiqui. ⁵⁹³ Siddiqui is serving 86 years in prison for attempting to kill U.S. personnel in Afghanistan. ⁵⁹⁴ She also repeatedly has made antisemitic statements, including an attempt to ban Jews from her trial jury ⁵⁹⁵ and a claim after being convicted that "This is a verdict coming from Israel, not America."

CAIR has been at the forefront of an Islamist campaign to free Siddiqui and is directly raising money for her defense. 597

As this book shows, top CAIR officials, led by the organization's founder and executive director Nihad Awad, continue to push antisemitic narratives that can incite antisemitism across the political spectrum. In this narrative, American Jews are to blame for policies CAIR officials don't like. Jews are accused of dual loyalty, and of coercing America into policies that are bad for the country.

"Look at their names," Awad said in 1998, insinuating that Jews in the Clinton administration were "pushing the United States to go to war on behalf of a third party." A decade later, Awad said U.S. policy toward Israel comes "at the expense of American interests."

In 2014, as ISIS established a caliphate and Hamas terrorism instigated war in Gaza, Awad called Israel "the biggest threat to world peace and security." At an August 2021 protest against

President Biden's White House meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett, Awad called the elected president of a U.S. ally "the leader of the Israeli Taliban."

Other CAIR leaders share similar expressions of Jew-hatred that include statements considered antisemitic based on the IHRA's working definition of antisemitism embraced by the State Department in 2016. They falsely accuse Israel of being a racist state and hold it to standards not expected of other democracies. They repeatedly compare Israeli policy to Nazis and the IDF to ISIS terrorists.

CAIR and its leftist allies push the antisemitic smear that police exchange programs lead to American police violence against black people.

They oppose Israel's very existence.

Soon after the outbreak of the May 2021 Gaza War, CAIR endorsed or co-sponsored anti-Israel rallies across the United States. The hostilities were triggered by Hamas firing of hundreds rockets from Gaza to cities in southern Israel and Jerusalem, leading Israel to launch airstrikes against Hamas targets. But rather than holding Hamas responsible, CAIR and its leadership posted hateful antisemitic invective on social media, and co-sponsored or endorsed pro-Palestine rallies featuring vile antisemitic rhetoric and chants calling for the Jewish state's destruction. The virulent antisemitism displayed at rallies and on social media corresponded with the highest surge of violence against Jews across America.

CAIR's leadership tries to pass off these expressions of antisemitism as mere criticism of Israel that is not directed at Jews or Judaism, but the long-term and consistent evidence detailed in this report proves that assertion to be a lie.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS: ANTISEMITIC STATEMENTS OF CAIR OFFICIALS (INCLUDES STATEMENTS CITED EARLIER IN THE TEXT)

NIHAD AWAD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND CO-FOUNDER 598

During a November 2021 conference sponsored by the rabidly anti-Israel American Muslims for Palestine (AMP),⁵⁹⁹ Awad called Tel Aviv "occupied" and prayed for it to be freed. "We have to fight. We have to take the fight to the other side. Moving the [U.S.] embassy, our embassy, from Tel Aviv which is occupied, to a city [Jerusalem] that's supposed to be protected under international law, to move that embassy we should not accept that as a de facto," Awad

White House the leader of [the] Taliban, what would be the reaction of the U.S. media? What would be the reaction from the public? What would be the reaction of politicians by the fact that Joe Biden would be hosting the leader of [the] Taliban?...Today it's no different. President Joe Biden is hosting the leader of the Israeli Taliban. Joe Biden is hosting the leader of the settler colonial movement in Israel."603

In a May 15, 2021 tweet, Awad justified his boycott of the Biden administration's Eid festivities by alleging it "literally aids, abets and justifies the Israeli apartheid government's

indiscriminate bombing of innocent men, women and children in Gaza."604 Asked on a May 20 CAIR on Air program to give his "reaction" to the ongoing war in Gaza, Awad condemned what he described as the "bombardment and indiscriminate targeting of civilian infrastructure and civilian populations by Israel," describing it as a "reflection" of "apartheid, indiscriminate, or disregard of human lives of the Palestinians."605



CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad Speaks at the 14th Annual Convention for Palestine hosted by Americal Mulsims for Palestine, Nov. 27, 2021 - AMP YouTube

said. "We have to pressure the administration to take our embassy back to Tel Aviv. And inshallah [God willing], it will be free later." 600

At an August 26, 2021 protest against President Biden's meeting⁶⁰¹ with Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett,⁶⁰² Awad said:

"Imagine if [the] Taliban forms the government, [and] continues to do what it was doing to the people in Afghanistan before they were defeated in 2001. And they became national and international leaders, and if the president of the United States, President Joe Biden, decides to host in the

In an August 15, 2019 tweet Awad wrote: "It's simple. #Israel is afraid of any member of congress visiting occupied Palestinian land and experiencing first hand its #Apartheid and segregationist policies without the guided whitewashing tour led by US lobby AIPAC. @IlhanMN @RashidaTlaib @shaunking #letthemin. 606

In another Twitter post the same day, he reiterated his displeasure of Israel's banning the entry of the Democratic congresswomen: "Outrageous but not surprising #Israel's decision to ban two Congresswomen @IlhanMN and @Rashi-

daTlaib is a slap in the face to US taxpayers who fund it with \$3.2 billion dollars annually. #Trump is inspiring another #MuslimBan. Time to #CutUSAidToIsrael."607

On March 11, 2019, Awad tweeted: "I'm a Palestinian refugee. My relatives live in what is now Israel. They are treated as second class citizens. Now [Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu is running for office on the separate & unequal nation state law. That law codifies discrimination against non-Jews. If this is not #Apartheid. What Is?⁶⁰⁸

In July 2018, Israel's Knesset passed into law a nation-state bill that describes the country as "the national home of the Jewish people" and "enshrines the Zionist idea upon which the nation was founded, namely that Israel is a country established to fulfill the Jewish people's 'right to national self-determination." "609

Awad denounced the ADL for "shamefully providing cover for Israel's murder of unarmed protesters by drawing attention from war crimes and occupation." 610

The condemnation was in response to ADL's criticism of Hamas' launch of the 2018 Great March of Return campaign that aimed "to highlight the plight of Gaza, the broader Palestinian situation, and the Right of Return for Palestinian refugees." "Hamas is once again cynically exploiting its civilian population to draw attention away from its own flawed leadership and once again with tragically deadly consequences. Their call for 'return' is a call for the end of the State of Israel," ADL had posted earlier. 612

Deadly confrontations between Gazans and IDF soldiers that included firing of hundreds of mortars and rockets from Gaza into southern Israel peaked on May 14 – the day of the official opening ceremony of the U.S. embassy in Jerusalem – when at least 60 Gazans died and thousands more were wounded. Israel and Hamas reached an informal ceasefire on May 30.613

Awad has alleged that his family was "ethnically-cleansed by Israeli soldiers" during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. On May 14, 2018, he posted: "In 1948 my family was ethnically-cleansed by Israeli soldiers from our city of #Lydda in #Palestine. Ever since, we have been refugees scattered worldwide waiting to return. The U.S. is on the wrong side of history by supporting #Apartheid #Israel."

