

Testimony of
Steven Emerson
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United States Senate Judiciary Committee

"Saudi Arabia: Friend or Foe in the War on Terror"

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Steven Emerson – Bio

Steven Emerson is an internationally recognized expert on terrorism and national security and considered one of the leading world authorities on Islamic extremist networks, financing and operations. He now serves as the Executive Director of The Investigative Project, one of the world's largest archival data and intelligence on Islamic and Middle Eastern terrorist groups. Mr. Emerson and his staff frequently provide briefings to US government and law enforcement agencies, Members of Congress and Congressional committees, and print and electronic media, both national and international. Since 9-11, Mr. Emerson has testified and briefed Congress dozens of times on terrorist financing and operational networks of Al Qaeda, Hamas, Hizbollah, Islamic Jihad, and the rest of the worldwide Islamic militant spectrum.

Mr. Emerson is the author of five books on terrorism and national security, most recently of the national best seller, "American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us" (Free Press). He and his organization have been quoted or profiled in hundreds of newspaper and television stories since 09-11.

Mr. Emerson started The Investigative Project in late 1995, following the broadcast of his documentary film, "Jihad in America," on Public Television. The film exposed video of clandestine operations of militant Islamic terrorist groups on American soil. For the film, Mr. Emerson received numerous awards including the George Polk Award for best television documentary, one of the most prestigious awards in journalism. He also received the top prize from the Investigative Reporters and Editors Organization (IRE) for best investigative report in both print and television for the documentary. The award from the IRE was the fourth such award he had received from that group. The documentary, which was excerpted on 60 Minutes, is now standard viewing for federal law enforcement and intelligence organizations.

Mr. Emerson has authored or co-authored five books:

"American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us" (Free Press, 2002)

"Terrorist: The Inside Story of the Highest-Ranking Iraqi Terrorist Ever to Defect to the West" (Villard/Random House, 1991)

"The Fall of Pan Am 103: Inside the Lockerbie Investigation" (Putnam, 1990)

"Secret Warriors: Inside the Covert Military Operations of the Reagan Era" (Putnam, 1988)

"The American House of Saud: The Secret Petrodollar Connection" (Franklin Watts, 1985).

Table of Contents

Testimony.....	3
Appendix 1: CAIR's Response to Reports of Islamic Extremism, the 9/11 Report and the Freedom House Report on Saudi Funding of Radical Activities in the United States.....	i
Appendix 2: Neil MacFarquhar, "Saudis Uneasily Balance Desires for Change and Stability," <i>New York Times</i> , May 4, 2004.....	vi
Appendix 3: Joseph Braude, "Something's Gotta Give," <i>The New Republic Online</i> , Dec. 3, 2004	x
Appendix 4: "Stop Terror Sheikhs, Muslim Academics Demand," <i>The Arab News</i> , Oct. 30, 2004	xiii
Appendix 5: <i>Ain-Al-Yaqeen</i> , March 1, 2002.....	xv
Appendix 6: Letters from Senator Charles Schumer to Treasury Secretary John Snow and Attorney General John Ashcroft, September 17, 2003.....	xxi

Executive Summary

At the Investigative Project on Terrorism, we have been investigating and tracking radical Islamic organizations and funding for 10 years.¹ We have now compiled one of the largest intelligence archives on radical Islam in the world today. We work closely with law enforcement, the intelligence community, Congress and the media. In tracking Al Qaeda and other Islamic terrorist movements, I have been specifically monitoring and investigating Saudi funding and linkages since the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. My interest in how Saudi Arabia has used its petrodollar revenues to promote and legitimize radical views actually goes back to the mid-1980's when I authored my first book, *The American House of Saud: the Secret Petrodollar Connection* (Franklin and Watts, 1985). The book exposed the political strings attached to Saudi funding of academic centers in the United States. Now, 20 years later, I have found myself returning over and over again to the same problem.

In the years prior to 9-11, the U.S. government paid little attention to the flow of money and religious propaganda exported worldwide from Saudi Arabia. During that period, an elaborate network of Saudi-funded and directed charities, foundations and Islamic propagation centers were created, which in turn funded Islamic organizations, schools and radical movements around the world. Because of its vast petrodollar riches, Saudi Arabia's version of Islam -- a puritanical interpretation often described in short hand as Wahabism -- succeeded in indoctrinating young Muslims, controlling the religious direction of major Islamic religious institutions and in extending the Wahabist doctrine to the four corners of the Earth. The paper trail of Saudi money, funneled through a vast network of charities and religious organizations, has led to some of the most violent terrorist groups in the world, including Al-Qaeda and Hamas.

Saudi officials have long asserted publicly and in private discussions with U.S. officials that the government cannot be held responsible for the actions of non-governmental groups, private donors and corporations, the media and religious leaders. But in fact, much of the non-governmental network in Saudi Arabia was created by Saudi government officials to provide an arm's length relationship and has long been funded by Saudi government line items or by members of the Royal Family. The Wahabist-dominated religious hierarchy in Saudi Arabia was and is tightly controlled by the Saudi regime and Royal Family.

Terrorism requires three primary ingredients: Indoctrination, recruitment and financing. Often, the connections are not neatly compartmentalized, largely because of the intricate and complex ways employed to launder funding to terrorist groups and the larger extremist social-religious organizations from which terrorists recruit. Other times, the evidence shows that non-governmental organizations carry out, to a large degree, activities that are totally legitimate and legal; indeed it is the very external legitimacy of these groups that provide the perfect cover to siphon off, divert or launder financial support or provide cover to terrorist cells. Sometimes the Saudi donors were unaware of

¹ I want to thank my incredible research and administrative staff for their phenomenal efforts in providing research for this testimony.

where their funds were being applied or how they were ultimately used. And in many cases, the Saudi-generated funding and direction for Islamic "humanitarian" or "religious" activities abroad was given in the noble Islamic tradition of Zakat or charity. Some of the recipients, in turn, used the funds to empower and extend the influence of militant Islam through the carrying out of humanitarian services that Arab governments had failed to provide.

Since 9-11, Saudi officials repeatedly have maintained that they have curtailed any support to terrorist groups by Saudi charitable foundations, that they have embarked on an effort to rein in extremist religious ideology, that they have institutionalized new rules of transparency, and that they are as adamant in condemning terrorism as the United States. Towards that end the Saudis have announced several high profile actions, including the alleged shut-down of the Al-Haramain Foundation ("AHF"), the creation of a new U.S.-Saudi commission to monitor terrorist financing, the establishment of a centralized Saudi clearinghouse for all charities, the hosting of an international counter-terror conference, the curbing of extremist propaganda, and a host of other initiatives to stop the spread of terrorism.

But the question that must be asked is whether there is any significant substance to these declarations and announcements. One of the problems for US officials is how to independently determine the true extent to which these announcements have been translated into action. There is a justified skepticism at taking these declarations at face value. While there have been some positive steps taken by Saudi Arabia that can be independently confirmed, a review of other Saudi pronouncements in the past two years strongly suggests that Saudi Arabia has failed to carry out some of the publicly-proclaimed reforms, while in other cases, there is not enough independent evidence to determine whether Saudi Arabia has followed up on its pledges.

There is no doubt that as the result of the Al Qaeda attacks in Saudi Arabia in 2003, the regime itself has declared war on the internal Saudi terrorist infrastructure, killing some two dozen Al Qaeda terrorists and arresting scores of others. And to give credit where it is due, there have also been credible efforts to begin sanitizing some of the publications, websites and religious dogma published by the regime or Saudi charities but in general, the Saudi war against the Al-Qaeda network in Saudi Arabia has not been translated into systematic corollary measures against Islamic terror networks outside the Kingdom.

Defenders of the current Administration policy of not publicly confronting the Saudis point to the fact that Saudi Arabia has engaged in an aggressive campaign to root out Al Qaeda cells in the Kingdom, an effort largely triggered by the series of attacks launched by those cells beginning in 2003. To be sure, Saudi Arabia engaged in a systematic effort to destroy the Al Qaeda infrastructure on Saudi home soil. And the country has cooperated with the U.S. in some other areas, including the extradition of accused terrorist suspect Abu Ali and in starting to impose some central authority on some of the previously untracked "private" funding from Saudis going to radical Islamic causes. Indeed, some U.S. officials with whom I have spoken say they have met Saudi

counterparts who are genuinely committed to stopping the spread of Islamic extremist propaganda.

Still other arguments for not pushing the Saudis too far revolve around the fear that such pressure could destabilize the regime and ultimately lead to a takeover by even more radical forces, such as those aligned with Osama bin Laden.

- Saudi organizations and leaders operating with the permission or acquiescence of the Saudi regime continue to spout virulent anti-Western propaganda and thereby raise serious questions as to whether Saudi Arabia is trying to comprehensively crack down on the sources and support for Islamist terrorism.
- While there have been some efforts to sanitize Saudi websites, publications and textbooks of religious hatred, the record of demonstrable and provable changes is spotty at best and at worst devoid of any substance. Publications from Saudi Arabia and Saudi websites, either officially operated by the regime or those of non-government organizations, continue to spread an extremist view of Islam throughout the world.
- Although there have been some constraints imposed by the Saudi government, Saudi Arabian religious charities and non-governmental organizations (“NGOs”) still disseminate or propagate intolerance and anti-Semitic and anti-Christian dogma.
- Revised banking regulations designed to control the flow of charities have not been applied to three of the most prominent and radical organizations, the Muslim World League (“MWL”), the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (“WAMY”) and the International Islamic Relief Organization (“IIRO”).
- Saudi funding of Hamas has continued as new conduits have been created.
- Saudi government officials, religious leaders and members of the Royal Family continue to level anti-Semitic allegations of conspiracies. Persecution of Christians has not abated.
- Senior Saudi religious figures have continued to call for jihad against the United States.
- Saudi officials in the United States and American recipients of Saudi funds continue to detract attention from the extremists’ actions by alleging that the campaign against Saudi extremism is “racist” and that it has led to “hate crimes” against American Muslims.

Saudi Arabia and Persecution of Christians

The religious freedoms that Muslims seek -- and are accorded -- in the United States and elsewhere in the West are far from reciprocated in Saudi Arabia. Indeed, the Kingdom has made it illegal to promote any religion other than Islam, and it continues to outlaw churches.

The State Department listed Saudi Arabia as a "country of particular concern" in its September 2004 report on the state of religious freedom in more than 190 countries. The report accused the Saudis of "particularly severe violations" of religious freedom.²

Consider these recent examples:

- The Washington-based watchdog group, International Christian Concern, reported this past June that Saudi security and religious police had engaged in what it termed a "pogrom-like" crackdown against Christians in the wake of reports of the desecration of the Quran at the military prison camp in Guantanamo, Cuba. The group said it had received reports of 46 confirmed arrests.³
- At about the same time, the religious news agency Asianews reported the arrest of eight Protestant Christians, including two Indians. The Rome-based agency -- affiliated with the Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions -- reported that the Saudi religious police, the Muttawa, had arrested an evangelical Christian from India and seized a bible and addresses. That event led to the arrest of seven other members of an evangelical group, including an immigrant worker whose apartment was used for Christian meetings, said the Asianews website.⁴
- On April 23, the Saudi daily Al-Riyadh reported that the Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice, or religious police, had arrested 40 Pakistani men and women in the Saudi capital two days earlier for "setting up a church" with crosses, pictures and statues in what it called a "deserted palace."

² International Religious Freedom Report for 2004, released Sept. 15, 2004. Saudi Arabia Section <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2004/35507.htm>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005. It should be noted that action can be taken in the US against Saudi government officials found to be linked to such activities under the enhanced immigration law provisions of the new Intelligence Reform Act, signed into law by President Bush on Dec. 17, 2004. http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=108_cong_public_laws&docid=f:publ458.108. Accessed Nov. 6, 2005. Under the Intelligence Reform Act, several important immigration-related provisions deal with foreign human rights violators. Those provisions include Sections 5501 through 5506, which amend the Immigration and Nationality Act so that aliens who commit certain acts are excludable or deportable (removable) from the United States. The changes make it a removable offense for any alien who was/is a foreign government official who engaged in particularly severe violations of religious freedoms, as defined in the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, found in Title 22, U.S. Code, Section 6402. These immigration removal provisions, since they are administrative/civil in nature, may be applied retroactively. However, there is little evidence that the US government has pursued such efforts with any degree of enthusiasm.

³ "Saudi officials deny allegations of persecution of Christians in the kingdom," *The Associated Press*, June 7, 2005.

⁴ "Eight Christians arrested in Saudi Arabia," *Agence France-Presse*, June 1, 2005.

Agence France-Presse said they had been celebrating a Catholic mass in a private house.⁵

An official of a U.S.-based human rights organization was quoted in May as saying that Saudi religious authorities most often target the Filipino Christian community. Americans are usually left alone, said Nina Shea, director of the Center for Religious Freedom of Freedom House, because "[i]n the calculation of the Saudis, Americans only care about American Christians."

Dissemination of Anti-Semitic and Anti-Israel Dogma Continues

Anti-Semitic conspiratorial allegations have been embedded in Saudi religious and political dogma for decades. Persistent allegations that Jews, Christians, Westerners, and other "enemies of the Kingdom" are responsible for Saudi woes strongly belies the notion that Saudi Arabia is sincere in its public condemnations of terrorism.

As documented so well by the Middle East Media Research Institute ("MEMRI"), leading Saudi officials and clerics continue to allege classical anti-Semitic conspiracies. Instead of condemning such extremism, Saudi officials in the United States have gone to great lengths in refusing to criticize these outrageous statements. For example, then-Saudi Ambassador, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, appeared on NBC's *Meet the Press* on April 25, 2004. Anchor Tim Russert asked guest Prince Bandar whether the statement made in 2003 by Saudi Interior Minister Nayef that the "Zionists" were responsible for the 9-11 attacks was the position of the Saudi government. "No," said Bandar, but then added, "I don't know what circumstances this quote was made." I fail to see how there could be any "circumstances" in which such a falsehood could be legitimately uttered. Bandar, of course, could have unambiguously condemned such a statement and taken the opportunity before an American audience to formally disassociate the Saudi government from it. Instead, he felt compelled to issue one of those rhetorical qualifiers that in the end leaves open the notion that the anti-Semitism underlying Prince Nayef's comment could actually be legitimate.

In early 2004, Al Qaeda terrorists launched a series of attacks in Saudi Arabia. Following one such attack in the Saudi port city of Yanbu, Crown Prince Abdullah asserted that "Zionist elements" were behind the attacks. As first noted by MEMRI in a May 3, 2004 dispatch, the official government Saudi Press Agency ("SPA") disseminated a story with the headline: "SPA – Crown Prince says Zionism is behind the actions in the kingdom." The Saudi story then reported that Crown Prince Abdallah asserted on May 2, in front of Saudi officials and Royal Family members, *"It became clear to us now that Zionism is behind terrorist actions in the kingdom. I can say that I am 95% sure of that."*⁶

⁵ "Pakistani Christians held in Saudi all freed; embassy," *Agence France-Presse*, May 21, 2005.

⁶ MEMRI Special Dispatch Series No. 706, "Saudi Crown Prince on Yunbu' Attack: 'Zionism Is Behind Terrorist Actions In The Kingdom... I Am 95% Sure Of That,'" May 3, 2004. <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=saudiArabia&ID=SP70604>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

Abdullah's comments were immediately amplified by Saudi Foreign Minister Saud Al-Faisal as he made even more conspiratorial allegations in the Arab media. For example, in an interview on Abu Dhabi television, Al-Faisal stated that the attacks were perpetrated by two pro-Al Qaeda Saudi exiles who were "financed by Israel:"⁷

The Saudi government is determined to strike with an iron fist in fighting this deviant group and rooting out the terrorists. The exiled dissidents are associated with pro-Israel groups. As everyone knows from (Monday's) Interior Ministry statement, the leader of the latest attack had links with the renegades (Saad) Al-Faqih and (Mohammed) Al-Masari. Although these two renegades have no weight whatsoever, it is known that they have contacts with, and even financing from, sides connected to Israel.⁸

Asked by the television interviewer to explain the comments about "Zionists" made by the Saudi Crown Prince, al-Faisal responded with even more anti-Semitic conspiratorial allegations, asserting a secret collusion between "the Zionists, the terrorists and the Kingdom's enemies abroad":

It is no secret that extremist Zionist elements are waging a fierce campaign against Saudi Arabia, leveling false accusations and fabricated slanders at the Kingdom. The desperate attempt by the terrorist group to undermine security, stability and national unity serves the interests of these Zionist elements, which makes the convergence of goals tantamount to evidence of some kind of link between the Zionists, the terrorists and the Kingdom's enemies abroad.⁹

The effort to pin the terrorist attacks on Saudi Arabia on some type of secret plot by Israel was not limited to Saudi officials on their home turf. Adel Al-Jubeir, a prominent Saudi official attached to the Saudi Embassy in Washington and top aide to then-Ambassador Prince Bander, was interviewed on CNN on May 13, 2004. In the course of that interview, anchor Wolf Blitzer asked Al-Jubeir about the comments made by Crown Prince Abdullah. The exchange below is illuminating and disturbing as the comments made by Al-Jubeir show that he inverts reality in portraying criticism of Saudi extremism as actually a plot to destroy the regime. Time and time again, Blitzer offered Al-Jubeir an opportunity to disavow the conspiratorial allegations made by Saudi leaders about a secret Zionist plot. But Al-Jubeir refused to criticize the comments. Instead, he repeatedly portrayed Saudi Arabia as the victim of a conspiracy to "destroy it" claiming that the

⁷ Federal News Service, "Interview with Saudi Foreign Minister, Prince Saud Al-Faisal, Discussing Terrorism, the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Iraq and the World Trade Organization," Abu Dhabi Television, May 4, 2004, translated from Arabic.

⁸ Federal News Service, "Interview with Saudi Foreign Minister, Prince Saud Al-Faisal, Discussing Terrorism, the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Iraq and the World Trade Organization," Abu Dhabi Television, May 4, 2004, translated from Arabic.

⁹ Federal News Service, "Interview with Saudi Foreign Minister, Prince Saud Al-Faisal, Discussing Terrorism, the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Iraq and the World Trade Organization," Abu Dhabi Television, May 4, 2004, translated from Arabic.

Zionist critics of the regime effectively were colluding with Al Qaeda:¹⁰ Although ordinarily I would have attached the transcript as an appendix, the exchange of comments between Al-Jubeir in response to the questions by Blitzer was so compelling that I have included the entire transcript below:

BLITZER: Your Crown Prince Abdullah, he made a very controversial statement, as you well know, a couple weeks ago. I want our viewers to listen precisely to what he said.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

CROWN PRINCE ABDULLAH, SAUDI ARABIA (through translator): I don't say -- it's not 100 percent, but 95 percent that the Zionist hands are behind what happened.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: He was accusing Zionists of that most recent terror attack in Riyadh. On the basis of what?

AL-JUBEIR: I believe, Wolf, if you look at the context of it, the point that he was trying to make is that there are people in the United States who have been very harsh when it comes to Saudi Arabia, have called for regime change in Saudi Arabia, have called for the dismemberment of Saudi Arabia, and whose -- the objectives that they have called for are the same objectives as those shared by the terrorists.

Osama bin Laden wants to destroy the Saudi state. Osama bin Laden wants to destroy the Saudi government. And so you should understand these comments in that context, that those who are most critical of Saudi Arabia in a very hostile way in the United States, as well as in Israel, share the same objective as Osama bin Laden and those who committed these acts

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: You're saying that people in Israel want to see Saudi Arabia destroyed?

AL-JUBEIR: No, I'm saying there are some people. We have books that have been published about Saudi Arabia, have been called the "Hatred's Kingdom." There have been calls by some for regime change in Saudi Arabia, for putting Saudi Arabia on the axis of evil. It's really that kind of attitude that is shared by Osama bin Laden.

¹⁰ CNN, Wolf Blitzer Reports, Aired May 13, 2004.

<http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/040513/wbr.01.html>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

BLITZER: *Is the crown prince, who's the effective leader of Saudi Arabia, equating al Qaeda with Zionists?*

AL-JUBEIR: *That's not what he was trying to say here. What he was trying to say is that the objectives of those people who have been most harsh toward Saudi Arabia are the same as the objectives of Osama bin Laden. It doesn't mean that they committed this crime.*

BLITZER: *Because we listened closely to that tape and we had several Arab linguists listen precisely. And what he clearly said was that he believes 95 percent – not 100 percent, but 95 percent – that the people who undertook this most recent terror attack in Saudi Arabia was not al Qaeda, but were Zionists.*

AL-JUBEIR: *That they were behind them when somebody calls for regime change in Saudi Arabia, as we have a number of people here in the United States when people call for dismemberment of Saudi Arabia.*

You'll recall the infamous briefing before the Defense Policy Board where the analyst made the case that we should take Saudi out of Arabia. That is not much different from the mind-set of Osama bin Laden, which wants to also replace the Saudi government and install instead a Taliban-like regime.

When you say behind them, it means supporting them intellectually. That doesn't mean financially. It doesn't mean that they put them up to it. It just means that they share the same objective.

BLITZER: *Because U.S. officials clearly say that most recent terror attack in Riyadh and all the other ones were the work of al Qaeda.*

AL-JUBEIR: *We agree.*

BLITZER: *You agree?*

AL-JUBEIR: *So have we. Our Interior Ministry issued a statement to that effect. The person who was the ringleader of the attack is a known person, a dissident. He was on – on our list of – sorry – terrorists. He was on the list of most wanted individuals in Saudi Arabia. His picture was plastered all over the country.*

BLITZER: *Do you want to issue any sort of apology for the comments of your boss, the Crown Prince Abdullah?*

AL-JUBEIR: *Why apology? I was explaining it to you. There's no*

apology necessary.

BLITZER: *Because of the impression that he left that for that most recent terror attack he was blaming Zionists.*

AL-JUBEIR: *Because, Wolf, what happens with Saudi Arabia, unfortunately, after 9/11 is anything that Saudi Arabia does or says is perceived with a lot of criticism.*

It's sort of, we are guilty until proven innocent. It should be the other way around. And so nobody cuts us any slack. And every little thing is exaggerated. Every little thing is inflated. I can look at statements by American officials. I can look at statements by officials of other countries that are outrageous and that have not solicited apologies from them or from anyone else. But when it comes to us, we're always the ones who have to apologize. I don't see a reason to do this here.¹¹

Saudi Public Relations: A Lack of Frankness

Saudi representatives in the US have gone further in trying to deny responsibility for radical statements. One extraordinary example occurred earlier this year and was the subject of an NBC News exclusive. NBC obtained an audiotape of Sheik Saleh Al Luhaidan, chief justice of Saudi Arabia's Supreme Judicial Council, exhorting young Muslims to go to Iraq to participate in the jihad against American forces. According to the report, NBC asked Saudi officials for their reaction. Their response? Saudi officials falsely claimed that the tape was a fabrication. NBC then contacted the Sheik directly in Saudi Arabia who admitted he had made the recording. According to NBC, "*A Saudi spokesman twice denied the tape was authentic, claiming Saudi intelligence analysts determined it was 'a crude fake.'* So NBC News called Luhaidan himself, in Saudi Arabia, and played the tape. Luhaidan confirmed those were his words, saying in Arabic, 'Yes, this is my voice.'¹²

In response to repeated criticism of its ties to militant Islam, Saudi Arabia has embarked on an assiduous public relations campaign to portray itself as opposed to terrorism. In February of this year, the regime hosted a lavish international "anti-terrorism" conference with participation from 50 countries, including a high ranking delegation of more than a dozen officials from the United States, and about 10 Arab and Muslim NGOs. But in terms of substance, the conference was an exercise in grand deception, designed to literally purchase U.S. and Western goodwill thru the orchestration of superficial anti-terrorism claims. In the end, the estimated tens of thousands of dollars spent by the U.S.

¹¹ CNN, Wolf Blitzer Reports, Aired May 13, 2004.

<http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/040513/wbr.01.html>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

¹² Myers, Lisa, "More evidence of Saudi doubletalk? Judge caught on tape encouraging Saudis to fight in Iraq," MSNBC.com Apr. 26, 2005. <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/7645118/>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

government on travel and other conference-related expenses amounted to a mass subsidy to a vast Saudi public relations campaign to sanitize its image in the West.

At the outset, it was easily discernible that the conference was meant only as a public relations play for Saudi Arabia, a fact that could have been instantly deduced from the attendance roster. Included in the official visiting delegations were representatives of two of the leading state-supporters of terrorism, Syria and Iran, and of Sudan, a militant regime engaged in a genocidal campaign in Darfur. Another official delegation, sitting alongside all the foreign missions, was the Muslim World League, a notoriously extremist Saudi charity long-linked to the spread of Islamic radicalism.

Over the course of the four-day conference, the Saudi hosts were able to lead a chorus of those in attendance in condemning "terrorism" over and over again while also announcing new efforts to stop "terrorist financing," the creation of a new Saudi anti-terrorist center and countless other proposals and initiatives. But there was never any specific description or definition of the "terrorism" they were condemning. The final communiqué of the Riyadh conference included this clause: "The Conference affirmed that terrorism has no particular religion, race, nationality or geographical area. In this context, it stressed that any attempt to link terrorism with any religion is helpful only to the terrorists."¹³ Actually, the refusal to name Islamic terrorism or Islamic extremism as the core problem is of much more assistance to the terrorists. This is not, as the communiqué asserted, a matter of linking a religion to terrorism. It is Islamic terrorists who have invoked their interpretation of Islam and thus are motivated by religious doctrine. And it is Islamic militants who want to blur the distinction between Islam and militant Islam by accusing the West of engaging in a war against Islam. The unwillingness to acknowledge the very problem of Islamic terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism as stemming from a particular religious ideology thus renders any pronouncements against the general threat of terrorism to be devoid of any real meaning.

The fear of maligning a religion expressed by the Saudi hosts was not as evident when it came to "the Jews." As Glenn Simpson of *The Wall Street Journal* has reported in his account of the conference, one of the materials given to the outside media was an essay by Abdullah al Obeid that blamed stories linking terrorism and Islam on "some mass media centers that are managed and run by Jews in the West."¹⁴ Mr. Simpson wrote, "[u]nder his leadership, Mr. Obeid added, the Muslim World League organized symposiums to explain that Palestinian attacks on Israelis 'are conducted in self-defense and they are lawful and approved by all religious standards, international treaties, norms and announcements.' He made no distinction between attacks on civilians and soldiers."¹⁵

The author of the book was a long-time MWL official, Mr. Obeid, who, Mr. Simpson reported, had served as "secretary general of MWL from 1995 to 2002, a period when the

¹³ Counter-Terrorism International Conference: 'Riyadh Declaration', Feb. 8, 2005.

<http://www.saudiembassy.net/2005News/Statements/StateDetail.asp?cIndex=498>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

¹⁴ Simpson, Glenn, "New Saudi Aide Is in Terror-Fund Probe," *The Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 10, 2005.

¹⁵ Simpson, Glenn, "New Saudi Aide Is in Terror-Fund Probe," *The Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 10, 2005.

huge Saudi government-funded organization fell under intense scrutiny from Asia to North America for spending tens of millions of dollars to finance the spread of Saudi Arabia's austere brand of fundamentalist Islam."¹⁶ Immediately upon the conclusion of the conference, Simpson reported, Saudi Arabia announced that it had appointed Mr. Obeid as Saudi Education Minister.¹⁷

In September 2004, MWL accused "Zionist and Christianizing organizations" of operating in Iraq with the aim of weakening Islam in the war-torn country. MWL remarked that it "noticed the infiltration of biased foreign organizations into Iraq, including Zionist and Christianizing ones, to implement programs aimed at corrupting youth and weakening their Islamic and patriotic awareness."¹⁸

Saudi Charitable Organizations

A discussion of Saudi-based government sanctioned international organizations or charities such as the Muslim World League (MWL), the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), or the Al-Haramain Foundation, and their spokesmen, requires the recognition of two distinct crucial issues:

The first is the propagation of Islam *in the manner as is practiced* by the Saudi individuals or organizations in question, and the second is the knowing or unknowing use of money, auspices and assets from such charities that have aided terrorist entities. While there may be, often, an intertwining of these two issues, they are two separate and distinct problems that are causing enormous reverberations around the world.

According to the 9-11 Commission's finding: "While Saudi domestic charities are regulated by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, charities and international relief agencies such as the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), are currently regulated by the Ministry of Islamic Affairs. This Ministry uses zakat and government funds to spread Wahabi beliefs throughout the world."¹⁹

The international export of the Wahabi version of Islam began with the Muslim World League ("MWL"), set up in 1962 by the royal Saud family, to promote Islamic unity, and to spread its view of Islam. After the 1991 Gulf War, when the Saudis angered the Brotherhood and other extremists in the kingdom by seeking help from the U.S., the Saudi government set up a new charity -- the Al Haramain Foundation -- to spread Islam beyond the Middle East, and to counter the Brotherhood's influence. The government's

¹⁶ Simpson, Glenn, "New Saudi Aide Is in Terror-Fund Probe," *The Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 10, 2005.

¹⁷ Simpson, Glenn, "New Saudi Aide Is in Terror-Fund Probe," *The Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 10, 2005.

¹⁸ "Islamic Body Accuses 'Zionist, Christianizing' Groups of Infiltrating Iraq," *Agence France Presse*, September 20, 2004.

¹⁹ "The 9-11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States" W.W. Norton & Company: July 2004 at p. 372.

Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowment, Call and Guidance ("Ministry of Islamic Affairs") was organized in 1993 to export Wahabism around the world.²⁰

Over the course of several years, from 2002 through 2005, the U.S. Treasury, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the United Nations designated various international branches and individuals associated with one of the largest Saudi-based charitable organizations, Al Haramain Foundation (AHF), as supporters of terrorism.²¹

As recently as July 2005, Stuart Levey, the U.S. Treasury's Under Secretary for Terrorism & Financial Crimes, noted that "Saudi Arabian charities, particularly the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), the World Association [sic] of Muslim Youth (WAMY), and the Muslim World League (MWL) continue to cause us concern."²² Senator Charles Schumer issued letters on September 17, 2003 calling upon Treasury Secretary Snow and Attorney General John Ashcroft "to open a criminal investigation and immediately freeze the assets" of WAMY "in the wake of a new report...suggesting links to Hamas, Saudi Arabia and terrorism."²³

Both the MWL and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth have long been primary financial and religious instruments by which the Saudi regime propagated Wahabism. According to a GAO report issued in September 2005,²⁴ the interconnectivity between

²⁰ Ottaway, David B., "U.S. Eyes Money Trails of Saudi-Backed Charities," *Washington Post*, Aug. 19, 2004.

²¹ The U.S. branch of the Al Haramain Foundation (AHF) was designated as a terrorist organization by the US Treasury on September 9, 2004. Since March 2002, the United States and Saudi Arabia have jointly designated eleven branches of AHF based on evidence of financial, material and/or logistical support to the al Qaida network and affiliated organizations. These branches - Afghanistan, Albania, Bangladesh, Bosnia, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Somalia, and Tanzania - along with the former director of AHF, Aqeel Abdul Aziz Al-Aqil, are named on the UN's 1267 Committee's consolidated list of terrorists associated with al Qaida, Usama bin Laden and the Taliban and are subject to international sanctions. U.S. Treasury Release JS-1895, "U.S.-Based Branch of Al Haramain Foundation Linked to Terror, Treasury Designates U.S. Branch, Director." Sept. 9, 2004. <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/js1895.htm>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005. Most recently, the U.S. designated Dr. Abdul Latif Saleh, who "founded and organized an Albanian jihadist organization that has been financed by the Al Haramain Foundation." U.S. Treasury Release JS-2727, "Treasury Designates Bin Laden, Qadi Associate." Sept. 19, 2005. <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/js2727.htm>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005..

²² U.S. Treasury Release JS-2629, "Testimony of Stuart Levey, Under Secretary Office of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, U.S. Department of the Treasury, Before the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs." July 13, 2005. <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/js2629.htm>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

²³ Press Release, "Virginia Charity Linked to Hamas and the Saudis Have Escaped Federal Charges," Sept. 17, 2003, http://schumer.senate.gov/SchumerWebsite/pressroom/press_releases/PR02034.html. Accessed Nov. 6, 2005. See also Schumer Letter to John Snow, Sept. 17, 2003, http://schumer.senate.gov/SchumerWebsite/pressroom/special_reports/Snow%20and%20WAMY%209.16.03.pdf and Schumer Letter to John Ashcroft, Sept. 17, 2003, http://schumer.senate.gov/SchumerWebsite/pressroom/special_reports/Ashcroft%20and%20WAMY%209.16.03.pdf. Accessed Nov. 6, 2005.

²⁴ United States Government Accountability Office ("GAO") Report to Congressional Requesters, "Information on U.S. Agencies' Efforts to Address Islamic Extremism." Sept. 2005. <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d05852.pdf>. Accessed Nov. 7, 2005.

the Saudi government, non-governmental organizations, and "private" foundations and funding is so intertwined and advanced that it would be impossible to unravel the terrorist financing even if the Saudi government wanted to do it. The GAO report continued as follows:

Various government and non-government sources report that Saudi funding and export of a particular version of Islam that predominates in Saudi Arabia has had the effect, whether intended or not, of promoting the growth of religious extremism globally. In the 1960s, funding of religious outreach activities overseas became a central feature of Saudi policy through organizations such as the Muslim World League and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth. Activities of these organizations include providing medicine and food and building mosques, schools, and shelters. The Saudi donations to support its aid efforts and the spread of its religious ideology come from public and private sources and are channeled through a variety of foundations and middlemen to recipients around the world. Saudi Arabia's multibillion-dollar petroleum industry, although largely owned by the government, has fostered the creation of large private fortunes, enabling many wealthy Saudis to sponsor charities and educational foundations whose operations extend to many countries. U.S. government and other expert reports have linked some Saudi donations to the global propagation of religious intolerance, hatred of Western values, and support to terrorist activities.²⁵

MWL and WAMY continue to operate around the world with dozens of international offices. MWL has two offices in the United States, one in northern Virginia and the second in New York City. The Virginia office was raided by the FBI in March 2002 as part of an investigation into a large network of Virginia-based Islamic charities and corporate entities suspected of having ties to terrorist groups. It was again raided in July 2005. Its current US director, Abdullah Al-Noshen, was arrested for immigration fraud and is now awaiting trial. The assistant director of that office, Khalid Fadlalah, was arrested and subsequently pled guilty to lying on immigration documents to enable Al-Noshen to work in the United States.