Awad's exaggerated claim that Israel "ethnically-cleansed" and expelled Palestinians from their homes during the 1948 war fuels a one-sided narrative. Thousands of Palestinians, including many wealthy Arabs, fled their homes in 1947-48 to escape the Arab-Israeli war but with the expectation that they would return to their homes following an Arab victory. 615

In the weeks following the Trump administration's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital and ordering the U.S. Embassy to move there from Tel Aviv,⁶¹⁶ Awad excoriated CNN for attempting "to discredit the tidal wave vote [in the U.N. against the U.S. action] and distract viewers with sensational footage of Venezuela and Syria."⁶¹⁷ Awad was reacting to CNN anchor Jake Tapper's statement that among the 128 countries that voted in favor of the U.N. resolution denouncing the U.S. move were "some countries with some rather questionable records of their own." Tapper's statement was accompanied by civil conflict and war footage from Venezuela and Syria that voted in support of the U.N. resolution.⁶¹⁸

Awad also claimed that by recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital, President Trump "cast away America's role as an impartial mediator in seeking a just peace in the Middle East" and the "move only benefits @realDonaldTrump and extremist[s] in his base." 619

Awad also called Israel basher Congressman Paul Findley⁶²⁰ his "friend" in an August 2019 obituary message: "My friend, the hero who broke the silence over the #IsraelLobby, Congressman #PaulFindley died yesterday. He served in Congresses from 1961 to 1983. He authored: -They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Con-

front Israel's Lobby -Deliberate Deception -Silent No More #RIP'621

Findley claimed Zionist control "throughout U.S. society" in a 1990 article in the virulently anti-Israel⁶²² Washington Report on Middle East Affairs: "Israel's zealous supporters occupy influential positions throughout U.S. society-not just in the media-and are employed by the U.S. government in every office that has any important relationship to the making of U.S. policy in the Middle East. Relentlessly, step by step, they have assiduously developed over the years a tight grip on America's Middle East policy."623

During the 2014 Gaza conflict,⁶²⁴ Awad posted a series of anti-Israel posts on Twitter:

August 19, 2014: "Israel is the biggest threat to world peace and security. It: 1-targets civilians 2-has WMD 3-doesn't respect international laws or values." 625



August 11, 2014: "Support #BDS "@bataleh: The Heart of the Problem With Israel: The Mass Expulsion of the Palestinian People http://fb.me/1cRhdvkec"626

August 9, 2014: "Israel is facing the same destiny of Apartheid '@haroonmeer: 120k South Africans march to show solidarity with #gaza'"627

August 5, 2014: "US-Israel relations are hitting a new low because of Israel's war crimes. How many more innocents have to die until US tells Israel ENOUGH?" 628

July 25, 2014: "Good news: majority of young Americans (18-29) and Democrats are against Israel's bombing campaign of civilians #Gaza #GazaUnderAttack" 629

July 24, 2014: "@BarackObama How many Palestinian civilians have to die until you tell Israel Enough? #Gaza #GazaUnderAttack #IsraeliTerror" 630

July 24, 2014: "People of conscience: Declare Israel as a terrorist state for the war crimes it has been committing against civiliains [sic]. #Israeli-Terror #Gaza"631



July 22, 2014: "Israel is hiring interns for \$778,000 to improve its battered image on social media. Kill and lie. #GazaUnderAttack" 632

July 20, 2014: "The 'Civilized World' must confront it's [sic] hypocrisy and total silence on Israel's mass murder of Palestinian civilians. #TheMostImmoralArmy" 633

July 20, 2014: "Israel targeted this ambulance in #Gaza today #TheMostImmoralArmy. Targeting civilians is an official Israeli policy." A picture of a charred ambulance in Gaza accompanied the post. 635

July 20, 2014: "Why are most of the victims of the Israeli attack civilians? Either failed soldiers or inaccurate military equipment or an official policy of targeting civilians." 636

July 18, 2014: "Save lives. Call the White House 202 456 1111 and your elected reps. Demand that the US pressure Israel to stop the slaughter of civilians." 637

July 18, 2014: "Our American policy towards Palestine is failed with distinction. Biased, bereft of the values of 'freedom for all people' it lacks respect for human rights, directed by the Israel lobby."638

July 13, 2014: "56 seconds is what Israel gives the residents of Gaza before it bombs their homes. Killing civilians for political reasons is terrorism."⁶³⁹

July 9, 2014: "Our government can and should pressure Israel to stop the military collective punishment on Gaza. Go ahead spy on me and call me #raghead." 640

At an August 2014 rally in Washington, D.C. in support of Gaza, Awad called on participants to "hold our elected leaders accountable" by "tell[ing] our members of Congress that they have pledged allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, not the State of Israel."⁶⁴¹ He added: "It is our tax money that's going to supply the State of Israel to kill innocent people. No longer should be in our name. This carnage

But Awad is pushing a false narrative of a onesided Israeli rampage on unarmed Palestinians during the 2014 Gaza conflict. The conflict, in fact, started with Hamas intensifying its rocket and mortar attacks against Israel from Gaza in the summer of 2014. Around the same time, three Israeli teenagers were kidnapped and murdered by the terrorist group in the West Bank, leading to a further escalation of tensions. Even as Israel tried to deescalate the situation through diplomatic channels, Hamas-led rocket attacks from Gaza continued unabated, prompting Israel to launch an aerial campaign termed Operation Protective Edge. 645 A ground phase of the operation was subsequently initiated after Hamas terrorists entered Israel surreptitiously through terror tunnels to perpetrate a large-scale attack on a kibbutz near the Gaza border.646



CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad Speaks at D.C. Rally for Gaza, Aug. 2, 2014 - CAIRtv YouTube

is being committed in America's name. Israel has become a strategic liability on the United States."⁶⁴² Awad also claimed the America's pro-Israel lobby group AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee)⁶⁴³ had "corrupted our foreign policy...corrupted our political leaders" and added that "our political leaders who speak their party line, they don't speak their conscience."⁶⁴⁴

A detailed report on the 2014 Gaza conflict shows that Israel's military took strong measures to avoid civilian casualties and carry out its Operation Protective Edge aerial campaign in accordance with international humanitarian law.647 In fact, then-Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff General Martin Dempsey applauded the Israeli military for going to "extraordinary lengths" to protect civilians and limit collateral damage. The Pentagon also

a team to Israel to see what lessons could be learned from Operation Protective Edge. 648

At a December 2017 rally organized by the American Muslims for Palestine, Awad described as "dangerous and reckless" the Trump administration's alleged policy of "putting the interests of a foreign state, like Israel, and its domestic lobby here…above the United States' interests."⁶⁴⁹ He

added, "The United States has been siding with Israel, an apartheid state. Israel has been oppressing the Palestinian people at the expense of our reputation. The United States has financed and armed and defended and shielded Israel all over the world, in the United Nations. This is at the expense of our policies."

Awad made similar claims at a 2010 joint convention sponsored by the Muslim American Society (MAS) and the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), where he accused lawmakers of favoring the interests of Israel over that of the United States. "Some of members of Congress are willing to put the interests of Israel ahead of the United States' interests," Awad said. He also blamed Israel for fueling "anti-American sentiment because of what Israel does," and added that "there's a growing movement within Congress and in the public to distinguish between America's interest and Israel's interest."

Awad also spoke about the "huge influence" of the "pro-Israel lobby:

"So we in the activist community, yourselves, we always call on the President, on the White House to do things. But there's nothing being done. Why? Because the second power lies with the Congress. Members of Congress compete with each other, whether Democrats or Republicans, to please the Israel lobby, to please Israel. Some of members of Congress are willing to put the interests of Israel ahead of the United States' interests.