Most recently, the role of MWL in funding extremists in the United States came to light in the trial of Ali Al-Tamimi, the American-Muslim spiritual leader of Dar Al-Arqam Islamic Center in northern Virginia, arrested on terrorism charges after 9-11. He was convicted this year for soliciting treason, seditious conspiracy and conspiracy to wage war against the United States. At his trial, one of his defense witnesses was his successor at Dar Al-Arqam, Yousef Idris. Idris said he was employed by MWL and served at the same time as the primary lecturer at Dar Al-Arqam. Under cross examination by Assistant US Attorney Gordon Kromberg, Idris stated he agreed with Tamimi (a Sunni cleric) that Shiites should have their heads cut off if they did not repent. Government

²⁵ United States Government Accountability Office ("GAO") Report to Congressional Requesters, "Information on U.S. Agencies' Efforts to Address Islamic Extremism," Sept. 2005. <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d05852.pdf>, at pg.6 (PDF pg.10). Accessed Nov. 7, 2005.

officials and other sources have described Dar Al Arqam as a center for radical Islamic supporters who have routinely heard Islamic lectures and sermons demonizing the United States, the West and Jews. Not insignificantly, Dar Al-Arqam is located at 360 South Washington in Arlington Virginia, the same address as MWL.

The Muslim World League issues several publications and also runs several websites featuring both English and Arabic components. Although many of the links on the multiple MWL websites are now inactive, the primary Saudi-based MWL website offers access to Islamic religious rulings, fatwas. One such fatwa posted on this site betrays the organization's intolerance for other religions, "Establishing schools and public facilities such as hospitals and others in the land of Kufar [infidels] is one of the necessities of Dawah [propagation of Islam] and the tools of Jihad for the sake of Allah" as it "protects the Muslims' religious beliefs and identity against the Christian and non-religious institutions."²⁶

Another section of the MWL website defends Jihad: "Jihad in Islam was legislated to uphold truth, to defend the oppressed, and to implement justice...and in defense of the homeland against the occupation of land and plundering of wealth, and against the colonial settlement that drives people out of their homes, and against those who support and help the expulsion from homes."²⁷

The MWL position paper continued, "We cannot equate the terrorism and violence of tyrants who exploit countries and desecrate its honors and sanctuaries and plunder the wealth, and the practice of the legitimate defense, whereby the weak strive to grasp their legitimate right in self determination."²⁸

The current Canadian MWL website has posted various publications and tracts that attack Judaism and Christianity as being "false" religions, denigrate the Bible as being "corrupted," and legitimize the Islamic religious punishments of amputations. In referring to Jews, for example, the MWL Canadian website says as follows:

In the scriptures of Jews we notice that the concept of life after death is a vague one. It is, in fact, a materialistic concept, and it is also a racist one. For Jews God is a pro-Jewish Lord. He gives them the right to crush and eliminate all other nations who are called Goyim (non-Jews). These people do not deserve to be human and naturally do not qualify to enter Heaven. It is a concept of bias, hatred and racism.

²⁶ Muslim World League Website, <http://www.themwl.org/Fatwa/default.aspx?d=1&cid=109&l=AR&cid=11>. Accessed Oct. 18, 2005.

²⁷ "Muslim World League Position on Terrorism," p. 12. Muslim World League Website <http://www.themwl.org/Subjects/default.aspx?d=1&l=AR&cid=4&cid=31>. Accessed Oct. 18, 2005.

²⁸ "Muslim World League Position on Terrorism," p. 13. Muslim World League Website <http://www.themwl.org/Subjects/default.aspx?d=1&l=AR&cid=4&cid=31>. Accessed Oct. 18, 2005.

Hamas Offices in Saudi Arabia?

Saudi Arabia's repeated claims that it does not harbor or finance terrorists or terrorist organizations are belied by recent events. In an arrest weeks ago in Jerusalem, Israeli security forces uncovered a Hamas operation with direct links to Saudi Arabia. Officials apprehended senior Hamas operative Ya'akub Abu Assab, of the Jerusalem neighborhood of Souana, after raids on suspected Hamas offices. Through the course of interrogation, Israeli officials discovered that Assab was not only the top Hamas official in Jerusalem, but that he also acted as a liaison between Hamas offices in Jerusalem and in Saudi Arabia. According to Israeli officials, Assab was in frequent contact with the Saudi offices via the Internet. Assab, who traveled freely with an Israeli ID, is said to have received hundreds of thousands of dollars from the Hamas offices in Saudi Arabia, as well as instruction for Hamas operations. The officials noted that the money was transferred from Saudi Arabia through couriers and moneychangers and was used to support the families of Palestinian suicide bombers as well as to assist in the funding of operations.²⁹ As Matthew Levitt recently observed, although Hamas maintains official offices in Syria, Iran, Yemen, and Sudan, this is the first indication of a formal office within the Saudi Kingdom.³⁰

Saudi Arabian Support for Palestinian Terrorists: A History

Saudi Arabia has funneled money to Palestinian terrorist groups through terror-linked charities and committees for a number of years. At the onset of the second intifada beginning in October 2000, the Saudi government set up two committees to solicit money for the Palestinians: the Saudi Popular Committee for Assisting the Palestinian Muhajideen and the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada. The Saudi Popular Committee for Assisting the Palestinian Mujahideen gave to the PLO, while the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada gave to the Palestinian Authority.³¹ While both supplied significant support, it was the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada, headed by Saudi Prince Nayef bin Abd Al-Aziz, which "served as the main conduit for Saudi financial and material aid to the Palestinian territories since its establishment under Royal Decree 8636 on October 16, 2000."³²

Purporting to use the funds for humanitarian aid, the Saudi decree required the large banks in the country to set up unified accounts for the fund raising proceeds through the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada. Each of the new accounts set up at the bank would be known as "Account 98."³³ From their inception, these accounts

²⁹ Etgar Lefkovitz, "J'lem-based Saudi Hamas Liaison Nabbed," *Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 27, 2005.

³⁰ Matthew Levitt, "A Hamas Headquarters in Saudi Arabia?," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, Sept. 28, 2005, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=2378>. Accessed Oct. 19, 2005.

³¹ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pgs. 9-10.

³² Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pgs. 9-10.

³³ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pg. 11.

proved to be highly successful in raising money. The 2004 *Almog* civil lawsuit against the Arab Bank alleges that 150,000,000 Saudi riyals (\$40 million US) were deposited into these accounts in the first month in Riyadh alone.³⁴ In April of 2002, Saudi television aired a state-run telethon encouraging donors to raise money for the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada. The telethon reportedly raised over \$109 million dollars.³⁵ By December 2003, the Saudi Embassy reported that the total value of "services" handed to the Committee stood at \$194,123,924.³⁶

In April 2002, Israelis first discovered the link between the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada and Palestinian terrorist groups. As part of Operation Defensive Shield, Israel forces raided the Tulkarem Charitable Committee -- long one of Hamas' well-known civilian institutions.³⁷ Among the documents confiscated from the raid, Israeli officials discovered on a computer a spreadsheet from the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada, giving a detailed account to how the Tulkarem Committee received \$545,000 from the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada to allocate to 102 families of so-called martyrs --roughly \$5300 per family. The spreadsheet included the names of eight suicide bombers.³⁸

In May 2002, "Israel released a report that alleged the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada had transferred large sums of money to families of Palestinians who died in violent events, including notorious terrorists."³⁹ Saudi officials retorted that the Israeli accusations were "baseless and false."⁴⁰ Executive Chairman to the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada, Dr. Sa'id Al Urabi Al Harithi, claimed that the Committee had "nothing to do with terrorism."⁴¹

A report in the *New York Times*, quoting senior law enforcement individuals, stated that U.S. Treasury and other federal agencies officials began pressing for the Saudi government to monitor more closely the actions of the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada out of concern that American banks might be a terrorist conduit for money. This response drew immediate ire from the Saudi government. Nail al Jubeir, spokesman for the Saudi Embassy in Washington, DC, responded that the money did not go to terrorists, because it was monitored by international organizations such as the Red

³⁴ *Almog et al. v. Arab Bank*, No. 04 5564, *Civil Complaint*, (E.D.N.Y. filed Dec. 21, 2004), pg. 97.

³⁵ "Telethon for Palestinian Victims Highly Successful", *Royal Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, April 14, 2002. See <http://www.saudiembassy.net/2002News/News/ForDetail.asp?cIndex=1132>. Accessed on Oct. 21, 2005.

³⁶ "Humanitarian Relief Handed Over to Palestinian Officials in Kingdom," *Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia*, December 31, 2003. See <http://www.saudiembassy.net/2003News/News/AraDetail.asp?cIndex=1189> (accessed on Oct. 21, 2005).

³⁷ Matthew Levitt, "Who Pays for Palestinian Terror?," *The Weekly Standard*, August 25, 2005.

³⁸ Robert Lenzer, "Terror Inc." *Forbes*, October 18, 2004.

³⁹ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues." *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pgs. 12-13.

⁴⁰ Ben Barber, "Saudi Millions Finance Terror Against Israel," *The Washington Times*, May 7, 2002.

⁴¹ [FBIS Translation GMP20020419000070] April 19, 2002 as cited in Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, Mar. 1, 2005, pg. 13.

Cross, the United Nations and the Palestinian Authority. He deemed the investigation a “cheap shot.”⁴²

Following the discovery that the Arab Bank’s New York branch may have been involved in suspicious activity, families of the victims of terrorist attacks filed two civil lawsuits against the bank. The 2004 *Almog* lawsuit alleged that the Saudis established the Account 98 at a number of commercial banks in Saudi Arabia including: Saudi-American Bank, the Saudi-British Bank, the Saudi-Dutch Bank, Saudi-French Bank, National Commercial Bank, and the Arab National Bank.⁴³ The lawsuit went on to contend that the banks collected donations from willing donors. Once the donations were collected, the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada, opened up bank accounts of those they considered “beneficiaries,” and deposited the donations into their accounts. In turn, because the donations could not easily be converted to Israeli currency, the Arab Bank instead diverted the funds to its New York branch to be converted to US dollars.⁴⁴

Since its inception, the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada has not hidden its support for suicide bombers and other so-called “martyrs.” In a list posted on the Committee’s website of 1,300 names of individuals considered “beneficiaries,” “over 60 match or closely resemble the names of known Palestinian militants, who carried out attacks on Israeli personnel and civilians,” including those of suicide bombers.⁴⁵

According to the March 2005 Congressional Research Service (“CRS”) Report on Saudi Arabia’s ties to terror financing, the following names listed on the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada website corresponded to those suspected of being suicide bombers:

- * **Said Hassan Hussein Hotari**--identified as suicide bomber in June 1, 2001, attack on Dolphinarium nightclub in Tel Aviv. Hamas claimed responsibility.
- * **Izzedin Shahil Ahmed Masri**--identified as suicide bomber in August 9, 2001 attack on Sbarro pizza restaurant in Jerusalem. Hamas claimed responsibility.
- * **Maher Muhiaddin Kamel Habeishi**--identified as suicide bomber in December 2, 2001 attack on Haifa bus. Hamas claimed responsibility.
- * **Wa'fa AH Khalil Idris**--female, identified as suicide bomber in January 27, 2002 street attack in Jerusalem. The Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade claimed responsibility.

⁴² Timothy O’Brien, “US Presses Saudis to Police Accounts Used to Aid Palestinians,” *The New York Times*, June 24, 2003.

⁴³ *Almog et al. v. Arab Bank*, No. 04 5564, *Civil Complaint*, (E.D.N.Y. filed Dec. 21, 2004), pg. 102.

⁴⁴ *Almog et al. v. Arab Bank*, No. 04 5564, *Civil Complaint*, (E.D.N.Y. filed Dec. 21, 2004), pg. 104. See also *Little et al. v. Arab Bank*, No. 04 5449, *Civil Complaint*, (E.D.N.Y. filed Dec. 15, 2005), pg. 51.

⁴⁵ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, “Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues,” *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pg. 14.

- * **Mohammed Ahmed Abdel-Rahman Daraghme**h--identified as suicide bomber in March 2, 2002 attack on Orthodox Jewish neighborhood in Jerusalem. The Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade claimed responsibility.⁴⁶

The fact that the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada was openly supportive of suicide bombers was further underscored when the Committee's Executive Manager Mubarak Al-Biker stated in 2002, "[w]e support the families of Palestinian martyrs, without differentiating between whether the Palestinian was a bomber or was killed by Israeli troops."⁴⁷

And despite the Saudis' claim of shutting down terror financing, the Saudi government, since the exposure of the Saudi Committee for Support of the Al Quds Intifada links to Hamas, has made only relatively minor changes to prevent charitable donations from falling into the hands of terrorists. In an effort to polish its image in the West, the Saudis changed the name of the Saudi Committee for the Support of the Al Quds Intifada to the Saudi Committee for the Relief of the Palestinian People. In 2002 the Saudi government announced the creation of the High Commission for Oversight of Charities to assist charities in their transparency.⁴⁸ In 2003, the Saudi government introduced new banking regulations that prohibit private charities and relief groups from sending money overseas until further inspection has shown that the money was not going to aid terrorist organizations.⁴⁹ And in 2004, the Saudis belatedly established the Saudi Nongovernmental Commission on Relief and Charity Work abroad, through which all future private donations would flow. Yet, as of March 2005, according to the 2005 CRS Report, the new Commission "was not operational."⁵⁰

Saudi Arabia: Still Financing Terror?

Therefore, despite these new mechanisms, it appears that Saudi actions to combat terror financing need improvement. The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), recently reported that Saudi Iqra TV aired a program on August 29, 2005 in which its hosts encouraged viewers to support "jihad" and to donate money to the Palestinian cause.⁵¹ Claiming that "jihad is the pinnacle of Islam", Secretary General of the Saudi

⁴⁶ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pgs. 14-15.

⁴⁷ Raid Qusti, "Saudi Telethon Funds Go Direct To Palestinian Victims," *Arab News*, May 27, 2002.

⁴⁸ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues", *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pg. 17.

⁴⁹ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues", *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pg. 17.

⁵⁰ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues", *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005, pg. 18.

⁵¹ "Saudi Government Official on Iqra TV: All Muslims must Support Jihad- Send Money to the Saudi Committee for Support of the Al Quds Intifada, Account No. 98," *The Middle East Media Research Institute*, Sept. 21, 2005.

<http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=saudiArabia&ID=SP99005>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

government's Muslim World League Koran Memorization Commission, Sheikh Abdallah Basfar, implored those who watched to donate money the Palestinians:

Allah tempts you. If you give money, you'll be rewarded. But he threatens you that if you don't give money, and you are stingy in spending your money for the sake of Allah, you should expect punishment from Allah, because Jihad is the protection of land and honor. It's a most important thing. When you repel evil from your brothers in Palestine, you repel it from yourself and from your country, your family, your daughters, and your sons. Don't think you are only protecting them – you are also protecting yourself. Furthermore, Allah is trying you with this money. Allah is testing you to see whether you spend this money for His sake. Hence, he who refrains from fighting and from donating money for the sake of Allah, Allah inflicts disaster or catastrophe upon him before Judgment Day.⁵²

During the program a caption on the screen directed donors to send money, not to the renamed Saudi Committee for the Relief of the Palestinian People, but to the Saudi Committee for Support of the Al Quds Intifada (Intifada Committee) and Account 98.⁵³

Saudi Websites Promoting Extremism

Like the incendiary sermons televised on Saudi Arabian television, there are Saudi government websites that continue to espouse extremist statements. The website www.al-islam.com which is the official website of the Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance, is one such website.

The following hadith (a narration about the life of the Prophet Muhammad) is found on www.al-islam.com: "The Prophet said, 'By Him in Whose Hands my life is! I would love to fight in Allah's cause and get killed then get resurrected and then get killed, and then get resurrected again and then get killed.'" ⁵⁴ This hadith is often used by the Al-Qaeda leader in Iraq, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi to encourage Muslims to join the jihad.

The following hadiths, featured on the Saudi Ministry website, discuss the day of resurrection and the obligation of Muslims:

⁵² "Saudi Government Official on Iqra TV: All Muslims must Support Jihad- Send Money to the Saudi Committee for Support of the Al Quds Intifada, Account No. 98," *The Middle East Media Research Institute*, Sept. 21, 2005. <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=saudiArabia&ID=SP99005>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

⁵³ "Saudi Government Official on Iqra TV: All Muslims must Support Jihad- Send Money to the Saudi Committee for Support of the Al Quds Intifada, Account No. 98," *The Middle East Media Research Institute*, Sept. 21, 2005. <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=saudiArabia&ID=SP99005>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

⁵⁴ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance Website <http://hadith.al-islam.com/display/display.asp?Doc=0&Rec=10755>. Accessed Oct. 20, 2005.

Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hands my soul is! Whoever is wounded in Allah's Cause...and Allah knows well who gets wounded in His Cause...will come on the Day of Resurrection with his wound having the color of blood but the scent of musk." ⁵⁵

Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "The Hour will not be established until you fight with the Jews, and the stone behind which a Jew will be hiding will say, 'O Muslim! There is a Jew hiding behind me, so kill him.'" ⁵⁶

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar: Allah's Apostle said, "You [Muslims] will fight with the Jews until some of them will hide behind stones. The stones will [betray them] saying, 'O Abdullah [slave of Allah]! There is a Jew hiding behind me; so kill him.'" ⁵⁷

Although the website offers *hadiths* on a variety of different subjects, not all referring specifically to the jihad, it is clear that these statements praise and encourage the jihad, for example:

I heard Allah's Apostle saying, The example of a Mujahid in Allah's Cause -- and Allah knows better who really strives in His Cause -- is like a person who fasts and prays continuously. Allah guarantees that He will admit the Mujahid in His Cause into Paradise if he is killed, otherwise He will return him to his home safely with rewards and war booty. ⁵⁸

In addition to posting religiously incendiary material, the website of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance has a link to the website of Sheikh Abduraziz Bin Baz, the late Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia. Bin Baz was the chief sanctioned voice of the Saudi kingdom. Though Bin Baz was attacked by the most stringent of Salafi Muslim radicals as a munifiq (traitor) for his cooperation with the Saudi royal family, Bin Baz himself has backed militant confrontations with the West. In his book *The Ideological Attack*, he repeatedly claims that there is a Zionist and "Christian crusader" plot against Islam. Bin Baz had appeared repeatedly as a guest for the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO). He has also had contacts with various prominent members of Al Qaeda including Hassan Al Suraihi, who fought alongside Bin Laden in Afghanistan.

⁵⁵ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance Website <http://hadith.al-islam.com/Display/Display.asp?Doc=0&Rec=4415>. Accessed Oct. 20, 2005.

⁵⁶ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance Website <http://hadith.al-islam.com/Display/Display.asp?Doc=0&Rec=4614>. Accessed Oct. 20, 2005.

⁵⁷ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance Website <http://hadith.al-islam.com/Display/Display.asp?Doc=0&Rec=4613>. Accessed Oct. 20, 2005.

⁵⁸ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance Website <http://hadith.al-islam.com/Display/Display.asp?Doc=0&Rec=4393>. Accessed Oct. 20, 2005.

The English version of the website, http://www.binbaz.org.sa/aboutus_eng.asp, features an "about us" section which claims that one of its purposes is:

Keeping in touch with Muslims and non-Muslims through Sheikh ibn Baz's approach in all parts of the world, and to demonstrate the humanitarian aspect of the Islamic faith and its address to all mankind. That will only be possible by the reinforcement of the approach of tolerance and moderation called for by Sheikh ibn Baz during his life or via his books and lectures after his death.⁵⁹

And yet, despite the message of "tolerance and moderation" in English, the Arabic site of binbaz.org continues to post an article entitled, "What is meant by Jihad?," wherein Bin Baz states:

It was proven that the prophet -- peace and blessings of Allah be upon him -- collected the Jizya [tax] from the Magi of Hajr, so these three kinds of Kufar [Infidels], the Jews, Christians and the Magi, it was written that they should pay Jizya, It is a duty that Jihad should be waged against them and that they be fought when there is a capability until they convert to Islam or pay the Jizya with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued, as for others ; it's a duty -- according to the scholars -- to fight them until they convert because the prophet -- peace and blessings of Allah be upon him -- fought the Arabs until they converted in multitudes to the religion of Allah and they were not asked to pay Jizya.⁶⁰

Similarly, in a section on the website called "Articles and Fatwas," this Bin Baz writing is posted:

Jihad in Allah's cause is among the best offerings, and the great obedience, indeed it is the best offering by the givers and what to competitors (to satisfy Allah) competed to do after the (religious) duties. That's only because it results in the victory of the believers, the lifting of the faith higher, the suppression of the infidels and the hypocrites and the facilitation of spreading Islam among people of the universe.⁶¹

One final example of Bin Baz's views on Christians and Jews featured on the Arabic binbaz.org website comes from his article, "Warning Against the Schemes of the Enemies," in which he states:

⁵⁹ Website of Sheikh Abdul Bin Baz (English). http://72.14.207.104/search?q=cache:Y-rbgt9ijX4J:www.binbaz.org.sa/aboutus_eng.asp+Keeping+in+touch+with+Muslims+and+non-Muslims&hl=en. Accessed November 3, 2005.

⁶⁰ Website of Sheikh Abdul Bin Baz. (Arabic). "What is Meant by Jihad?." <http://www.binbaz.org.sa/Display.asp?f=Bz00343.htm>. Accessed October 20, 2005.

⁶¹ Website of Sheikh Abdul Bin Baz. (Arabic). "Virtues of Jihad and the Mujahidin." <http://www.binbaz.org.sa/Display.asp?f=Bz00341.htm>. Accessed October 20, 2005.

Allah has foretold us about it in His glorious book when He said 'Nor will they cease fighting you until they turn you back from your faith if they can.' The Almighty also said 'Never will the Jews or the Christians be satisfied with thee unless thou follow their form of religion.'⁶²

The World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), its History of Radicalism, Summer Camps and a New Lobby

WAMY is heavily supported by the Saudi Government.⁶³ Its Washington, D.C. office was once headed by Osama bin Laden's nephew, Abdullah Bin Laden.⁶⁴ When Ahmad Ajaj was arrested in 1992 while trying to enter the U.S. with Ramzi Yousef, investigators found among Ajaj's belongings a WAMY envelope with the organization's Saudi Arabia address.⁶⁵ The envelope contained a manual entitled "Military Lessons in the Jihad against the Tyrants." Both Yousef and Ajaj were later convicted for their roles in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.

In addition, WAMY has actively promoted religious hatred through the publication of such books as *Islamic Views*, printed in Arabic by the Armed Forces Printing Press of the Saudi Government. *Islamic Views* teaches that Islam "is a religion of *Jihad*" and that *Jihad* "was an answer for the Jews, the liars." *Islamic Views* also advises Muslims to [t]each our children to love taking revenge on the Jews and the oppressors, and teach them that our youngsters will liberate Palestine and Al Quds when they go back to Islam and make *Jihad* for the sake of Allah. Although this publication still circulates in the United States and in the United Kingdom, there is no evidence that it has been republished by WAMY or the Saudi government.

In October 2005, Saleh Wohaibi, Secretary General of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), complained that "WAMY and other charitable organizations suffered a loss of image as they were linked to terrorism by the Western, more specifically, the American media."⁶⁸ It is no small irony that he complained that WAMY summer camps will suffer due to loss in revenue. According to the Kingdom's *Arab News*, Wohaibi said

⁶² Website of Sheikh Abdul Bin Baz. (Arabic). "Warning Against the Schemes of the Enemies." <http://www.binbaz.org.sa/Display.asp?f=3201112.htm>. Accessed October 20, 2005.

⁶³ "WAMY team in Afghanistan risks life to deliver aid," *Saudi Gazette*, Interview with Dr Abdul Wahab A. Noorwali, Assistant Secretary General of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), in Jeddah, November 20, 2001:

"Saudi Arabia's support has been enormous since the establishment of WAMY in 1963. The Kingdom provides us with a supportive environment that allows us to work openly within the society to collect funds and spread activities. It also provides us with protection abroad through Saudi embassies and consulates, in addition to financial support."

⁶⁴ "Islamic Charity Committee Moves to New Premises," *Arab News*, May 1994; see also IRS Form 990 for the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) submitted for fiscal years 1993-1999.

⁶⁵ The 48-page manual was Government Exhibit No. GX 2800-A S5 93 CR 180 in *United States v. Salameh*, (S5) 93-cr-180.

⁶⁶ *Islamic Views*, Saudi Armed Forces Printing Press, 13th Edition, Circa 1991.

⁶⁷ *Islamic Views*, Saudi Armed Forces Printing Press, 13th Edition, Circa 1991.

⁶⁸ Hassan, Javid. "Fund-raising Curbs Force WAMY to Scale Down Activities." *Arab News*, October 16, 2005.

“the best way to wean youth away from undesirable activities was to install sound values based on Islamic teachings. ‘That’s what the summer camps were about...’”⁶⁹

WAMY did indeed run summer camps that Wohaibi laments as a loss. The following is an excerpt from an officially sanctioned song to be performed by campers, as printed in an English-language WAMY camp training manual:

Youth of [Islam] are the guided youth. Come! Come to a final decision: The Prophet has called out and so has the Qur’an. So blessed is the servant who responds when he is called... Bring back the glory to its lions, and restore the zeal to its soldiers. Flatten evil in its cradle, and unsheath the swords... Hail! Hail! O sacrificing soldiers! To us! To us! So we may defend the flag. On this Day of Jihad, are you miserly with your blood?!”⁷⁰

A WAMY camp in Florida was graced by the presence of Suleman Ahmer, the former operations manager in the United States of Benevolence International Foundation (BIF). The U.S. government shut down BIF for financially supporting Al Qaeda in December 2001.⁷¹ Ahmer was an unabashed supporter of cooperation with radical Islamic movements around the world. In an October 1997 letter to Arnaout, Ahmer expressed surprise that the organization would even claim to sponsor relief activities: “[W]e have never worked in the countries which are affected by natural disasters and... we may never work in this area. But somehow in so many of our publications we have that BIF works in areas affected by wars and natural disasters. I wonder where it came from and so on.”⁷² Ahmer managed to convince Arnaout and the other BIF administrators to create two mission statements, one detailing supposed relief work for public consumption and one an internal document emphasizing “making Islam supreme” for the benefit of the fundamentalist board members.

In a lecture given on July 26, 1996 at a WAMY camp in Okeechobee, Florida, Ahmer told the campers:

...[T]he Bosnians were well away from Islam... They couldn’t even say the word “jihad.” They used to call “mujahedin,” “muhajedin.” It took them many months to learn the right word.”⁷³

⁶⁹ Hassan, Javid. “Fund-raising Curbs Force WAMY to Scale Down Activities.” *Arab News*, October 16, 2005.

⁷⁰ “Islamic Camps Objectives, Program Outlines, Preparatory Steps.” World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY); Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Prepared by the Camps & Conference Unit of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth 1987. Translated (with additions) by Abu-Bakr M. Asmal 1990. Obtained at the WAMY Western Europe Office; 46 Goodge Street; London, UK.

⁷¹ “Treasury Designates Benevolence International Foundation and Related Entities as Financiers of Terrorism, November 19, 2002. <http://treas.gov/press/releases/po3632.htm>. Accessed Nov. 3, 2005.

⁷² “Government’s Evidentiary Proffer Supporting the Admissibility of Co-Conspirator Statements.” *United States of America v. Enaam M. Arnaout*. U.S. District Court, N.D.Ill., Eastern Division. Case #: 02 CR 892. January 31, 2003. Pgs. 50-52.

⁷³ “Jihad, The Misunderstood Word.” Lecture by Suleman Ahmer at the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) Okeechobee Summer Da’wah Camp. July 26, 1996. Videotape obtained from the Meccacentric Da’wah Group.

But, Ahmer insisted that the effort was not made in vain; after witnessing the fearlessness of the foreign mujahideen battalion loyal to Al-Qaida, the Bosnians responded, "if this really, if this is what Islam teaches you, we are fools if we don't practice Islam."⁷⁴

According to Wohaibi, WAMY camps are among the programs affected by the reported 20 percent drop in revenue. "Now with nothing much to keep them usefully occupied, they spend the whole day sleeping at home during the summer vacation. And when they get up, they drive off to spend the night in the desert."⁷⁵

In response to the disclosures of WAMY support for extremism, al-Wohaibi continues to blame the media. "This kind of hostile campaign is still going on in the American media. We are conducting a public relations campaign through the U.S. media. With the help of some Saudi organizations we have established Friends of Charity Association (FOCA), which is a lobbying group in Washington. It's doing a good job in trying to reach out to government officials, congressmen and the media as part of our effort to explain our activities and remove misconceptions."⁷⁶

Yet sophisticated lobbying and public relations blitzes aside, the agenda of these groups remains the same today as it was years ago. In May 2004 the *New York Times* published a story on the question of reform in Saudi Arabia which discussed how "[t]he religious establishment feels it already lost one round this academic year when the lesson directing Muslims to shun non-Muslims was removed from religious textbooks. Some Saudis wanted it deleted because the principle was used to justify terrorist attacks, but conservative clerics depicted the change as the first step by the West in dismantling the country's religion through the education system.

"Saying that the Jews and the Christians are infidels is part of our religious dogma," said Saleh S. al-Wohaibi, the American-educated secretary general of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth. Any changes in the way it is taught should be decided by Saudis, he said, adding, "It doesn't mean we try to incite hatred against others, but my religion has its own principles that should not be violated or changed."⁷⁷

FOCA, headquartered in Washington D.C., is comprised of the Muslim World League (MWL) the International Islamic Relief Organization, (IIRO), World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), the Al-Haramain Islamic Foundation, Al Muntada and Makkah

⁷⁴ "Jihad: The Misunderstood Word." Lecture by Suleman Ahmer at the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) Okeechobee Summer Da'wah Camp. July 26, 1996. Videotape obtained from the Meccacentric Da'wah Group. See the advertisement for this talk at <http://www.meccacentric.com/012.html>.

⁷⁵ Hassan, Javid, "Fundraising Curbs Force WAMY to Scale Down Activities," *Arab News*, October 16, 2005.

⁷⁶ Hassan, Javid, "Fundraising Curbs Force WAMY to Scale Down Activities," *Arab News*, October 16, 2005.

⁷⁷ MacFarquhar, Neil, "Saudis Uneasy Balance Desires for Change and Stability," *New York Times*, May 4, 2004.

Al-Mukarama Charity Foundation.⁷⁸ In a most telling move, when Al-Haramain was ordered shut down by Saudi Arabia, FOCA held a press conference at WAMY headquarters to attack the decision.

Saudi Clerical Intolerance and Support for Jihad

On November 5, 2004, a fatwa called an "Open Sermon to the Militant Iraqi People" was delivered at Friday prayers. The fatwa was signed by 26 Saudi clerics including Dr. Sheikh Mahdi Mohammad Rashad Al Hakmi "who described himself, in a 2002 petition he also signed as a regional director for WAMY in the Saudi province of Jazan."⁷⁹ Excerpts from the fatwa state:

Without a doubt, fighting the occupiers is a duty of [all] who [are] able. It is a "defense jihad," and it comes under the law of rebutting the aggressor. It does not require a jihad of initiative or demand. It [defense jihad] does not require leadership but is employed as much as possible, as God said: "Be as pious as much as you can...."

We call on our Muslim brothers in the world to stand by their brothers in Iraq with sincere prayers and support as much as possible...⁸⁰

Signed by prominent and influential Sunni clerics like Sheikh Salman Al Awda, Sheikh Awadh Al Qarni, and Sheikh Hatem Al Ooni, the fatwa, as noted by MEMRI, was widely regarded as a call to all Muslims to go to Iraq and fight the U.S. troops and their allies. Young men from Saudi responded in large numbers by going to Iraq to fight.

A review of Saudi newspapers, websites, sermons and broadcasts show that Saudi clerics continue to preach incitement, hatred, and jihad. (In this critical effort, MEMRI has been instrumental and pivotal in translating materials from Saudi Arabia in addition to its translation and analysis of the Arab and Muslim media and websites.) Recurrent themes have included the need to fight the conspiratorial efforts of Christians and Jews, raging anti-Americanism and theological anti-Semitism, support for violent jihad, incitement against U.S. troops in Iraq, and the mandated Islamic conquest of the world.

Sheikh Abd Al-Rahman Al-Sudayyis, the Saudi government appointed imam of the Grand Mosque of Mecca, has called Jews "scum of the earth" and "monkeys and pigs" who should be "annihilated." Similarly, he referred to other enemies of Islam as "worshippers of the cross" and "idol worshipping Hindus."⁸¹ As MEMRI's Steven Stalinsky noted in *The New York Sun*, in a sermon on February 1, 2004, at the Grand

⁷⁸ <http://web.archive.org/web/20051023014615/http://www.foca.net/Members.stm>

⁷⁹ Braude, Joseph, "Something's Gotta Give," *TVR Online*, Dec. 03, 2004. See Appendix to this testimony.

⁸⁰ The Fatwa of the 26 Clerics, "Open Sermon to the Militant Iraqi People," included in materials from a PBS *Frontline* report, "House of Saud," <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saud/etc/fatwa.html>.

⁸¹ Stalinsky, Steven, "MEMRI Report: Top Saudi Cleric to Spread Hate Doctrine in Canada," *The New York Sun*, May 12, 2004. <http://memri.org/bin/media.cgi?ID=85004> (accessed Oct. 21, 2005).

Mosque in Mecca, Al-Sudayyis called on Muslims worldwide “to defeat all their occupiers and oppressors”:

They [the Jews] are killers of prophets and the scum of the earth. Allah hurled his curses and indignation on them and made them monkeys and pigs and worshippers of tyrants. These are the Jews, a continuous lineage of meanness, cunning, obstinacy, tyranny, evil, and corruption...⁸²

In another sermon broadcast on Saudi TV Channel 1 on April 2, 2004, Al-Sudayyis discussed Jewish history and the modern Jihad. The following are excerpts from the discourse:

The history of the [Jewish] people is written in black ink, and has included a series of murders of the prophets, the *Mujaheedin*, and righteous people. This although the book descended upon Moses is all mercy. Allah has said: “And is preceded by the Book of Moses which has a guide and a mercy for people before him...” So where is this mercy in all barbarity, devoid of moral and human values? But maybe it is the beginning of their end.