Why? Because we have to understand what drives members of Congress. Is it values, principles or votes and money and pressure? The pro-Israel lobby has mastered deception, pressure tactics and exploiting the system of giving money to candidates and putting pressure and threatening some candidates with either scandals or what have you. And they managed over many years to have this huge influence on not only members of Congress but those who want to be elected officials in the United States."654

MAS was created in 1993 as the Muslim Brother-hood arm in the U.S.⁶⁵⁵ ICNA has been described as "openly affiliated" with the South Asian Sunni revivalist movement Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)⁶⁵⁶ and was set up to establish "Iqamat Deen," the Islamic system of life, in North America with the ultimate goal of founding a global Islamic state or Caliphate.⁶⁵⁷

Awad told a Georgetown University Muslim Students Association audience in 1998 that the Jewish origin of many Clinton administration officials helps drive U.S. policy. Among Clinton advisers, he asked, "Who is opposing the latest agreement with Iraq? Look at their names. Look at their ethnic, their ethnic or religious or racial background. You will see that these are the same groups that belong to the same interest groups in the administration," Awad said. "These are the same people who are pushing the United States to go to war on behalf of a third party, and they are the same people who are opposing the peace process..."

Following President George W. Bush's election, CAIR made nearly the identical claim about his administration. CAIR officers sent the new president a letter warning him to beware of penetration of Zionist voices in U.S. decision-making circles, *Al-Arab al-Yawm* reported January 29, 2001. 659 At CAIR's "Meet Your Congressman" event two months later, CAIR-co-founder Omar Ahmad 660 told the audience that "Muslims in the U.S. are willing to be a catalyst to unite the Muslim world with Washington. It is the Israeli lobby that is demonizing Islam." 661

On August 8, 2001, CAIR-NY circulated a letter to the editor of the New York Daily News complaining about "Zionists' Attempts to Intimidate Muslims or Block their Political Rights in America": "All the 1.3 billion Muslims of the world, 7 million of whom are American citizens, and all fair-minded people, oppose the Israeli brutal apartheid policies and support the right of the expelled Palestinians to return to their homes under international law. We also categorically reject any attempt by the ADL or extremist Zionists like Dov Hikind to impose a pro-Israel 'litmus test' on

Americans exercising their political rights in the election process."⁶⁶²

A week later, on August 15, CAIR-NY circulated an open letter addressed to President Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell calling on them to condemn Israel's "ongoing campaign of political assassination." The document stated, "Political intimidation by the domestic Zionist and pro-Israeli lobbying groups should never prevent the U.S., a 'superpower,' from upholding the basic standards of international law and human rights." 663

When votes approached in May 2002 on congressional resolutions supporting Israeli actions against terrorist strongholds in the West Bank, CAIR issued a press release stating that the move "amounted to American elected officials 'pledging allegiance' to a foreign government."664

Awad added, "It is truly disturbing to see American elected officials falling over themselves in an unseemly attempt to 'pledge allegiance' to a foreign government and its domestic lobby. Perhaps these same politicians should be reminded that they were elected by American, not Israeli voters." 665

Following the April 2004 assassination of Hamas leader Abdel Aziz Rantisi, a CAIR press release, which referred to Rantisi merely as a "Palestinian political leader," stated, "Until our leaders act in America's interests, and not just those of a foreign state or its domestic lobby, we will continue to be viewed worldwide as a party to oppression, not as a force for freedom or justice."

In a July 9, 2004 press release, CAIR asked, "How long will America's international image and interests be held hostage by a domestic lobby for a foreign government?" 667

On November 22, 1998, Awad appeared on Qatari *Al Jazeera* television news channel with now-deceased radical cleric Yusuf al-Qaradawi⁶⁶⁸ to discuss "The Image of Muslims in American

Cinema." When asked about the role of Zionists in marginalizing Muslims politically Nihad Awad replied, "In the absence of the presence of Islamic or Arabic artistic activity, of course, it seems that automatically the Zionist movement and its supporters are alone on the stage. There is...no secret in the knowledge that filmmakers in Hollywood are of Jewish origin and they have a big effect." 669

Qaradawi was an Egyptian Islamic scholar associated with the Muslim Brotherhood. He was known for his militant religious rulings and political commentary in support of acts of terrorism and the repression of Muslims. Qaradawi has urged terror attacks against Israel and once fantasized about killing a Jew.⁶⁷⁰ In 2003, Qaradawi described Muslims killed fighting American forces in Iraq as "martyrs": "Those killed fighting the American forces are martyrs given their good intentions since they consider these invading troops an enemy within their territories but without their will."

On November 2, 2008, Awad appeared on the *Al Jazeera* news channel where he discussed what he described as the powerful pro-Israel lobby in the United States and the strong influence it purportedly wields over American lawmakers. Awad accused AIPAC of paying off congressmen to shape a pro-Israel U.S. policy in the Middle East. He further added that the pro-Israel lobby had led the Arab and Muslim communities to organize "political action in the same way if they want to create a balance in the American position toward an issue such as the issue of Israel and Palestine."

"A Congressman has political interests, the most important thing to him after winning elections is to win in the elections which follow and to keep his seat. He reflects the preferences and the desire of voters in his district except in the case of Israel. It reflects the tendency and the desire of pro-Israel lobby for the absence of strong counter-balance. In the absence of countervailing forces, why should he take a pro-Israel view? Because they ["pro-Israel lobby"] have money and have the votes and

have the means to politically destroying him or ending his political career.

Every member of Congress in the eyes of AIPAC and institutions supporting Israel - and their number exceeds a hundred in Washington – has a political price and value. The one who works in the Armament Committee and the Committee on Foreign Relations, for example, receives fifty to one hundred thousand dollars or even two hundred thousand dollars. The one who works on economic committee, they give him about \$250.

. . .

Reliance of the method of political destruction and fear is a policy for which the pro-Israel lobby is famous; it has ended the life of many American politicians for their standing in the face of the pro-Israel lobby in Congress, and through advertising campaigns and smear campaigns or even political isolation attempts.

They have hurt many activists, some organizations. The examples are many. The goal is in fact, you know, to give an atmosphere of fear and terror to be a lesson for anyone who wants to repeat the resistance or stand in the face of the pro-Israel current, but they erred, because this way they have alerted other groups of American society and even Arab and Muslim communities and opened their eyes and ears on the need to organize political action in the same way if they want to create a balance in the American position toward an issue such as the issue of Israel and Palestine." 673

During a May 11, 2008 Q & A session on *IslamOnline.net*, Nihad Awad claimed: "Everyone is aware that the United States is biased towards Israel at the expense of American interests." 674

At an August 2014 rally in Washington, D.C. in suppost of Gaza, Awad accused the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) of wielding undue influence over lawmakers to manipulate U.S. foreign policy in favor of Israel: "AIPAC should have its hand off the United States Congress. They have corrupted our foreign policy. They have corrupted our political

leaders. But our political leaders who speak their party line, they don't speak their conscience."675 He said "we need to tell our members of Congress that they have pledged allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, not the State of Israel. And therefore we have to hold our elected leaders accountable."676

HUSSAM AYLOUSH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CAIR GREATER LOS ANGELES⁶⁷⁷