Oh Brothers in the land of missions and the cradle of valor, Oh Sons of brave *Mujaheedin*, Oh descendents of conquering heroes... You have revived the hopes of this nation through your blessed *Jihad*. By Allah, be patient until, with Allah’s help, one of two good things will be awarded you: either victory or martyrdom. Our hearts are with you; our prayers are dedicated to you. The Islamic nation will not spare money or effort in support of your cause, which is the supreme Muslim cause, until the promise made by Allah, who never breaks a promise, is fulfilled.⁸³

Al-Sudayyis continued his virulent ranting in his July 15, 2005 sermon:

“Oh Allah, liberate our Al-Aqsa Mosque from the defilement of the occupying and brutal Zionists... Oh Allah, punish the occupying Zionists and their supporters from among the corrupt infidels. Oh Allah, scatter and disperse them, and make an example of them for those who take heed.”⁸⁴

⁸² Stalinsky, Steven. “MEMRI Report: Top Saudi Cleric to Spread Hate Doctrine in Canada,” *The New York Sun*, May 12, 2004. <http://memri.org/bin/media.cgi?ID=85004>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

⁸³ “Arab and Iranian TV Clips in Support of Suicide Bombing,” MEMRI Special Report, No. 32, September 1, 2004. <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sr&ID=SR3204>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

⁸⁴ MEMRI Special Dispatch No. 935, “Friday Sermon By Leading Saudi Imam Al-Sudayyis in Mecca: ‘Oh Allah, Liberate Our Al-Aqsa Mosque... Punish the Occupying Zionists and Their Supporters Among The Corrupt Infidels... Oh Allah, Scatter and Disperse Them.’” July 21, 2005. <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=saudiArabia&ID=SP93905>. Accessed Oct. 22, 2005.

Supporting the Iraqi Insurgency

This concept was clearly stated regarding the war in Iraq. As first reported by MEMRI, on November 5, 2004, a communiqué was signed by 26 Saudi clerics, several of whom held positions as lecturers of Islamic studies at different government supported universities and colleges in Saudi Arabia. Because of the prominent standing of the signatories within the Islamic community, the communiqué was broadly viewed as a *fatwa* (religious ruling). The communiqué supporting the resistance against coalition forces in Iraq as an Islamic duty, posted on <http://www.islamtoday.net>, includes this language:

There is no doubt that the *Jihad* against the occupiers is an obligation upon any able person. This is a type of *Jihad* whose aim is to repel the aggressor, and it is not bound by the conditions that hold for an intentional *Jihad*; thus there is no need for a supreme leadership [i.e., a Caliph who would declare *Jihad*], but rather the matter is undertaken according to [each Muslim's] ability ... these occupiers are undoubtedly military aggressors, and there is a legal consensus concerning [the obligation] to fight them so that they will leave in humiliation, Allah willing. In addition, worldly law also recognizes a people's right to resistance.... It is forbidden for any Muslim to offer any help whatsoever to the occupying soldiers' military operations, since this is aiding crime and aggression...⁸⁵

Despite claims by its defenders that the communiqué was aimed primarily at Iraqis, there were reports of young Muslim men from across the Islamic world that understood it to mean a call to wage Jihad in Iraq and traveled to the country for that purpose. For example, Abd Al-Rahim bin Muhammad bin 'Abdallah Al-Muteiri, a terrorist from Al-Ahsaa in Saudi Arabia captured in Iraq, said during his interrogation on the Iraqi TV channel Al-Iraqiya on March 31, 2005: "I hadn't thought of coming to Iraq, but I had *fatwa* (calling for *Jihad*)... I read the communiqué of the 26 clerics..."⁸⁶

On Saudi TV Channel 1 in response to a question as to whether it is acceptable to pray for the annihilation of Jews and Christians, Sheikh Ahmad bin Abd Al-Latif, a professor at the Saudi Um Al-Qura University, said: "Cursing the oppressing Jews and the oppressing and plundering Christians and the prayer that Allah will annihilate them is permitted."⁸⁷

⁸⁵ "Reactions and Counter-Reactions to the Saudi Clerics' Communique Calling for Jihad in Iraq," MEMRI Special Dispatch Series, No. 896, April 21, 2005.

<http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP89605>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

⁸⁶ Al-Iraqiya TV (Iraq), March 31, 2005. <http://memritv.org/Transcript.asp?P1=629>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2005.

⁸⁷ "Arab TV Discusses Terrorism in Saudi Arabia," MEMRI Special Report, No. 752, July 23, 2004. <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP75204>. Accessed Oct. 21, 2004.

Conclusion: Friend or Foe?

The attacks of 9-11 made clear that the problem of Saudi sponsored extremism could not be considered a domestic Saudi problem any longer. In the United States, the repercussions of the export of militant Islam could be seen in the radical Islamic charities and entities operating under false cover. For decades prior to 9-11, Saudi finances, ideology and books poured into the United States without any scrutiny, leading to the creation of radical Islamic organizations, charities, centers, prison groups and schools in the United States. By 2005, however, the overt Saudi fingerprints had dissipated, but the damage had already been done. Radical Islamic organizations have tried to disguise themselves as "mainstream." Borrowing a page from their radical religious patrons who portray themselves as the "victims" of an American "war against Islam," Islamic groups here in the United States have routinely issued the same allegation in trying to intimidate critics of militant Islam here in the United States. And nowhere was this more clearly seen than following the release of the Freedom House report, which various Islamic leaders and groups contended was an "attack on Islam" or that it would result in "hate crimes" against American Muslims. The attack on Freedom House was led by groups like CAIR (the Council on American Islamic Relations) which itself has been the long time beneficiary of Saudi-generated funds as well as the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), also a beneficiary. (See Appendix attached to testimony on CAIR statements and CAIR's Saudi funding.) Similar language is used in attempts by these and other American based apologists and propagandists to intimidate those interested in frank discussion of militant Islam in American media and academe.

The biggest question mark for policymakers in determining policy towards Saudi Arabia is how to come up with metrics for determining Saudi compliance with anti-terror initiatives, especially those agreed to or announced by Saudi officials. Too often however, in an effort to assuage Saudi feelings, the U.S. government has tiptoed around the issue of confronting the Saudis about the discrepancies between their representations to American officials and what they actually are doing. Sometimes, US government officials have actually legitimized radical Saudi organizations. For example, in 2004, the US Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, James Oberwetter, attended the 2nd annual Iftar dinner hosted by WAMY in Riyadh, a fact that WAMY proudly displayed in a photo and story on its website.⁸⁸

As noted earlier, the Government Accountability Office ("GAO") issued an important report ("Information on US Agencies' Efforts to Address Islamic Extremism") in

⁸⁸ "Next to a delicious Ramadan Iftar, and among a large number of ambassadors, diplomats and scholars, and businessmen, WAMY celebrated along with its guests the 2nd annual Iftar dinner for diplomats and businessmen. The American Ambassador Huberwaller *[sic]* was among the people who were most amazed by the ceremony and its professionalism. He was amazed also by the Ramadan Iftar and the information that was given during the ceremony and the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims that was based on mutual respect and affection. He and General Secretary of WAMY Dr. Salah Bin Suliaman al-Woheibi had a friendly conversation." WAMY web archive, "Fifty Ambassadors and Diplomats attending the 2nd annual Iftar Dinner for WAMY in Riyadh," http://web.archive.org/web/20041028034843/www.wamy.org/Final1/wamy_project_9548/wamy/News/display.asp. Accessed October 21, 2005. Translated from Arabic.

September 2005 that dealt with the problems encountered in identifying, monitoring and combating the spread of Islamic extremism.⁸⁹ The report reached some startling conclusions regarding the shortfalls in U.S. intelligence about the follow-through by Saudi Arabia in enacting its anti-terror declarations.

Among the conclusions reached by GAO were the following:

- The U.S. does not know whether Saudi Arabia has followed through on its promise to revise its educational curricula to ensure that they do not propagate extremism.
- The U.S. does not know whether Saudi Arabia has implemented its plans to close the Al-Haramain Foundation.
- The U.S. does know the extent of "Saudi efforts to limit the activities of Saudi sources" that have promoted extremism abroad.

Earlier this year, the CRS issued a report titled, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues."⁹⁰ According to that March 1 report, the counter-terrorist banking regulations introduced by the Saudi government in May 2003 do not include oversight over "multilateral" charitable organizations based in Saudi Arabia such as the Muslim World League, the International Islamic Relief Organization and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth.

But in the end, in order for the U.S. to make an informed set of policy decisions, it is imperative that we not fool ourselves as to the degree to which Saudi Arabia is tethered to radical doctrine.

It might be argued that Saudi Arabia, given its Wahabist roots, is incapable of changing a national identity so rooted in a radical Islamic tradition. *The regime therefore is a contradiction, trying to balance its role as a responsible financial superpower and modern state with its Wahabist self-defining historical and religious legacy.* To be sure, the regime will seek to placate the United States and lessen the build-up of outside pressure by periodically announcing an anti-terror initiative. But these external pressures have to be and remain very firm and clear if they are to counterbalance the pressures either in favor of radicalism, or at least of those elements who wish to seek an accommodation with it.

In the end, the very question at the core of this hearing—whether Saudi Arabia is a friend or foe—highlights the fact that Saudi Arabia essentially has tried to be on both sides of the fence. In its economic-industrial relationship with the West, primarily expressed through oil production and investment, the regime wants to project itself as an ally of the United States. But in its political-religious identification, Saudi Arabia for

⁸⁹ United States Government Accountability Office ("GAO") Report to Congressional Requesters, "Information on U.S. Agencies' Efforts to Address Islamic Extremism," Sept. 2005, <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d05852.pdf>, at pg.6 (PDF pg.10). Accessed Nov. 7, 2005.

⁹⁰ Alfred B. Prados and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Terrorist Financing Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, March 1, 2005

years has cultivated, nurtured and fomented a radical Islamic doctrinal view that sees the United States, the West, Christians, Jews and all other “infidels” as bent on a conspiracy to subjugate Islam.

In the end, unless it is made to view changes as the price of its survival, the Saudi government will not change. Its one constant interest is survival; when one loses power, one loses everything -- wealth and even security. No one retires to a think tank in California or Washington DC. Survival is a constant balancing act, like a person dancing on a log in midstream. Further, we should remember that the Saudi government is the collective rule of a family. Within this arrangement, different groups will have different appreciations of the situation and will stress different aspects of the general balancing act. Some members of the Family are much more hostile to the US than others.

Since World War II, the Saudis have tried to balance commercial and strategic cooperation with the US with the cultivation of a radical anti-western version of Islam. On the one hand, virtually every Middle Eastern Muslim government has sought, since the rise of Western power in the 19th century, to maneuver between outside pressure and internal opposition. The ideal solution has been to play these forces off against each other. In the Saudis’ case, having the Muslim holy sites on their territory has prompted the support of Muslim groups worldwide in a form of ideological competition. It has also been a long established practice of Middle Eastern governments to seek to divert turbulent groups and ambitions onto the territory of others.

On 9/11 the two wings of this policy came into conflict. It is possible that, given increasing globalization, the Saudi double game was doomed to blow up one way or another. What we now see is a Saudi attempt to regain control over the process by clamping down on the specifically anti-Saudi elements (like al-Qaeda) diverting those that can be diverted, co-opting those that can be co-opted, while seeking to mollify the U.S. as much as can be done without upsetting the internal balance. Although Saudi Royal Family declarations in the past year have committed the regime towards an opening up of the political process, the reality is that the regime itself will never probably fulfill any of the long terms commitments to democratize, as that would assuredly result in the removal of the regime itself. As the radical Islamists have recognized, the route to power in Saudi Arabia is simply to repeat the mantra of “democracy,” eliciting the sympathetic ear of the US government officials, which naively believes that pluralism would be a sine qua non of “democratic” elections in Saudi Arabia. To be fair, however, in Saudi Arabia, we have witnessed since 9-11 a nascent political reform movement that is genuinely committed to civil society and pluralism. These reformers deserve our full support.⁹¹ (Appendix includes an article about this movement.)

The basic problem is that the interests of the two most powerful strata of Saudi society, the Saudi ruling elite (a family business) and the religious establishment-- are

⁹¹ See, e.g., “Stop Terror Sheikhs, Muslim Academics Demand,” *The Arab News*, October 30, 2004. <http://www.arabnews.com/?page=4§ion=0&article=53683&d=30&m=10&y=2004>. Accessed Nov. 6, 2005. See Appendix accompanying this testimony.

intrinsically not compatible with ours. The U.S. believes in capitalism, democracy, freedom, separation of church and state, and for most of our citizens, a constant progress to a world of greater equality between people of different backgrounds. The Saudi elites and religious establishment do not believe in capitalism, or democracy or gender equality. What we call freedom they think of as chaos. We believe in progress, both material and moral. But large segments of Saudi society see the secular western world as the warped construction of a conspiracy of Jews, socialists, Christian missionaries and what-have-you.

Only in one area do our interests concord. They sell oil; we buy it. During the cold war this commercial cooperation was doubled by a strategic one. The Saudis saw communism as both the antithesis of Islam and, in the USSR, as the main support for the leftist movements and regimes in the Arab world that sought to put them (and other regional monarchies) out of business. If US policy is the democratization of the region, then our interests and those of the Saudi royal family are not compatible, since the royal family system would not survive the democratization of Saudi Arabia.

The Saudi paradox is only a sharper version of the one in the region as a whole. For the last thirty years the Muslim Middle East has witnessed a rise in traditional religion. In the Muslim world, this religious revival has been accompanied by the rise of political Islam ("Islamism"). Political Islam is populist, utopian, anti-western, internally totalitarian and externally aggressive (though it sees itself as defensive). Wahabism seeks to exploit one branch of this movement. But the movement touches all subgroups of Islam. Iran is a case in point, since the Imami Shi'ism of Iran is about as far theologically from Saudi Wahabism as one can be. Yet both are radically anti-western and anti-modern.

Ultimately, we need to make a hardheaded assessment of whether Saudi Arabia is capable of changing. By not pressing the Saudis to truly make demonstrable progress in the war against Islamic extremism, current policies have only postponed the day of reckoning. There are many pressure points in our arsenal of political and economic options that have not yet been deployed against Saudi Arabia. Four years after 9-11, the Saudis have had ample time to respond to our policy of silent diplomacy in asking them to shut down the religious, financial and political spigots of Islamic terrorism. Now is the time to publicly hold them to account. In the end, our future-- and theirs as well-- depend upon the response that is forthcoming.

APPENDIX 1:

CAIR's Response to Reports of Islamic Extremism, the 9/11 Report and the Freedom House Report on Saudi Funding of Radical Activities in the United States

Although self-described as a civil rights organization, the Council on Arab Islamic Relations (CAIR) attempts to intimidate, silence and de-legitimize its critics. CAIR attacks critics and observers of militant Islam, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, and criticizes any reference to militant Islamic activity as "stereotyping" all Muslims. CAIR routinely protests the media's coverage of known terrorists and their actions. CAIR has consistently opposed the U.S. Government's efforts to shut down organizations that finance terrorism.

In July 2004, 9/11 Commission issued its report. Following the release of that report, the Executive Director of CAIR, Ibrahim Hooper, criticized the Commission's use of the term "Islamist" terrorism, arguing that it appears to unfairly attack Islam a whole. "'Islamist' is one of those hot-button terms that are ill-defined or not defined at all", Hooper said. "They're basically saying this is a label for Muslims we don't like or agree with."¹

Arsalan Iftikhar, CAIR Legal Director,² wrote an August 2004 editorial in *The Dallas Morning News*, in which he stated "the commission seems to stigmatize anyone with ties to Islam."³ He added, "the term 'Islamist terrorism' is nothing more than an oversimplification of our complex and kaleidoscopic national security paradigm."⁴

CAIR complains it is not asked to be a part of the solution to the war on terrorism as evidenced by Ibrahim Hooper asking "[w]hy would they [the 9-11 Commission] fail to consult a key group who would help them understand what's going on in the Muslim world."⁵ Yet it is apparent that CAIR wants to be a part of this dialogue to advance its own agendas as opposed to eradicating terrorism in that it tries to expunge references of, or discussions on, the most basic issues widely acknowledged in the Muslim world. When asked about Wahhabism in July 2003, Hooper said, "[i]t's one of those terms which is invented to scare people about Muslim bogeymen. It's just all part of the extremely powerful right wing and their agenda right now to demonize Saudi Arabia and demonize anything associated with Saudi Arabia."⁶ In a September 2003 interview, Hooper said that Wahhabism is "a made-up word by those who don't want to appear to be attacking Islam."⁷

¹ Hope Yen, "U.S. Muslim Groups Decry Sept. 11 Report Input," *Associated Press*, July 29, 2004.

² Arsalan Iftikhar, "Constant Use of 'Islamist' Overlooks Real Threats," *Dallas Morning News*, August 3, 2004.

³ Arsalan Iftikhar, "Constant Use of 'Islamist' Overlooks Real Threats," *Dallas Morning News*, August 3, 2004.

⁴ Arsalan Iftikhar, "Constant Use of 'Islamist' Overlooks Real Threats," *Dallas Morning News*, August 3, 2004.

⁵ Hope Yen, "U.S. Muslim Groups Decry Sept. 11 Report Input," *Associated Press*, July 29, 2004.

⁶ David Staples, "Local Mosque Denies Links with Controversial Group," *Edmonton Journal*, July 28, 2003.

⁷ Jeff Johnson, "Investigation of 'Terrorist Recruitment' Concerns Muslims," *CNSNews.com*, September 29, 2003.

In January 2005, Freedom House issued a report exposing the Saudi government's dissemination of hate literature in the U.S. Many of the documents cited by Freedom House advocated jihad, taught hatred of Jews and Shiite Muslims, or condemned democratic societies.⁸

After arguing that most of the American Muslim community could not read these documents because they don't speak Arabic, Ibrahim Hooper added in *The Washington Post*, "[t]hese excerpts don't reflect the reality of the American Muslim community."⁹ Hooper told *The Christian Science Monitor*, "we can rely on the good judgment and common sense of Muslims to reject such thinking if they come across it."¹⁰ Hooper clearly misses the point. The issue is not those Muslims who have a solid background in Islam, this affects Muslims that have very little (if any) formal background and are looking to Saudi Arabia to provide readings on "pure" Islam and new converts in prison who learn Arabic and are steeped in propaganda from Al-Haramain and other Saudi sponsored organizations.

CAIR Board Member Nabil Sadoun also challenged the Freedom House report in a *Dallas Morning News* op-ed. Sadoun, a member of the Dallas Central Mosque – at which Freedom House found a document that said, "[w]e consider ourselves to be in a continuous war against the Zionist enemy in every way until we achieve the hopes of the Arab nation driving the occupier out"¹¹ – bashed the researchers' methodology. He wrote, "[t]he study has a sample size of 15, too low in my estimation...Moreover, the study does not cite how the materials were obtained...The authors did not offer any process by which independent verification could be made of the materials and the translation's accuracy of those materials from Arabic...The Freedom House report fails to rise to the level of an objective, unbiased and academically worthy study."¹²

In the same *Dallas Morning News* issue, CAIR National Legal Director Arsalan Iftikhar wrote, "there may be more hysteria than substance in what Freedom House would want us to believe." Instead of acknowledging the radicalism within the American Muslim community, Iftikhar instead changed the topic, urging Freedom House to "write a report on hate speech levied against Islam and Muslims by some of America's most notable evangelical leaders."¹³

Similarly, CAIR downplayed the July 2004 revelation that textbooks at the Islamic Saudi Academy in Virginia were teaching first graders that Christianity and Judaism were false religions.¹⁴ Ibrahim Hooper told the Associated Press, "[t]he fact that one sentence in one book,

⁸ "Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques," Freedom House,

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/religion/pdfdocs/FINAL%20FINAL%20Saudi.pdf>, accessed February 25, 2005.

⁹ John Mintz, "Report Cites 'Hate' Writings in U.S. Mosques," *The Washington Post*, February 6, 2005.

¹⁰ Jane Lampman, "Matters of Faith," *Christian Science Monitor*, February 10, 2005.

¹¹ "Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques," Freedom House,

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/religion/pdfdocs/FINAL%20FINAL%20Saudi.pdf>, Accessed November 7, 2005.

¹² Nabil M. Sadoun, "Visit Dallas Central Mosque, and You'll Find Tolerance and Faith," *Dallas Morning News*, Feb. 20, 2005.

¹³ Arsalan Iftikhar, "Think Tank's Report is Built on Flawed Thinking and Hypocrisy," *Dallas Morning News*, February 20, 2005.

¹⁴ "REPORT: Saudi School in Virginia Disparages Christianity and Judaism," July 13, 2004,

<http://72.14.207.104/search?q=cache:PxsU8KZRWkCJ:www.saudiinstitute.org/index.php%3Foption%3Dcontent%26task%3Dview%26id%3D136%26Itemid%3D28+REPORT:+Saudi+School+in+Virginia+Disparages+Christianity+and+Judaism&hl=en> Accessed November 7, 2005.

out of an entire curriculum, needs to be changed or clarified hardly justifies sweeping charges of extremism."¹⁵

In September 2005, U.S. Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy Karen Hughes, while on an official visit to Saudi Arabia, told a group of Saudi journalists that the Bush administration was concerned about a study (Freedom House) that identified anti-Christian and anti-Semitic literature, connected to Saudi religious organizations, found in American mosques. She told the reporters, "We are concerned that literature has been found in American mosques that has a message that is not tolerant, and we hope the people of Saudi Arabia will work with us as we try to deal with this issue."

In response to Hughes' statement, CAIR attacked her comments and the Freedom House report, saying her remarks were based on what it considers to be a faulty study with an "inherent bias." Ibrahim Hooper said, "[w]e don't agree that there is widespread literature of that kind in mosques in America." Hooper also said the study has led to "anti-Muslim prejudice" directed against some mosques that say they never saw or displayed any of the literature in question.¹⁶

CAIR and the Saudis

CAIR has denied receiving funding from Saudi Arabia and other foreign sources. In fact, CAIR has received money from a Saudi Prince and Saudi-financed organizations, including the World Assembly of Muslim Youth and International Islamic Relief Organization. In a November 2001 press release, CAIR stated, "[w]e do not support directly or indirectly, or receive support from, any overseas group or government."¹⁷ In fact, CAIR has received funding from individuals and organizations from, and linked to, Saudi Arabia.

In August 1999, the Islamic Development Bank (IDB), a Saudi-based entity, donated "\$250,000 as a contribution to the purchase of land in Washington DC to be the headquarters for an education and research center under the aegis of the Council for American Islamic Relations."¹⁸ Dr. Ahmad Mohamed Ali, who has served as IDB President for the last 23 years, was Secretary General of the Muslim World League (MWL) from 1993-1995.¹⁹ Founded in 1962 to "promote Islamic unity," MWL is one of the largest of the Saudi Islamic evangelical charities.²⁰ In approximately 1993, in conversations with former senior Al Qaeda lieutenant Jamal Ahmed Al-Fadl, Osama Bin Laden identified MWL as one of three Muslim charities that provided the

¹⁵ Mathew Barakat, "Islamic Group Says Saudi Academy Teachings Breed Hatred," *Associated Press*, August 3, 2004. Note: The previous day in *The Washington Times* Hooper had struck a different tone: "I would suggest either removing the textbook or inserting a notation that something is being changed in the textbook." See: Christina Bellantoni, "Islamic Groups Hit Curriculum at Saudi School," *The Washington Times*, August 2, 2004.

¹⁶ Holly Lebowitz Rossi, "U.S. Envoy Raises Alarm on Inflammatory Literature in Mosques," *Religion News Service*, Sept. 28, 2005, http://www.beliefnet.com/story/175/story_17595_1.html. Accessed Sept. 29, 2005.

¹⁷ "Islamophobic Smear Campaign Goes Public," CAIR Press Release, Nov. 8, 2001, <http://web.archive.org/web/20011108194447/www.cair-net.org/nr/11-08.asp>. Accessed November 7, 2005.

¹⁸ "IDB Approves Projects Worldwide," August 15, 1999, http://web.archive.org/web/20000417093241/http://saudiembassy.net/press_release/99_spa/08_15_aid.html. Accessed November 7, 2005.

¹⁹ http://www.isdb.org/english_docs/idb_home/Pres_CV.htm. Accessed November 7, 2005.

²⁰ "Saudi Arabian Information Resources: Muslim World League," <http://www.saudinf.com/main/k312.htm>. Accessed Oct. 6, 2004.

primary sources of Al Qaeda's funds.²¹ MWL's U.S. office was raided in 2002 as part of a massive terrorism financing probe.²²

In 2002, MWL Secretary General Dr. Abdullah Ibn Abdul Mohsin Al Turki toured CAIR's Washington D.C. headquarters and received a briefing from Nihad Awad. According to a report in the official Saudi publication *Ain-Al-Yaqeen*, Al Turki "stressed the necessity of promoting effective coordination among Islamic organisations in the United States of America...Dr. Al Turki expressed the League's readiness to offer assistance in the promotion and coordination of Islamic works, and noted that it will establish a Commission for this purpose."²³

Also in 2002, CAIR received \$500,000 from Saudi Prince Alwaleed bin Talal.²⁴ Additionally, CAIR has received significant financial support from the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), a Saudi-supported group that actively promotes religious hatred,²⁵ and over \$15,000 from the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), which was raided by federal law enforcement in 1997 and 2002.²⁶

According to a December 23, 1999 *Arab News* article, WAMY announced at a Riyadh press conference that it "was extending both moral and financial support to CAIR in its effort to construct headquarters at a cost of \$3.5 million in Washington, D.C."²⁷ The article also noted that WAMY would "introduce CAIR to Saudi philanthropists and recommend their financial support for the headquarters project."²⁸ Nihad Awad attended this press conference in Riyadh.²⁹

Furthermore, on November 9, 2002, *The Muslim World*, MWL's weekly newspaper, reported that CAIR and WAMY would cooperate on a million dollar public relations campaign and that Awad was scheduled to meet with Prince Walled Ibn Talal.³⁰ Additionally, CAIR received a \$5,000 check on June 13, 1994 from the International Relief Organization (IRO).³¹ CAIR also received \$2.172 from IRO in 1995³² and \$10,000 in 1997.³³

IRO's Virginia office was raided by the FBI in 1997 as part of a money laundering and terrorism investigation. In an affidavit, FBI Agent Valerie Donohue stated that, "IRO holds itself out to the public as a charitable organization, but has disbursed significant sums of money in ways that

²¹ *US v. Arnaout*, (N.D. Ill 02 CR 892), Government's Evidentiary Proffer Supporting the Admissibility of Coconspirator Statements, filed Jan. 31, 2003, at 25.

²² Redacted Affidavit In Support of Application, In the Matter of Searches Involving 555 Grove Street, Herndon, Virginia, and Related Locations, In the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, No. 02-114-MG, Attachment C.

²³ *Ain-Al-Yaqeen*, July 12, 2002, <http://www.ain-al-yaqeen.com/issues/20020712/feat10en.htm>. Accessed Oct. 18, 2004.

²⁴ "U.S. Muslims Split Over Saudi Donations," *Associated Press*, December 1, 2002.

²⁵ See discussion *infra*.

²⁶ See discussion *infra*.

²⁷ "WAMY Spends SR12m on New Mosques," *Arab News*, December 23, 1999.

²⁸ "WAMY Spends SR12m on New Mosques," *Arab News*, December 23, 1999.

²⁹ "WAMY Spends SR12m on New Mosques," *Arab News*, December 23, 1999.

³⁰ "WAMY Supports CAIR Campaign Against US Anti-Islamic Sentiment," *The Muslim World*, November 29, 2002. Also published in the *Saudi Gazette*, November 13, 2002. Note: CAIR was planning to publish advertisements in 10 American newspapers.

³¹ Check number 1958, Account 056001118, First Virginia Bank, Falls Church, Virginia.

³² IRS Form 990, International Relief Organization, 1995. Note: IRO is also known as the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO). See: *U.S. v. Biheiri* (E.D. VA 03-365-A), Declaration in Support of Pre-Trial Detention, filed August 14, 2003.

³³ IRS Form 990, International Relief Organization, 1997.

do not appear consistent with a charitable mission.”³⁴ In 2002, IRO was again raided by Operation Greenquest, a federal task force targeting the financiers of Al Qaeda and other international terrorist groups.³⁵

The fact that CAIR received funding from IIRO is particularly significant because CAIR founder and Chairman Omar Ahmad testified on behalf of Mohamed Jamal Khalifah,³⁶ Osama bin Laden’s brother-in law³⁷ and the one-time head of IIRO’s office in the Philippines.³⁸

Khalifah was arrested by the INS and the FBI in San Francisco on December 16, 1994.³⁹ At the time of his arrest, Khalifah had been convicted in absentia in Jordan for his alleged involvement in 1993 and 1994 in a series of bombings in Jordan.⁴⁰ Additionally, authorities found documents in his possession referring to the assassination of bishops and bombings of churches.⁴¹ Moreover, Khalifah has been fingered as the financier of Ramzi Yousef’s plot to simultaneously blow up twelve U.S. airplanes over the Pacific.⁴²

Despite Khalifa’s deep involvement in terrorism, Ahmad testified that, although he did not know Khalifa personally, Khalifa had a “good reputation.”⁴³ Asked about IIRO, Ahmad said, “I’m very familiar with their work. I work very closely with their office in Washington D.C....And also I know...a lot of people who work in their office in Jiddah, in Saudi Arabia, who are very close friends of mine.”⁴⁴ The deportation proceedings for Mohammed Jamal Khalifa describe Omar Ahmad as having “known and worked with the International Islamic Relief Organization for approximately 10 years.”⁴⁵

And finally, between 2000 and 2003, CAIR received \$19,500 from the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT).⁴⁶

³⁴ Application and Affidavit for Search Warrant, Global Chemical Corporation, Northern District Of Illinois, Eastern Division, Affidavit of Special Agent Valerie Donahue, FBI, Case number: 97 M010, Filed January 8, 1997, page 15.

³⁵ Redacted Affidavit In Support of Application, In the Matter of Searches Involving 555 Grove Street, Herndon, Virginia, and Related Locations, In the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, No. 02-114-MG, Attachment B.

³⁶ Testimony of Omar Ahmad, In the matter of Mohammad Jamal Khalifah, File A29 457 661, December 20, 1994.

³⁷ Congressional Joint Inquiry into the 9/11 Terrorist Attacks at 128.

³⁸ Respondent’s opening brief regarding the Immigration judge’s denial of bail, In the matter of Mohammad Jamal Khalifah, File A29 457 661

³⁹ Fax sent by the US Consulate General in Jeddah to S/CT Wilcox at the US State Department on December 17th 1994

⁴⁰ Affidavit of FBI Special Agent Robert Walker, In support of complaint against Benevolence International Foundation, April 29, 2002.

⁴¹ Affidavit of FBI Special Agent Robert Walker, In support of complaint against Benevolence International Foundation, April 29, 2002.

⁴² Congressional Joint Inquiry into the 9/11 Terrorist Attacks, at 128.

⁴³ Testimony of Omar Ahmad, In the matter of Mohammad Jamal Khalifah, File A29 457 661, December 20, 1994.

⁴⁴ Testimony of Omar Ahmad, In the matter of Mohammad Jamal Khalifah, File A29 457 661, December 20, 1994.

⁴⁵ Testimony of Omar Ahmad, In the matter of Mohammad Jamal Khalifah, File A29 457 661, December 20, 1994.

⁴⁶ IRS Form 990, International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2003.

APPENDIX 2:

Saudis Uneasily Balance Desires for Change and Stability

By NEIL MacFARQUHAR

New York Times May 4, 2004

Saudis watching the newly introduced broadcasts of their country's Consultative Council a few months back were startled to discover the royal family's handpicked legislators discussing an almost comically minor problem: the theft of wood from the desert kingdom's forests.

There are, in fact, endangered trees in Saudi Arabia, but the country faces far greater ills that the council seems to studiously avoid. They include the increasing spasms of Islamic violence that for the first time last week singled out the oil industry, coming on top of an unemployment rate rising by 100,000 men a year and a growing impatience with the extravagant lives of the royal family.

The attack on Saturday at the nation's petrochemical hub, which killed five foreign engineers and a Saudi officer, increased tensions already high after a suicide bombing in the capital and deadly shootouts between Muslim militants and the police, all in the last month.

Interviews conducted during an 18-day reporting trip just completed in Saudi Arabia suggest that average Saudis seem caught between competing desires. On one hand, they want the royal family to yield power so citizens may have more say over their own lives. On the other, they fear the chaos spread by Islamic militants, and as they gaze next door at the bedlam in Iraq, they worry that replacing a clear authority with something more diffuse may usher in chaos.

There is an animosity toward anything American because of the Bush administration's unwavering support for Israel and the invasion of Iraq, reinforced this week by the shocking pictures of American abuse of Iraqi prisoners broadcast repeatedly by Arab satellite stations. Thus, the fact that Washington is pushing democracy gives it a bad odor.

The result is that Saudi Arabia's political reformists in both the liberal and religious camps no longer have the confidence they had just weeks ago that reform will lead to real changes, like an elected Consultative Council tackling significant problems.

Many Saudis contend that the royal family recognizes the anger bubbling throughout the kingdom, but simply refuses to accept far-reaching changes as the answer.

"Up to now, the government has yet to take a clear decision that it wants to reform," said Abdel Aziz al-Qasim, a retired judge and a moderate Islamist heavily involved in trying to reshape the kingdom's educational curriculum. "There are partial decisions or partial steps, but no central clear decision supporting reform."

Among the worrying signs for reformists: a dozen outspoken advocates for change were arrested in March, and there are no visible preparations for municipal elections promised this fall.

Mr. Qasim and others offer three main reasons for the renewed hesitancy. First, the most hard-line advocates of change raised the stakes by discussing topics like constitutional monarchy, apparently frightening senior princes that change might mushroom out of control.

Second, much of the pressure for change had come from Washington, but given the state of the American starter-democracy project next door in Iraq, the pressure has little effect.