On May 17, 2021, CAIR California Executive Director Hussam Ayloush posted a Twitter thread condemning "Israel's violent occupation, apartheid, and bombings [that] have by far mostly killed innocent men, women and children, wiped out entire families, and destroyed water, electricity, sewage, and other vital infrastructure." Describing Israel as "the occupier/aggressor," Ayloush called those who support the Jewish state's "right to self-defense" as "an accomplice" in its "crimes against humanity." 679

The same day, Ayloush tweeted a *Washington Post* critique of the Biden administration's approval of a \$735 million weapons sale to Israel⁶⁸⁰ with the comment, "Our country is not merely an enabler of Israeli apartheid and mass murder of Palestinians. We are an accomplice." ⁶⁸¹

In a May 18 Facebook post, Ayloush wrote: "The majority of Gaza's population are children. The majority are living under poverty line. The majority are refugees from cities and towns that Israel ban them from because they are not Jewish. #EndIsraeliApartheid #EndIsraeliOccupation." 682

The post was accompanied by a picture of a Palestinian child amidst Gaza rubble with the text, "ISRAEL IS ALWAYS ASKING: Why do Palestinian children hate us? HARD TO TELL. I WONDER IF IT COULD BE BECAUSE YOU ETHNICALLY CLEANSED THEIR GRAND-PARENTS, MURDERED THEIR PARENTS AND SIBLINGS, AND DESTROYED THEIR HOMES?" AND SIBLINGS, AND DESTROYED THEIR HOMES?"

Ayloush was a speaker at a May 11, 2021 protest rally in front of the Israeli consulate in Los Angeles. The rally was led by American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) and endorsed by CAIR.⁶⁸⁴ "[T]he struggle against apartheid, the struggle against racism, against occupation, against ethnic cleansing is a global struggle," Ayloush said. "And the Palestinian people are at the front line on the forefront of the struggle, because they're not just fighting the Israeli apartheid, they're fighting against those who are silent, those who are supporting, those who are funding that occupation, that ugly occupation." ⁶⁸⁵



Ayloush has called for Israel's termination.⁶⁸⁶ "Iran's regime calling Israel a 'cancerous tumor' is like the pot calling the kettle black. All the people of that region will be better off once both murderous regimes are terminated," Ayloush wrote in a November 2018 tweet.⁶⁸⁷



At an April 2018 event titled, "Challenging Islamophobia with My Vote" at the Islamic Institute of Orange County (IIOC), California, Ayloush⁶⁸⁸ equated ISIS terrorists negatively with the Israeli army.⁶⁸⁹ Ayloush complained that Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) programs unjustly target Muslims ⁶⁹⁰

There's no similar focus on white communities, he said in a video highlighted by the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI). 691 "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." 692

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."693

In December 2019, Ayloush accused Zionists of "rewriting history" of "Palestine." "When Jesus (peace be upon him) was born in Bethlehem, Romans ruled that area, called it Palestine, and were conducting a census that coveted Bethlehem and the entire Palestine. Nice Zionist try in rewriting history," he posted on Twitter.⁶⁹⁴

During a December 2014 debate at the Islamic Institute of Orange County titled, "Should Muslims Condemn ISIS?" Ayloush compared Israeli tactics to those used by the Islamic State. "The Jewish State of Israel claims that it's being attacked because it's Jewish. And it claims it has the right to the land of Palestine because it's Jewish. And it justifies its crimes in Gaza because of its Jewishness or defense of the Jewish people. This is exactly what the Islamic State, ISIS, does." 695

In an August 2014 Twitter post, Ayloush wrote: "It isn't merely about opposing Israel. It's about defeating racism, colonialism, barbarism, apartheid, Zionism & the culture of murder."⁶⁹⁶ In another post a couple of days later, Ayloush compared the "supporters of Israel" to "Nazis" saying it was "interesting how supporters of Israel use exact same excuses that Nazis used to justify their murders [at] the Warsaw ghetto."⁶⁹⁷ Ayloush also described "supporters of Israel's barbarism in Gaza" as "heartless hateful blood-thirsty humans."⁶⁹⁸

At a June 2014 CAIR-CA empowerment conference and dinner at the Islamic Center of Northridge in Granada Hills, Ayloush justified the "anger" against "pro-Israel groups" saying, "they're seen as always advancing Israeli, an Israeli agenda at the expense of the U.S. interests or U.S. agenda."

Ayloush condemned Israel as purportedly "the only place in the world today that continues to build apartheid walls that separate people based on their religion or race." He added that "Israel is the only place in the world—since South Africa has abolished its apartheid regime—Israel is the only place that actually builds cities and towns for Jews only. If you are a Christian and if you're Muslim you cannot go there, you cannot drive there, you cannot live there. And yet Israel receives foreign aid more so than most other countries in the world paid for by taxpayers' money."

In email correspondence, Ayloush compared Israelis to Nazis, writing: "Indeed, the zionazis are a bunch of nice people; just like their nazi brethren! It is just that the world keeps making up lies about them! It is so unfair." ⁷⁰¹

Ayloush has also alleged "Israeli apartheid" in social media posts.

August 16, 2019: "Had I been a conspiracy theorist, I would have believed that [President Donald] Trump and [Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu are actually secret supporters of BDS [Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions]. But the truth is that they are just Israel's apartheid most stupid advocates." 702

August 15, 2019: "Just imagine if Germany, for example, announces that all US members of Congress are allowed to visit except Jewish ones. How would our reaction be? Time to challenge Israel's apartheid."

May 2, 2019: The toughest job is a Zionist trying to explain why it's ok for Israel to build towns for Jews-only, to be an apartheid state with special privileges for Jews-only, and to deny Palestinian refugees the right to return to their towns because they are not Jewish. I don't envy anyone having to justify such bigotry. I had to

listen to three old Zionists at UCI trying to do that. It was painful."⁷⁰⁴

February 12, 2019: "Let's try this. A certain unnamed lobby group [AIPAC] pressures our Congress members to look the other way regarding a certain unnamed foreign country's [Israel] apartheid practices and brutal occupation. Are we allowed to say that?"⁷⁰⁵

September 22, 2018: "A good *Washington Post* op-ed: America's Jews are watching Israel in horror. My comment: Israel's horrific & brutal apartheid practices started long before Netanyahu!"⁷⁰⁶ The post linked to the *Washington Post* op-ed, "America's Jews are watching Israel in horror."⁷⁰⁷

July 23, 2018: "If Israel doesn't like being called an apartheid state then maybe it needs to stop passing apartheid laws and practicing apartheid policies." 708

May 15, 2018: "After 70 years of repression, ethnic cleansing, occupation, brutality, and terrorism, the Zionist apartheid project in Palestine remains a complete failure. #Nakba70" 709



April 11, 2018: "Israeli army tells Gazans that peaceful protests go against Islam. Really? Doesn't occupation, apartheid, and shooting at peaceful protesters go against Judaism?"⁷¹⁰

September 30, 2018: "Yesterday marks the 18th anniversary of the murder of Palestinian child Mohamed al-Durra, who was shot dead in his father's arms by Israeli forces in Gaza. Sadly, Israeli apartheid, terrorism, murder, & occupation is funded by our tax money."

Ayloush was alluding to Mohammed al-Durra, a 12-year-old Palestinian boy who was allegedly

killed by Israeli bullets on September 30, 2000.⁷¹² Subsequently, many raised questions about the veracity of the event.⁷¹³

November 19, 2014: "Israel revives Nazi-style collective punishment against innocent Palestinians, In [sic] violation of the Geneva Conventions." The Twitter post linked to the *New York Times* article, "Israeli Forces Demolish Home of Palestinian Who Used a Car to Kill 2." 715

July 9, 2014: "Photos of #GazaUnderAttack. Damn you #Israel & damn those who support or excuse your filthy criminal #Zionism." The Twitter post linked to photos from the 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict.

June 30, 2014: "Netanyahu wants to punish Palestinians for the dead settlers. Then who is going to punish the dead settlers' parents & Israel's leaders who made those settlers live in an illegal settlement built on illegally confiscated and occupied Palestinian land in the West Bank? The tragedy of the death should not make us forget the real culprits. Preventing more deaths and suffering on both sides requires that Israel end its brutal occupation, dismantle illegal settlements, stop apartheid policies, and allow Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland. Collective punishment will only further victimize the Palestinian people and make peace harder to achieve."

January 14, 2013: "...Modern states operate on basis of laws. Racist states (such as old S. Africa, Nazi Germany, Israel) operate on basis of race."⁷¹⁸



January 13, 2013: "...nation states like Nazi Germany or Apartheid S. Africa are racist for having classes of citizens. So is Israel."⁷¹⁹

Nov. 18, 2012: "Earlier, US leaders defended S. African apartheid & labeled its opponents as terrorists. History repeats itself. #Israel #Palestine."⁷²⁰

In a 2002 rebuttal to a column by Steven Greenhut in the *Orange County Register* titled, "Muslim leaders should get off the fence," Ayloush described Zionism as a "political ideology whose tentacles are rooted in racism."⁷²¹ "The Zionist movement practically translated into the uprooting of homes and lives of the indigenous people - the Palestinians - in favor of European settlers who claim their ancestors used to live there about 2,000 years ago," he added.

HASSAN SHIBLY, FORMER CHIEF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CAIR FLORIDA 722

In a November 15, 2018 Twitter post, former CAIR Florida Chief Executive Director Hassan Shibly, wrote, "Supporting Americans' right to boycott is supporting the U.S. constitution, which @ilhanmn took an oath to uphold." He urged Cong. Ilhan Omar to "keep speaking truth to power" adding, "the #ADL was wrong about South Africa Apartheid and they are wrong about #BDS #IStandWithIlhan."⁷²³

In October 2018, Israel's Supreme Court granted anti-Israel activist Lara Alqasem's request for entry into Israel.⁷²⁴ Alqasem had been denied entry because of her pro-BDS activism and close affiliation with the anti-Israel student group, Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP).⁷²⁵ After Alqasem was allowed into Israel, Shibly told 88.5 WMNF News:

"Look, I think this whole incident has been a wake-up call for the hypocrisy in how Israel treats Palestinian-Americans and how it treats American citizens. The fact of the matter is the Israelis tried to stop this Florida student from studying in Israel even though she got accepted at the university there. She had a valid visa to study there.

. . .

And the reason they wanted to stop her from studying is because they believe that she had participated in the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement [BDS], which basically calls for people all over the world to boycott and divest from companies — especially those that do business in the Occupied Territories that are illegally occupied by the Israeli government — until Palestinians receive equal rights as the Israelis.

. . .

This is a very similar movement to the movement that was presented against South Africa when they were engaging in Apartheid. And as Jimmy Carter — former U.S. President Jimmy Carter's called, he said what's happening in Israel in terms of the unequal treatment of Palestinians is no different than the Apartheid that was enacted in South Africa."⁷²⁶

In a February 5, 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 Khdier? Terrorism has no religion." 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. The three people responsible – including two minors – were convicted of murder, with two receiving life sentences.

In a January 25, 2015 Facebook post, Shibly linked to a video from Radio Bethlehem in 2000 of Israeli soldiers allegedly harassing children in Rafah, a Palestinian city and refugee camp in the southern Gaza strip. His comment posted above the video read: "Never forget that God of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus has promised a day where He will humble all arrogant oppressors and elevate all the humble oppressed."

Shibly has denied the widely reported fact⁷³¹ that Hamas hides weapons in civilian areas. In an August 2014 discussion on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, he claimed, "[t]he argument that Hamas hides in active civilian areas has not

only been debunked by Amnesty International, but it's very similar to the weapons of mass destruction argument that we used against you know Iraq, where we have still not found those weapons of mass destruction and we still have not found those weapons that are stored in active civilian sites."⁷³²

In an 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. 733 Above an article titled, "St. Louis Cops Using Anti-Terrorism Learned in Israel On...," Shibly wrote: "THAT EXPLAINS IT! #FergusonPolice have had training by #Israel –country known 4 police abuse. #TariqKhdeir." 734

Responding to the UN decision to interview Tariq Abu Khdeir as part of a broader investigation into the incident, Shibly was quoted in a CAIR press release in January 2015: "This investigation is a clear signal that the United Nations itself has serious concerns about the bad conduct of Israeli police and military personnel during the violence in Gaza, and particularly the brutal beating and unlawful confinement suffered by this Tampa teenager."

During the 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict, Shibly posted: "No one is as good at defending and justifying war crimes and apartheid like Israel #FreePalestine #GazaUnderAttack #GazaUnder-Fire." And: "Supporting Israeli apartheid and massacre of civilians is unamerican #GazaUnderAttack #GazaUnderFire." 737

Shibly denounced the positive portrayal of Israel during the 2014 war: "Those who write talking points 2 justify Israel's annihilation of >1,200 Palestinians & counting could make the devil appear to be a saint." He posted a cartoon showing an Israeli stamping on a Palestinian child lying in a pool of blood while an American stops another individual representing "the world"



from interfering. The cartoon was captioned: "U.S. enables Israel to slaughter children."⁷³⁹

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. 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."

ZAHRA BILLOO, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CAIR CALIFORNIA 742

At a November 2021 American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) conference, Billoo called on American Muslims to shun what she described as "polite Zionists" even on issues on which they might work together:

"But I also want us to pay attention to the polite Zionists. The ones that say, let's just break bread together...We need to pay attention to the Anti-Defamation League...to the Jewish Federation...to the Zionist synagogues...to the Hillel chapters on our campuses, because just because they're your friend today doesn't mean that they have your back when it comes to human rights. So oppose the vehement fascists, but oppose the polite Zionists too."⁷⁴³

She repeated her blanket dismissal of pro-Israel Jews at an April 9, 2022 event that was advertised as focusing on "Islamophobia" in France and India. "If you are pro-Israel and you are working actively to harm our community here and abroad, we don't want to work with you," she said. "We have so many other friends and partners to work with, so many other things that we can do. If

you're with the Anti-Defamation League, if you're with the Jewish Community Relations Council, if you're with the Jewish Federation, if you're with any of these pro-Israel organizations, enough is enough...If you don't support human rights abroad, then we don't believe you when you're supporting them here. We're not here to partner with in that way."⁷⁴⁴



CAIR California Director Zahra Billoo Speaks at the 14th Annual Convention for Palestine hosted by Americal Mulsims for Palestine, Nov. 27, 2021 - AMP YouTube