Finally, the price of oil remains high, so the princes feel less need to appease public demands than they would if they were, for example, contemplating some kind of tax to raise revenue.

Since the March arrests, newspapers that had been growing more daring all but stopped printing columns about major issues like unemployment, making public the full national budget and establishing an independent judiciary.

Dissidents note that the new, government-appointed National Human Rights Association did little about the arrests other than issuing a statement saying it was following the case.

The arrests came on the eve of a visit by Secretary of State Colin L. Powell and were seen as a clear message to both the democracy proponents and the Americans to back off.

Prince Saud al-Faisal, the foreign minister, said as much at a joint news conference with Mr. Powell. "These people sought dissension when the whole country was looking for unity and a clear vision, especially at a time when it is facing a terrorist threat," the prince said.

Those arrested were told that their freedom hinged on signing "I'm sorry and I will not do it again" confessions. Three of the intellectuals - Ali Douleimi, Abdullah al-Hamid and Matrouk al-Falah - refused and remain imprisoned.

They were part of a group preparing a statement against the new human rights organization and planning to announce the formation of a similar, independent group.

Crown Prince Abdullah initiated a "national dialogue" last June, inviting select groups of Saudi thinkers to attend several days of conferences to discuss important issues. He even took the unprecedented step of including women and members of the sometimes reviled Shiite Muslim minority. But no concrete plans have emerged from the discussions.

The elections the crown prince promised for half the seats in municipal councils also remain a question mark. Saleh al-Malik, a member of the Consultative Council, said plans were proceeding to hold them in 178 municipalities. The Ministry of Municipal Affairs is working on the bylaws, but major questions remain unanswered, like the minimum voting age and whether women can vote, he said.

The government will probably await a planned September census before developing voter registration rolls, which may mean postponing the elections scheduled for October. "We have waited for so long, it won't hurt to wait a couple months more," Mr. Malik said.

More important, the puritanical Wahhabi religious doctrine does not abet change. Jaafar Sheikh Idris, a Sudanese scholar in Saudi Arabia writing a book about Islam and democracy, notes that the most conservative clerics here say, "If we take democracy to mean the rule of the people, that goes against the principle of Islam because in Islam this is God's right."

Saudi Arabia calls the Koran the only constitution it will ever need.

"They say Koran, Koran, do you want something other than the Koran?" groused one retired professor, also declining to use his name because of recent arrests. "Of course you have to say no."

The religious establishment feels it already lost one round this academic year when the lesson directing Muslims to shun non-Muslims was removed from religious textbooks. Some Saudis wanted it deleted because the principle was used to justify terrorist attacks, but conservative clerics depicted the change as the first step by the West in dismantling the country's religion through the education system.

"Saying that the Jews and the Christians are infidels is part of our religious dogma," said Saleh S. al-Wohaibi, the American-educated secretary general of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth. Any changes in the way it is taught should be decided by Saudis, he said, adding, "It doesn't mean we try to incite hatred against others, but my religion has its own principles that should not be violated or changed."

Few Saudis say they want to replace the royal family, considered a stabilizing force, especially seeing what is unrolling in Iraq. But they believe strong government institutions could run the country more effectively than a few aging princes.

No one believes that the recent terror attacks - always attributed to "deviants" in official Saudi statements - pose a real threat to unseating the royal family, the Sauds.

"All the indicators that I see tell me that the government is strong and that the numbers who are opposing them violently are small," said James C. Oberwetter, the American ambassador.

Reformists warn, however, that the royals are deluding themselves with the argument that they need to kill or capture those fomenting terrorism before they can consider opening up the political process.

As long as young men cannot find jobs, remain frustrated with their prospects and have no means to express their problems, there will be deep problems here that will continue reverberating beyond Saudi Arabia's borders, they say.

"If reform was proceeding, we would not have arrived at this violence," said Mr. Qasim, the former judge.

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APPENDIX 3:

DAILY EXPRESS

Something's Gotta Give

by Joseph Braude

The New Republic Online

Only at TNR Online | Post date 12.03.04

<http://www.tnr.com/doc.mhtml?i=express&s=braude120304>

Who can forget the Saudi telethon back in April 2002, which raised about \$100 million for the Palestinian intifada? The images of the telethon, which found their way onto TV in the United States, told a story that alarmists in the West had been trying to put into words for years: A well-oiled international network of charities based in the Kingdom had so inculcated the connection between militant causes and the mandatory Muslim alms tax, or zakat, that it could raise vast sums of money, and fast.

But that was three years worth of joint American-Saudi crackdowns ago. A litter of Treasury Department press releases and Saudi Washington press conferences tells the official story that has ensued since September 11. Washington and Riyadh seized assets and closed down several overseas branches of the Al Haramayn Islamic Foundation, a charity that had allegedly provided logistical and financial support to Al Qaeda in Asia and Africa. Congress has called for investigating 27 Muslim charities, and Treasury Secretary John Snow has urged American Muslims to make sure that their future "generosity is not exploited for nefarious purposes" by avoiding those charities. And in a particularly dramatic move, the northern Virginia office of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (wamy), a global foundation established in 1972, was raided by 50 federal agents in June 2004. Spokesmen for the organization--whose U.S. branch was partly founded by Abdullah Bin Laden, Osama's nephew--have denied any links to terrorist groups. (Full disclosure: I assisted the FBI in counterterrorist operations between 1994 and 1999.) Whether these joint crackdowns truly crippled the global organizations is unclear--90 other branches of wamy, including those in Saudi Arabia, are still up and running. But the publicity the wamy raid garnered appears at least to have reduced charitable giving to the group. Wamy's deputy chief told the Arab News in late October that donations to the group were down 40 percent this year, citing new restrictions and bad press. Meanwhile, Muslim nonprofits in the United States assert a post-September 11 boon in domestic giving, which they believe stems from American Muslims' fear of entanglement with law enforcement should they be caught sending money to relief groups overseas.

The Saudi charities have resolved not to take all this bad news lying down. They appear to have unleashed a new charm offensive in October just before the peak giving time of Ramadan, taking aim not at the American public but at their own wary base: wealthy Arab Muslims. And as anyone who followed the U.S. presidential campaign this year can attest, you can sure tell a candidate by the way he appeals to his base. There's an unpleasant fact at issue that American officials are still hesitant to admit: While some Muslims' generosity has truly been exploited, other Muslims genuinely support militant groups and would like to help them out financially, provided they can do so with impunity. Appealing subtly to both types of donors is the essence

of the Arabic-language public relations challenge the Saudi charities now face--and the reason behind the seemingly contradictory rhetoric routinely expressed by their leadership.

"The broad Western campaign against the Islamic charitable institutions ... rests on false foundations," wamy director general Salih al-Wuhaybi told Al Hayat, an Arabic language newspaper, a few weeks back, citing a plot by "the Zionists and neoconservatives in America. They want a shake-up in the Islamic world and to sow tension between [Saudi Arabia] and other nations." (Translations from Al Hayat are mine.) His counterpart at the helm of the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO), Adnan bin Khalil Basha, added, "the compassionate hand that pats the head of the orphan and wipes the tears of the poor cannot participate in the spreading of fear and terror among believers, whatever their religions may be." The U.S. Justice Department has tied IIRO branch offices to the 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in East Africa. To this charge, Basha offers a defense that falls short of a denial: "Saying that these institutions have transcended the limits of activity ascribed to them is a very slanderous thing to say about organizations that are governed by rules and regulations and strictly determined laws." The same paragraph quotes a pro-Saudi cleric in the United States, Jafar Sheikh Idris: "If every institution one of whose members had made a mistake were closed down and assaulted, there wouldn't remain a single institution, charitable or otherwise, on the face of the earth." After all, he goes on, some Western intelligence agencies failed to gauge the state of Saddam's weapons program, "but was the result that these agencies were disbanded? Why, therefore, make war on charitable institutions, given that what resulted from their mistakes, if mistakes were really made, is nothing compared to the results of the war on Iraq?"

The Al Hayat story spans five columns and extensively quotes leaders of several of the most established charities in the Kingdom. They line up to deny any ties to terrorism. But the piece also offers an explanation for repeated allegations to the contrary. "It is logical," opines Abd al-Rahman al-Habib, "that the first target of suspicion will be those entities that have a similar ideology but differ with [the terrorist organization] in the application of violence as a tactic." So the ends are the same but the means are different, hence the confusion by Western intelligence agencies. No militant group is mentioned by name in the piece, and only the expression "Al-Sahwa al-Islamiya [the Islamic awakening]" is used to denote the movement of Islamist resurgence, popular in the Kingdom, with which the charities identify and from which some armed groups may at one time have arisen.

The whitewashing of Saudi charities among Arabs inside the Kingdom advances somewhat every time a domestic Al Qaeda cell is busted by the government. Saudi Channel One TV in early October, for example, aired videotaped confessions of local guerillas who admitted siphoning off funds from two charities and using the money to buy weapons for attacks in the Kingdom. This proved an opportunity for wamy's director general to appear on TV shortly afterward and announce new guidelines for donating money without fear that it would be diverted to arming local militants. The groups' commitment to snuffing out armed gangs inside the Kingdom, in consort with the government, is beyond doubt.

But nagging questions persist about these charities' support for armed adventures elsewhere in the Muslim world and beyond. The very reporter who gained access to so many directors general for the Al Hayat story is Muhammad Abd al-Wahhab al-Turayri, apparently the son of Abd al-

Wahhab al-Turayri--who recently joined 25 other Saudi clerics to declare their support for the insurgency in Iraq. (The father-son connection is my own inference based on Saudi Arabic nomenclature, according to which Muhammad Abd al-Wahhab al-Turayri is understood to be the son of a man named Abd al-Wahhab who hails from the clan of al-Turayri. It is a statistical improbability, given the relatively small community of clerical elites in the Kingdom, that the two are unrelated.) The statement asserts the "legitimacy of the resistance and the illegality of cooperation with the occupier against the actions of the resistance." Another signatory to the document is Mahdi Muhammad Rashad al-Hakami, a professor of Islamic legal studies who described himself, in a 2002 petition he also signed, as regional director for wamy in the Saudi province of Jazan. Yet another signatory on the Iraq petition is Salman bin Fahd al-Awdah, a superstar among Saudi clergy, whose sermons have been distributed by wamy in the United States.

The link, however tenuous, between a mainstream Saudi charity and the cause of armed insurgency in Iraq may further sully its image in the United States. But for wamy's bottom line, it's also good business. The cause to drive back the American occupier is very popular among Sunni Muslims today--at least as popular as the Palestinian Intifada was back in April 2002.

Whether American officials are fully aware of these nuances remains unclear. wamy's website recently featured a photograph of the American ambassador in Saudi Arabia, James Oberwetter, attending Ramadan festivities sponsored during the recent fast month by the organization in Riyadh. This powerful image tells potential Muslim donors that the group has cleaned up its act in the eyes of the West. Coupled with links to a message of solidarity with Iraqi insurgents, it's a compelling pitch indeed.

Joseph Braude is the author of The New Iraq: Rebuilding the Country for Its People, the Middle East, and the World.

APPENDIX 4:

Stop Terror Sheikhs, Muslim Academics Demand

Saturday, 30 October, 2004 (16. Ramadhan, 1425)

The Arab News (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia)

Staff Writer —

JEDDAH/NEW YORK, 30 October 2004 — Over 2,500 Muslim intellectuals from 23 countries have signed a petition to the United Nations calling for an international treaty to ban the use of religion for incitement to violence.

It also calls on the Security Council to set up a tribunal to try “the theologians of terror.” The petition is addressed to Secretary-General Kofi Annan, and to all members of the Security Council and its current chairman.

“There are individuals in the Muslim world who pose as clerics and issue death sentences against those they disagree with,” says Shakir Al-Nablusi, a Jordanian academic and one of the signatories. “These individuals give Islam a bad name and foster hatred among civilizations.”

Nablusi said hundreds of Arab writers and academics were collecting more signatures and hope to have “tens of thousands” by next month. Among those collecting signatures are Jawad Hashem, a former Iraqi minister of planning, and Alafif Al-Akdhar, a leading Tunisian writer and academic. Most of the signatories are from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states plus Iraq, Jordan and Palestine.

The signatories describe those who use religion for inciting violence as “the sheikhs of death”. Among those mentioned by name is Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, an Egyptian preacher working in Qatar. The signatories accuse him of “providing a religious cover for terrorism.”

Last year Qaradawi raised a storm when he issued a fatwa allowing the killing of Israeli pregnant women and their unborn babies on the ground that the babies could grow up to join the Israeli Army. Last September, Qaradawi in a fatwa in response to a question from the Egyptian Union of Journalists said killing “all Americans, civilian or military” in Iraq was allowed.

“We cannot let such dangerous nonsense to pass as Islam,” Nablusi says.

The petition also names the late Egyptian preacher Muhammad Al-Ghazzali who, in 1992, issued a fatwa for the murder of Farag Foda, an anti-clerical writer in Cairo. Within weeks of the fatwa, zealots murdered Foda in his home.

Other “sheikhs of death” mentioned include the Yemeni Abdul-Majid Al-Zendani, and the Saudis Ali bin Khudhair Al-Khudhair and Safar Al-Hawali. The two Saudis have described the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks against the United States as “retaliations”, and thus justified under Islamic law.

Issuing murder fatwas has a long story.

In 1947 the late Ayatollah Khomeini issued a fatwa against Ahmad Kasravi, one of Iran's most prominent lawyers. A few weeks later, six men stabbed Kasravi to death in a court of law. In 1951 a group of mullas issued a fatwa for the murder of Iran's Prime Minister Haji-Ali Razmara. He was shot dead a few days later. In 1989 Khomeini issued a fatwa for the murder of the British novelist Salman Rushdie.

The signatories of the petition also want the UN to order its member states to stop broadcasting the "mad musings of the theologians of terror."

APPENDIX 5:



March 1, 2002 Ain-Al-Yaqeen

THE CUSTODIAN OF THE TWO HOLY MOSQUES KING FAHD IBN ABDUL AZIZ DIRECTS THE DISTRIBUTION OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS QURAN TO THE PILGRIMS. HUGE SAUDI EFFORTS IN THE FIELD OF ESTABLISHING ISLAMIC CENTERS, MOSQUES AND ACADEMIES ALL OVER THE WORLD. TUNISIAN, ARAB AND MUSLIM NEWSPAPERS LAUDS THE KINGDOM'S SERVICES TO THE PILGRIMS.

The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz has directed the distribution this year of 1,268,084 copies of the Holy Quran to pilgrims and a number of governmental and private organizations outside the Kingdom.

The Minister of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Call and Guidance Sheikh Saleh Ibn Abdul Aziz Ibn Mohammed Al El Sheikh, also the General Supervisor of King Fahd Complex for Printing the Holy Quran, said 132,829 copies would be distributed to pilgrims on their way home through land outlets.

He said the instruction is that every pilgrim who is leaving the Kingdom has the right to obtain his copy of the Holy Book, in either of the Bosnian, English, Yuroba, French, Tagalok, Hausa, Indonesian, Milibarian, Persian, Spanish, Somalian, Tamilian, Thai and Urdu languages.

On the occasion Sheikh Saleh Ibn Abdul Aziz Ibn Mohammed Al El Sheikh praised the efforts of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz Al Saud for his keenness to provide the Quran printed in all editions by the Complex to the pilgrims, adding that the directives of King Fahd also included providing the General Presidency for Girls Education, the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Call and Guidance, charitable societies for Quran memorizations, the University of Um Al Qura, and the General Secretariat for special education at the Ministry of Education with copies of the Holy Quran.

The Royal order also included the World Islamic Youth Conference, Al Hamadi Hospital in Riyadh, some hotels in Makkah Al Mukkaramah, the Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in Sudan, Ahl Al Hadith society in Pakistan, the Endowment Organization for the Indonesian Muslim University and Al Quran society in the directorate of Sussa in Tunisia.

The determination of the Kingdom to support Islam and Islamic institutions to the best of its ability was evident from the formation of the Kingdom by King Abdul Aziz but it was only when oil revenues began to generate real wealth that the Kingdom could fulfill its ambitions of spreading the word of Islam to every corner of the world, of assisting Muslim countries less well endowed economically and of alleviating the suffering of Muslim minorities wherever they might live.

When King Fahd gave his support, either personally or through his Government, to these institutions, it was also part of his purpose to challenge and expose the caricature of Islam, which is widely promoted by sections of the Western media.

Islam is a religion of compassion, which has exercised a profoundly civilizing influence on mankind. By ensuring that there should be, where most needed, voices to promote the true teachings of Islam and the contribution of Arab culture and Islam to the history of mankind, King Fahd hoped to counteract and challenge negative stereotyping.

The voice of Islam and Arab culture is stronger now than it has been for many decades and certainly far stronger than it would have been without King Fahd's contribution, but the bias against Islam, the tendency, in some quarters, to identify Islam with fanaticism or even terrorism persists and has not been completely erased from the popular mind in the West.

The cost of King Fahd's efforts in this field has been astronomical, amounting to many billions of Saudi Riyals. In terms of Islamic institutions, the result is some 210 Islamic Centers wholly or partly financed by Saudi Arabia, more than 1,500 Mosques and 202 colleges and almost 2,000 schools for educating Muslim children in non-Islamic countries in Europe, North and South America, Australia and Asia. Among the biggest is King Fahd Islamic Center in Malaga, Spain, on an area of 3,848 sq. m., whose foundation stone was laid in 1998. The university-like Center embraces academic, educational, cultural, and propagatory activities.