During the May 2021 Gaza war, Billoo called the "apartheid state of Israel" as the "original and ongoing aggressor" in the conflict. "The apartheid state of Israel is the original and ongoing aggressor in this most recent onslaught of violence, and always. Palestinian deaths in the past few days now outnumber Israeli deaths, more than 10:1," Billoo wrote in a May 15 tweet.⁷⁴⁵

On May 16, 2021, Billoo forwarded a 2016 Amnesty International report critical of U.S. police departments training with a "chronic human rights violator-Israel"⁷⁴⁶ and posted "Where Do Many Police Departments Train? In [Apartheid] Israel."⁷⁴⁷

During American Muslims for Palestine's annual "Conference for Palestine in the U.S." over the Thanksgiving weekend in Chicago in 2018,⁷⁴⁸ Zahra Billoo stated:

"And what happens in apartheid Israel is that [the] Jewish National Fund helps people build

trees over the villages that they razed. Right? So they burn down the village, they bomb it, they murder the residents, and then they build new cities over it. And if they're not building a new city, they put trees on it."⁷⁴⁹

Billoo also criticized the "millions of dollars in military aid to apartheid Israel." She gave

> examples of United States police training in Israel and the Flint, MI, water crisis to argue against sending money to Israel: "Every single issue and injustice that we see in the United States is in some way connected to what we see in apartheid Israel, if for no other reason than because we're sending them our money rather than spending it here."750 She added that "if we could stop sending so much money to apartheid Israel, we could spend it on safe water here." and "if police officers here didn't train abroad [in

Israel], then they might kill fewer people here."751

During a session discussing Muslim political engagement at the 54th annual convention of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) in July 2017, Billoo, criticized training of American law enforcement officers by "apartheid Israeli Defense Forces." "Apartheid Israeli Defense Forces train our police officers. We have to dehumanize people in Afghanistan, Somalia, and elsewhere, so we can keep bombing them," she contended. 752

In another session at the same conference, Billoo alleged that "some of the very problematic progressive elected officials we've worked with...have had Zionist influence really early on, like [sic] did the trip to apartheid Israel when they were on [the] city council, so that by the time they get to the State House, they are going to vote for the legislation against Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions." Billoo said she does not "agree with elected officials or with

Muslims who want to go on Zionist-funded trips to apartheid Israel and say that that's going to build interfaith relationships."⁷⁵⁴ She added that she does not "agree with anyone that wants to cooperate with the FBI to surveil our community."⁷⁵⁵

In a July 12, 2018 Twitter post, Billoo condemned American basketball player Draymond Jamal Green's visit to Israel saying, "It doesn't add up that he [Draymond Green] won't visit the White House but will play ball with the terrorists in Israel on an all expenses paid trip?"⁷⁵⁶ She added: "@warriors @money23green visit to [Apartheid] Israel draws criticism: 'Horribly offensive.'"⁷⁵⁷

September 30, 2019: "Israel is an apartheid, racist, terrorist state and it commits war crimes as a hobby." 758



July 9, 2018: "JUST IN CASE THE ZIONISTS DIDN'T HEAR ME: Israel is an apartheid, racist state, which engages in terrorism against Palestinians." ⁷⁵⁹

May 30, 2018: "Both ISIS and the IDF are violent, immoral gangs. They're literally baby killers." 760



May 14, 2018: "If you're wondering about police militarization, the ADL [Anti-Defamation League] actually facilitates learning trips for US

police to go study how apartheid Israel's police force profiles and otherwise represses Palestinian communities."⁷⁶¹

May 14, 2018: "Years of normalizing and fraternizing with Zionists, and today some Muslim MLI [Muslim Leadership Institute] alums and ADL friends want to act like they care one iota about Palestinian human rights." ⁷⁶²

May 14, 2018: "What we need this morning is for Apartheid Israel to stop killing unarmed protesters." 763

May 14, 2018: "This picture? This is the new ADL CEO [Jonathan Greenblatt, Anti-Defamation League CEO], who offered to register as a Muslim if there were ever a Muslim registry, partying.⁷⁶⁴

May 10, 2018: "Zionism is racism, and Israel is a settler colonial nation engaged in ongoing apartheid."⁷⁶⁵



November 29, 2018: "From the river to the sea, #Palestine will be free." 766

August 13, 2013: "Apartheid Israel commits war crimes as a hobby. The US continues to fund them, like a bad gambling habit." 767

March 5, 2012: "Brick by brick, wall by wall, Israeli.Apartheid [sic] has to fall.' - #Occupy AIPAC." AIPAC.



July 12, 2018: "Bay Area folks, know that this is happening on our watch. @warriors are our home-

town team and the @FIDF [Friends of the IDF] has a Bay Area chapter which recruits people to support and appreciate the terrorists who serve in the [Apartheid] Israeli army."⁷⁶⁹

January 3, 2018: "Our tax dollars fund this. Apartheid Israel is the largest single recipient in the world of US "aid" money. God will ask about our complicity."⁷⁷⁰

March 30, 2019: "American tax \$ pay for the Apartheid Israeli carnage in #Gaza." The state of the Apartheid Israeli carnage in #Gaza."

June 10, 2015: "worries more about police, the FBI, and the [Apartheid] Israeli Defense Forces recruiting youth to engage in violence & impunity than ISIS."⁷⁷²

September 15, 2014: "wonders who has recruited more Americans? The IDF or ISIS?"⁷⁷³

May 13, 2014: "Israel 'defending' itself from Palestinians is analogous to Nazi Germany defending itself from Jewish uprising."⁷⁷⁴

DAWUD WALID, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CAIR MICHIGAN 775

In a September 2019 Twitter post, Walid claimed that Israel discriminated against non-Jews, including in the Palestinian territories: "Israel is a Jewish state; America isn't a White Christian state constitutionally though the 'founding fathers' viewed it that way in reality. Netanyahu is upfront that he believes that non-Jews don't deserve equal rights and that the occupied territories belong to Jewish people." The post was linked to a Haaretz article titled, "Netanyahu vows to apply 'Jewish sovereignty' over West Bank."

Walid has blamed Jews for police shootings in the United States that kill unarmed black people. At a 2016 conference hosted by the virulently anti-Israel group American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)⁷⁷⁸ outside Chicago, Walid said: "The same tear gas that is used in Al Quds [Jerusalem] to tear gas Palestinians is the same tear gas and the same tear gas company that tear gassed African-Amer-

icans in Ferguson. The exact same company. The same militarized police forces that shoot unarmed black people and do this crowd control like what happened in Ferguson – where do the police chiefs, these people, get trained at? In Israel. We, brothers and sisters in Islam, be we black...or lighter skinned...we have a common concern, we have a common struggle."

Also, in an August 2014 Twitter post he alleged: "Police in Ferguson got training in Israel. No wonder they act that way!" 780



Walid has accused Israel of using chemical weapons in Gaza during the 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict. He wrote: "Israel is using chemical weapons in #Gaza; that's what white phosphorus is. They've used this before in war crimes." 781

In a July 2014 Twitter post, Walid criticized American aid to Israel while people in Detroit were facing a drinking water crisis: "We're giving \$8 million a day to Israel to help the occupation while people in Detroit are getting their water turned off. #WhiteHouseIftar." In 2014, lead seepage into the drinking water in Flint, MI, caused a major public health crisis leading then-President Obama to declare a federal emergency in the state. ⁷⁸³

In a May 25, 2014 twitter post, Walid published a photo of Pope Francis at the "Wailing Wall" or "Western Wall" in Jerusalem and captioned it: "Pope reflecting at Israeli Apartheid Wall in Palestine. Palestine Christians suffer just like Palestinian Muslims."⁷⁸⁴

Walid has claimed that Israel is not a democracy: "Calling Israel a Middle Eastern Democracy is like saying Jim Crow South was democratic. Nonsense repeated in U.S. mainstream media." 785

In a March 4, 2013 twitter post, Walid blamed U.S. funding for "fueling segregation/apartheid" in Israel. He wrote: "Meanwhile, Americans don't seem to mind that U.S. tax dollars are hard at work fueling segregation/apartheid. #IsraelJimCrow."⁷⁸⁶

During a May 2012 sermon at the Islamic Organization of North America mosque in Warren, MI, Dawud Walid responded to his own question, "Who are those who incurred the wrath of Allah?" saying "hum al-yahud, hum al-yahud [They are the Jews, they are the Jews]."787 He added: "One of the greatest social ills facing America today is Islamophobia, and anti-Muslim bigotry. And if you trace the organizations and the main advocates and activists of 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."788

IMRAAN SIDDIQI, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CAIR WASHINGTON 789

In February 2019, then-Executive Director of CAIR Arizona Imraan Siddiqi⁷⁹⁰ described Israel as "an unrepentant, corrupt, murderous apartheid nuclear state."⁷⁹¹ Siddiqi is now executive director at CAIR Washington.⁷⁹²

A couple of months' earlier, Jonathan Greenblatt, National Director and CEO of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) – an organization that fights antisemitism and hate⁷⁹³ –posted a tweet in response to an article from the *Jerusalem Post* titled, "ICC Prosecutor says Israel committing war crimes, opens investigation. Greenblatt wrote, "This announcement by the ICC [International Criminal Court] is outrageous both because it represents poor procedure and precedent regarding jurisdiction, and for its potential abuse by those who seen to delegitimize and demonize Israel." Siddiqi commented on Greenblatt's post saying,

"It's racist to hold an apartheid nuclear nation-state accountable for war crimes!" 794

Siddiqi commented "Apartheid is a helluva drug" to a February 2020 Israel Action Network Twitter post that read: "Think the BDS Movement will call for a boycott of this #coronavirus vaccine? #Israel." The tweet linked to a *Jerusalem Post* article, "Israeli Scientists: In a few weeks, we will have coronavirus vaccine."

After ADL posted a tweet expressing concern that the Women's March had picked CAIR-California Executive Director Zahra Billoo to serve on its board of directors, 797 Siddiqi wrote: "When your brand has become more about dogpiling on Muslim women and shilling for apartheid and less about civil rights. Israel is a corrupt, violent nation-state and should always be subject to criticism like any other corrupt, violent nation-state." 798

After Rep. Hakeem Jefferies (D-NY) posted a message on Twitter regarding his recent trip to the "HOLY LAND" and the "special relationship" the U.S. shares with Israel, Siddiqi responded saying, "Great to know an entire new generation of so-called progressives have bought into the dehumanization and erasure of Palestinian lives and are dedicated to upholding generations of apartheid."⁷⁹⁹

In February 2020, Siddiqi posted the comment "This is called 'transfer' and is Nazi sh*t" in response to a Haaretz article that quoted sources saying that Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu suggested moving Israeli Arabs to a future Palestinian state to the Trump administration as part of a Mideast peace plan. ⁸⁰⁰ Later that month Siddiqi claimed the pro-Israel lobby "AIPAC's cool with Nazis and Nazi-adjacents - just as long as they don't support Palestinian rights." ⁸⁰¹

In response to a May 12, 2016 tweet by Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau congratulating Israel on the 68th year of its founding, Siddiqi wrote, "Happy Apartheid Anniversary." He also responded with a post that simply said "freedoms" to a message from Rep. Trent Franks (R-Ariz.) congratulating the Jewish state on its

68th independence day. In subsequent posts he clarified: "-Freedom to commit ethnic cleansing -Freedom to conduct apartheid -Freedom to bomb Gaza indiscriminately -Freedom to break international law -Freedom to make life hell for Palestinians -Freedom to discriminate against migrants -Freedom to promote settler violence -Freedom to shoot fisherman -Freedom to bomb hospitals -Freedom to bomb schools -Freedom to arrest children -Freedom to displace indigenous people since 1948 -Freedom to shoot first, ask questions second. -Freedom to foment Islamophobia and fascism."803

After U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced in November 2019 that the establishment of Israeli civilian settlements in the West Bank was not illegal, 804 Siddiqi explained the U.S. decision saying, "[b]ecause land theft from indigenous people is a shared value [between the U.S. and Israel]."805

Secretary Pompeo explained the policy change saying that U.S. policy on the legality of settlements had "been inconsistent over decades." While the Carter administration regarded the civilian settlements as conflicting with international law, the Reagan administration overturned that position in 1981. He said that Obama administration support for U.N. Security Council Resolution 2334 in December 2016 that claimed settlements constituted a "flagrant violation" of international law and had "no legal validity," and had prompted the Trump administration to institute a review of U.S. policy by international law experts and officials who had served in previous administrations resulting in the current policy position. 806

In January 2017, the *Jerusalem Post* reported on a poll conducted by stopantisemitism.org that voted Rep. Ilhan Omar "2019's biggest anti-Semite [sic]." Siddiqi responded to a tweet on the news story saying, "This entire thing is an Islamophobia Industry op. Make no mistake about it."⁸⁰⁷

In March 2019, U.S. Rep. Juan Vargas (D-CA) posted a tweet condemning Ilhan Omar for her antisemitic comments accusing Jews of having allegiance to a foreign government.⁸⁰⁸

"It is disturbing that Rep. Omar continues to perpetuate hurtful anti-Semitic stereotypes that misrepresent our Jewish community," Vargas wrote, reaffirming that "questioning support for the U.S.-Israel relationship is unacceptable." In response to Vargas' tweet, CAIR Washington Executive Director Imraan Siddiqi, who was then head of CAIR Arizona, sarcastically posted, "How *dare* you throw around the term dual-loyalty?" [sic] ""Also - Don't ask any questions of Israel, pls." 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |



AHMED REHAB, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CAIR CHICAGO 811

During the May 2021 Gaza war, 812 CAIR Chicago's Executive Director Ahmed Rehab excoriated U.S. politicians' support for Israel and accused them of being influenced by AIPAC. In a May 15, 2021 Facebook post he wrote: "You Stand with Israel? OK. You go ahead and stand with a nuclear hyper militarized colonial-settler superpower that has murdered 45 children confined to the world's most dense and poorest enclave, in the last few hours of the conflict alone. Have the courage to say it, at least and spare us the bombastic monkey dance scripted for you by AIPAC." 813

In a "translation" of a May 12, 2021 tweet by former Arizona Gov. Doug Ducey that said "Arizona stands with Israel," Rehab wrote: "Governor Doug Ducey stands with powerful AIPAC lobbyists in fear of losing reelection financing." Rehab posted the tweet and his "translation" in a May 15, 2021 Facebook post and wrote: "But of course, it is all about the Benjamins. And the Jacksons and the Hamiltons. It usually is with all US lobby-centric politics. If the naked truth offends you, I'm happy to chip in for your therapy." 816

In an August 2020 Facebook post, Rehab launched a scathing attack on CNN anchor Jake Tapper calling him a "weasel" and urging him to "register as a foreign agent/lobbyist" after Tapper retweeted a clarification from Biden campaign spokesman Andrew Bates that Sarsour⁸¹⁷ had no role in then-Democratic candidate Joe Biden's presidential campaign. Speculation on Sarsour's role in the campaign emerged after she spoke at the Democratic National Convention's "Muslim Delegates and Allies Assembly."

"...She [Linda Sarsour] has no role in the Biden campaign whatsoever," Tapper wrote. "A Dem official [Andrew Bates] says this was a meeting of Muslim delegates to the convention room and not run by the DNC or the Biden campaign."820 He added in a subsequent tweet, "3/ Bates points to this in DNC platform: 'We oppose any effort to unfairly single out and delegitimize Israel, including at the United Nations or through the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement, while protecting the Constitutional right of our citizens to free speech." 821

In response to Tapper's tweet, Rehab wrote:

"Biden's camp is playing that old grotesque tune, and they had better fix it and quick. Israel is not an American citizen last I checked, nor a voting constituent. It is a God damn foreign entity. Any American can like it or despise it as they please, with no reasons or apologies given. It's a free country.

Muslims plugged into the Biden camp (Muslims For Biden, etc), come get your boy on this one. It's a bad look. As for that weasel

Jake Tapper, he had better register as a foreign agent/lobbyist.

Not to worry: None of this will ameliorate us to the Trump/GOP camp any, but it does not mean we are stuck having to take it from the establishment left, lying down. And we will stand by Linda Sarsour, one of the most consistent justice voices (for all) out there."822

In December 2019, Rehab posted an ugly rant on Facebook cursing and vilifying Zionists and France. "F*** Zionism. And F*** you too France," Rehab wrote. 823



Rehab, who also runs CAIR's Chicago office, 824 was reacting to a French Parliament decision to adopt IHRA's antisemitism definition. 825 "Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination," the crux of Zionism, is among the main examples of antisemitism cited. 826

According to Rehab, the resolution showed that France wants "to criminalize peaceful free speech that dares to criticize murderous, plunderous, thieving apartheid that mauls with impunity under the auspices of wealthy hyper-militarized super powers. F********* you. (Apologies for my French)."827

Discussing the Israel Anti-Boycott Act (HR 1697/S. 720)⁸²⁸ in a January 2019 interview with the Turkish state international news channel TRT World, Rehab claimed:

"Well, I think that for many members of the Senate and House, AIPAC is a force of nature, the most powerful lobby in the United States of America that is able to essentially dictate the policy on how the United States approaches the issue of Israel...And this bill is extremely problematic because on one hand it has this blind support for the actions of a foreign government that engages in apartheid, that engages in abuses of, human rights abuses. On the other hand, it basically does away with our own constitutional rights, our own freedom of speech here in America, against American citizens. Basically, regardless of how you feel about BDS, whether you support it or not, one should understand that the right to engage in BDS is a constitutionally protected right that Americans have the freedom of expression including political expression. And so when you have bills that dictate that states who legislate laws to punish citizens for practicing that right should be protected against lawsuits then you're siding with the wrong side. You should be siding with the American people and their protected freedoms, constitutionally-protected freedoms."829

In response to a question on how "measures taken by states to prevent boycotting Israel" impact "the right to protest and the freedom of speech," Rehab noted: "It chills freedom of speech and right to protest which is a fundamentally American right. This is not about how you feel about Israel or Denmark or Bangladesh, this is about our American constitution and the values that it enshrines, including the freedom citizens have in this country to express themselves politically or otherwise. So when you have government beginning to legislate in order to punish or boycott private citizens and institutions to practice this fundamental American right, you have a real undermining of the American constitution. So, you know, it's really shameful and shocking that senators of the United States of America would be engaging and pummeling down this kind of bill that basically chose the rights of Americans and for the benefit of what, an apartheid regime that is engaging occupation. It used to be that the message was, look we're only against violent resistance, the Israeli human rights abuses, but now you have a movement that is essentially entirely peaceful and it's still being treated as a criminal movement and there's still an attempt to criminalize that peaceful, free movement to push back against apartheid and human rights abuses."830

November 14, 2017: After ADL's Jonathan Greenblatt criticized Sarsour⁸³¹ and Jewish Voice for Peace⁸³² for leading an antisemitism panel at The New School, a progressive university in New York, ⁸³³ Rehab responded, "You have got to be kidding. Why don't you honestly say that your issue with @lsarsour and @jvplive is their calling out of Israel's illegal occupation of Palestinian territories and its human rights abuses. You call that fomenting antisemitism. Smh [Shaking my head]."⁸³⁴

Rehab linked the tweet to his 2010 *Huffington Post* article, "Shilling for the Israeli Occupation: The ADL's New Mission Statement," where he blasted the ADL for its report on the "top ten most influential anti-Israel groups in America." 835

"An organization that describes itself as 'the nation's premier civil rights/human relations agency that fights anti-Semitism and all forms of bigotry, defends democratic ideals and protects civil rights for all' is spending its resources decrying American organizations that are not

blindly supportive of a foreign government it likes to align itself with," Rehab wrote in the article. 836

In an August 4, 2014 tweet, Rehab wrote: "#BringBackOurHumanity Stop 'standing with' oppression, apartheid, occupation & civilian massacres. #FreeGaza #FreePalestine."837

In October 2012, Rehab tweeted about the political influence of "The lobby": "Does any American agree -or even understand- the blatant Israel-pandering candidates do @every election. Pst The lobby.#Debates #MuslimVote."838

Rehab's college web page defends Holocaust denial, and asserts that Jews control the media. As a DePaul University graduate student in the mid-1990s, Rehab published a web page. It featured personal information such as his interests in music and film, his favorite athletes and entertainers and even his pet peeve: "Having to repeat what I just said."839 It also served as an outlet for his essays. In one, entitled "Double Standardism: The Case of the Two Books," Rehab challenges Holocaust history, calling it "the established opinions of the able Jewish historians regarding the details of the holocaust."840 It was written just after a May 1996 Charlie Rose show that featured a debate about St. Martin's Press' withdrawal from a contract to publish a biography of Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels.841 Rehab contrasted western reaction to David Irving's book, Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich, to that of Salman Rushdie's novel "The Satanic Verses." 842

In doing so, Rehab rewrote history to cut the number of Jews murdered by the Nazis in half.

"Rushdie targeted a world-wide religion, 1300 years of history, and one billion people," Rehab wrote. "Irving targeted a historical event, 2 years of history and three million people." 843

Rehab distanced his views from the fatwa calling for Rushdie's death, but said the book never should have been published. But he defended Irving's book as merely presenting an alternative – and perhaps more sober – viewpoint.

"If the Jewish historians have the right to research the history of the Holocaust and dictate it for schools and Universities, why can't other historians do the same even if their findings are different? aren't [sic] they less likely to be biased and non-objectively sympathetic?" 844

Rose stayed mostly out of the fray as guests Christopher Hitchens and Eric Breindel debated St. Martin's decision. But at the end, he asked Hitchens whether he was persuaded by Irving's conclusions about the Holocaust. Hitchens said he wasn't.⁸⁴⁵

"By that," Rehab wrote, "Rose confirmed the Jewish control over the media."846

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