All over the world the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has supported and contributed in the establishment of Mosques and Islamic Centers.

In Africa the Kingdom has supported and fully financed Mosques and Islamic Centers.

The Bamako Mosque in Mali incorporates a residence for the imam and muezzin, a library and a lecture hall, and cost approximately SR 25 million. The Kingdom has also supported the Islamic Center in Abouja, Nigeria. This Center, constructed in the new capital, comprises a large Mosque, a library, a school, a lecture hall and housing. The Kingdom's contribution to the cost of the Center was SR 100 million. King Abdul Aziz Mosque in Tunisia is one of the largest and surely one of the most beautiful Mosques in Tunisia, the King Abdul Aziz Mosque was built at a cost of 610,000 Tunisian dinars. The Mosque can accommodate more than 2,000 worshippers and includes a prayer hall for women with a separate entrance. The King Faisal Mosque and Center in Conakry Ghana, is the biggest in West Africa and one of the main features of Conakry (the capital of Ghana). The Mosque itself cost SR 60 million to build, while the Center cost a further SR 20 million. While King Faisal Mosque in N'djamena, Chad includes two schools, a lecture hall and a library it enjoys financial support from the revenues of a group of commercial shops, established by endowment. The total cost of construction was in excess of SR 60 million. The Yaoundi Mosque in Cameroon is a grand Islamic monument in the heart of Africa and an important center for the promotion of Islam. It accommodates 5,000 worshippers and includes a school and a library. It cost almost SR 19 million.

In Africa, the Kingdom contributed in the establishment of the Islamic African Center in Khartoum, the Sudan.

In Africa, the Islamic Solidarity Mosque was established in Mogadishu, Somalia, four mosques in main cities in Gabon, two mosques in Burkina Faso, Zanzibar Mosque in Tanzania and Grand Mosque in Senegal.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has also built ten Mosques in the Arab Republic of Egypt. These Mosques which, taken together, can accommodate approximately one million Muslims were built by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for the victims of earthquakes in Egypt, at a cost of almost SR 7 million: The Mosque of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz in Helwan, the Riyadh Mosque in Kafr Al-Sheikh, Makkah Al-Mukarramah Mosque in Hahya in Al-

Sharqiya Governorate, Al-Madinah Al-Munawwarah Mosque in the village of Al-Ibraheemiya in the Al-Shariqiya Governorate, Prince Abdullah Mosque in the city of Toukh in Al-Qaliobiya, Prince Sultan Mosque in Al-Khanka city, Prince Sattam Mosque in the village of Qareen, Prince Salman Mosque in the city of Al-Qanatir in al-Khayriya , Al-Shinnawi Mosque in the village of Dijoy in Al-Qaliobiya, Al-Arabaeen Mosque in the village of Al-Marj.

In Asia the Kingdom established and supported a large number of Mosques and centers amongst which the King Faisal Mosque in Islamabad which building work started in 1976. Costing an estimated SR 130 million, it covers an area of 53,821 square feet [5,000 sq m] and can accommodate 10,000 worshippers and a further 40,000 in the adjacent squares. The King Faisal Center in the Maldives was built at a cost of SR 7 million to accommodate 4,000 worshipers, it also contains an Islamic library and classrooms for the study of the Holy Quran. The Islamic Center in Tokyo, Japan in which the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia contributed with SR 1.8 million to the cost. The Indonesian Islamic Center in which the Kingdom contributed with SR 7 million to the Center, which comprises a Mosque, a nursery school, a dispensary, a library and an information center.

The Kingdom has also contributed with some SR 4 million to the building of three Mosques in the People's Republic of China, one in Taipei, one in Tiegian and one in Kao-Hsiung.

Under King Fahd, Saudi Arabia has given support to the following institutions in Australasia: the Australian Union of Islamic Councils, the Islamic Center in Christchurch (New Zealand), the Islamic Center in the State of Victoria, the Islamic Center in Townsville, Queensland, the Muslim Association in the Isles of Fiji.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia under the leadership of King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz , has given support to the following institutions in the United States: Dar Al-Salam Institute, the Fresno Mosque in California, the Islamic Center in Colombia, Missouri, the Islamic Center in East Lansing, Michigan, the Islamic Center in Los Angeles, California, the Islamic Center in New Brunswick, New Jersey, the Islamic Center in New York , the Islamic Center in Tida, Maryland, the Islamic Center in Toledo, Ohio, the Islamic Center in Virginia, the Islamic Center in Washington, the Islamic Cultural Center in Chicago, the King Fahd Mosque in Los Angeles, the Mosque of the Albanian Community in Chicago, the South-West Big Mosque of Chicago, and the Omar Ibn Al-Khattab Mosque in Los Angeles.

Also in Canada the Kingdom under King Fahd, has given support to the following institutions in Canada: the Calgary Mosque, the Islamic Center in Quebec, the Islamic Center in Toronto and the Ottawa Mosque. King Fahd has donated five million US dollars for the cost of the Islamic Center in Toronto, in addition to 1.5 million US dollars annually to run the facility.

In Europe the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has supported and contributed in the establishment of many mosques and Islamic centers amongst which the Cultural Center in Brussels, Belgium which has received total support of SR 19 million. The Islamic Center in Geneva, Switzerland, which receives annual support of SR 19 million, and contains a large Mosque, a cultural center, a school and a lecture hall, the Islamic Center in Madrid, Spain, which has had total support of SR 27 million, is one of the largest in Europe. It comprises a very capacious Mosque, a prayer hall for women, a library, a lecture hall and a medical clinic, the Islamic Center in London, England in which the Kingdom has contributed some SR 25 million to the cost of the London Islamic Center. The Islamic Center in Edinburgh, Scotland which is located in the city center, contains a Mosque which can accommodate 1,000 worshippers, and includes a library, a lecture hall and classrooms. It cost around SR 15 million. The Islamic Center in Rome, Italy that comprises a Mosque, a library and a lecture hall. King Fahd donated US\$ 50 million (some 70% of the total) to cover the cost of construction. The Center also receives an annual donation of US\$ 1.5 million. The Mosque of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques in Gibraltar, which cost in excess of SR 30 million and comprises a Mosque for men, a prayer hall for women, a school, a library and a lecture hall.

Under the leadership of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz the

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has given support to the following institutions in South Asia and elsewhere: the Guyana Mosque, the Islamic Center in Brasilia, the Islamic Center in Buenos Aires, the Islamic Center in Campinas, the Islamic Center in Forzwa Waikuwaso, the Lagos Society Mosque, the Mandusaba Mosque, the Mosque and School of the Muslim Charity in Korea, the Paranajobsa Mosque, the Sao Paolo Charity Mosque, the Santo Amaro Mosque and the Santos Mosque.

The Islamic Center in Brasilia; King Fahd Cultural Islamic Center in Buenos Aires; King Fahd Cultural Islamic Center in Gibraltar; King Fahd Cultural Islamic Center in Mont La Jolie, France; King Fahd Islamic Center in Edinburgh, Scotland were built at the personal expense of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz.

Amongst mosques which received the Kingdom's or King Fahd's personal financial support are Lyon Mosque in France (SR 11 million); King Faisal Mosque in Chad (SR 60m); King Faisal Mosque in Ghana (SR 58m); Grand Mosque in Senegal (SR 12m); Farooee Mosque in Cameroon (SR 15.6m); Zanzibar Mosque in Tanzania (SR 10m); Bamako Mosque in Mali (SR 23m); Yaoundi Mosque in Cameroon (SR 5m); Al Azhar Mosque in Egypt (SR 14m for rehabilitation); Bilal Mosque in Los Angeles; repairs of the Rock Tomb and Omar Ibn Al Khattab Mosque in Al Quds; and Central Brent Mosque in Britain. King Fahd also established a number of scholarships and academic chairs in foreign prominent universities and colleges.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has also contributed to the establishment of a number of Islamic centers e.g. The Islamic Center in Geneva; Islamic Cultural Center in Brussels; Islamic Center in Madrid; Islamic Center in New York; Islamic Center in Australia; Islamic Center in Zagreb, Croatia; Cultural Center in London; Islamic Center in Lisbon, Portugal; and Islamic Center in Vienna, Austria.

The Kingdom has established more than 1,359 mosques abroad at a cost of SR 820 million. Other mosques partially financed by the Kingdom included mosques in Zagreb, Lisbon, Vienna, New York, Washington, Chicago, Maryland, Ohio, Virginia and 12 mosques in a number of countries in south America.

In addition to establishing and contributing in the establishing of Mosques and Islamic Centers, the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz Al Saud, in the course of his reign, has overseen the establishment of a number of academic chairs in some of the most respected universities in the developed world.

In setting up these prestigious chairs, the Kingdom has pursued a number of objectives. They are further evidence of King Fahd's determination to encourage and enhance communications between Islamic culture and other cultures; to encourage understanding of the true nature of Islam by explaining clearly Muslim beliefs and by correcting common misconceptions and misrepresentations; and to show that Islam embraces knowledge with enthusiasm.

In this context the King Abdul Aziz Chair in Islamic Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara was set up by the Saudi Royal Family in 1984. The King Fahd Chair in Islamic Sharia Studies was set up in 1993 at the College of Law at Harvard University, with a donation of US\$ 5 million from King Fahd himself, the King Fahd Chair in Islamic Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies "SOAS", University of London was set up in 1995, with a grant from King Fahd of £1 million, and the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques Chair at the Gulf University was set up to provide a resident professor in the Faculty of Medicine and Science and Prince Naif Department for Islamic Studies at the University of Moscow.

With his lifelong commitment to education as the key to unlocking the potential of the individual, it is not surprising that King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz initiated a program to establish Islamic academies in some of the major capitals of the world. These academies were conceived in order to provide Muslim children abroad with the opportunity to attend an institution of academic excellence which could reinforce their commitment to their culture, religion and language while at the same time

opening constructive dialogue with the societies in which they lived.

Amongst them, are the Islamic Academy in Washington Established in 1984, where multinational students are studying. The Islamic Academy in Washington teaches Arabic and Islamic studies. The academy has 1,200 students, both male and female. Of these, 549 are Saudis. The rest represent 29 nationalities. In the ten-year period 1984 to 1994, the costs of establishing and running the academy were in excess of SR 100 million.

King Fahd Academy in London, United Kingdom of Great Britain. The King Fahd Academy in London caters for 1,000 students, amongst them the children of Arab diplomats serving in London, as well as other Arab and Muslim children living in London and belonging to 40 nationalities. The syllabus of the Academy covers not only Islamic studies and the Arabic language but also the British GCSE and "A" Level subjects in both science and arts. The Academy has established a high reputation for academic excellence.

King Fahd Academy in Moscow, Russia. The King Fahd Academy in Moscow is not only a major educational institution; it is a resolute attempt to undo the harm done to Islam and Islamic culture by the totalitarian communist regime of the erstwhile Soviet Union. Under communism, Muslims were persecuted, Mosques were desecrated and an alien ideology of materialism was imposed on the individual by the State. The King Fahd Academy in Moscow is one step towards reasserting Arab and Islamic culture and values. The Academy is well equipped for language tuition in Arabic, Russian and English. Apart from educating its pupils in Islamic studies and Arab culture, the Academy aims to increase awareness, understanding and appreciation of Arab and Islamic culture amongst the Russian people.

King Fahd Academy in Bonn. The King Fahd Academy, opened in Bonn in 1995, it comprises a school catering for 500 students and a Mosque which can accommodate 700 worshippers. It combines education in Arabic and Islam with a concerted effort to build bridges with German society by increasing understanding of Arab and Islamic culture. The total cost of the Academy was DM 30 million (equivalent to SR 76.5 million).

The Bihac Islamic Academy The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia allocated SR 5 million for the establishment of this important educational institution, as part of its extensive aid program for the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Moreover, there are several Islamic schools e.g. in South Korea where 20,000 Muslims have formed the Korea Islamic Federation. King Fahd has appropriated an annual donation worth 25,000 US dollars to the federation.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia under the leadership of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques also supports Institutes to promote Arab and Islamic Studies amongst these are the Arab Islamic Institute, in Tokyo an affiliate of the Riyadh-based Imam Mohammed Ibn Saud Islamic University, the Islamic Institute, in Louga, Senegal, the Islamic Institute, in Tivaouane, Senegal, the King Faisal Institute, in Dhaka, Bangladesh, the Teacher Training Institute, in Kibouli, Uganda, and the Teacher Training Institute, in Timbuktu, Mali.

The Kingdom also support Islamic Research Institutes within the Arab and Islamic world, they are the Islamic Studies and Development Center, in Shiany, Indonesia, the Islamic University of Malaysia, the Center of International Islamic Studies, Malaysia, the Islamic University of Pakistan, the Islamic University of Um Durman in Sudan and the Islamic University of Uganda.

Outside the Arab Islamic world there is a number of Islamic Research Institutes supported by the Kingdom amongst these are the American University of Colorado, the American University in Washington, the Arab World Institute, Paris, France which receives considerable Saudi contribution to its annual budget, the Duke University, North Carolina, the Howard University, Washington, the Institute of the History of Arab and Islamic Science, Frankfurt, Germany which receives an annual

financial support from the Kingdom worth 15 million German Marks, the John Hopkins University, Maryland, the Middle East Institute, in Washington, the Shaw University, in North Carolina, and the Syracuse University, in New York.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has lent its support to all the following institutions: Al-Azhar University in Egypt, Al-Zahira College in Sri Lanka, Arabic Language Institute in Indonesia (teaches Arabic and religious science, with annual running costs of SR 3.5 million), the Darul Hadith Al-Hasaniyah in Morocco, the Djibouti Institute, the Institute for Teaching Arabic in Japan, the Islamic University of Constantine in Algeria, the Islamic University in Dhaka, Bangladesh, the Mauritania Institute of Religious Sciences, the Palestine University in Algeria, Ras al-Khaymah Institute (SR 29 million to establish and SR 3 million annual running costs), University Institutions in Palestine and the Zeitounia College in Tunisia.

In addition to financing Islamic academic institutions and Islamic centers and mosques around the world, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has always been a leading member of international Islamic organizations. Throughout King Fahd's reign, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has played an active role in all these organizations, using its influence to nurture and encourage unity in the Islamic world amongst which the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth. In addition the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has played a role in nurturing Islamic unity through the Muslim World League, based in the Holy City of Makkah Al Mukkaramah.

On the other hand Tunisian newspapers have lauded Hajj services, and the efforts exerted by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia under the leadership of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz Al Saud and Crown Prince Abdullah to provide the best conditions and offer the best ways to the pilgrims so that they could perform their rituals in ease.

Both Tunisian "Al-Shorouq" and "Al-Sabah" newspapers published a series of articles on the great services provided by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to pilgrims during Hajj season.

They lauded the attention and care given by the Saudi government to the pilgrims and the two newspapers focused on the electricity services and detailed efforts by the government to provide un-interrupted power supplies in the Holy Sites.

They expressed their best thanks to and appreciation to the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz, Crown Prince Abdullah Ibn Abdul Aziz and Prince Sultan Ibn Abdul Aziz, Second Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Aviation and Inspector General for the services and the facilities extended to the pilgrims on their way to perform Hajj rituals.

Both newspapers praised the services rendered to the pilgrims which demonstrate the attention paid by the concerned authorities in the Kingdom to provide all facilities to pilgrims to perform their rituals easily, comfortably and safely.

From its side the Tunisian "Al-Shorouq" said the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia during the Hajj season becomes like a beehive and all efforts in the government and of concerned authorities are directed to the service of the pilgrims. The newspapers lauded the health services, the efforts of the National Guard, the Ministry of Defence and Aviation, and the Ministry of the Interior in serving the pilgrims. It also lauded the telecommunications services in Makkah Al Mukkarama and Al Madina Al Munawarah, which allow the pilgrims to contact their homeland at any time.

"Al-Sabah" newspaper lauded the project of the advanced anti-fire tents, which will provide a safe journey to Mena for more than 3 million pilgrim. The paper hailed as the services rendered by the Civil Defence and the service they render to the pilgrims.

<http://www.ain-al-yaqeen.com/issues/20020301/feat3en.htm>

APPENDIX 6:

September 17, 2003

The Honorable John Snow
Treasury Department of the United States
15th and Pennsylvania Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20220

Dear Secretary Snow:

It has come to my attention that the Treasury Department has not frozen the assets of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) despite significant evidence suggesting it finances terrorism. Given this evidence, I respectfully request that you place WAMY on the Office of Foreign Assets Control list of organizations that fund terrorism and immediately freeze its American assets.

Over the past year, reports indicate that WAMY has hosted fundraisers at which Khalid Mishaal, a senior Hamas leader, praised Saudi officials, including de facto Saudi leader Crown Prince Abdullah, for continuing to fund Hamas through civilian and popular channels, despite all the American pressure. Just last month, Hamas' spiritual leader, Sheik Ahmed Yassin, publicly thanked WAMY for its continued support in a speech he delivered in Gaza. Reports show that WAMY serves as a major conduit for Saudi Arabian financing of the terrorist group Hamas. An estimated \$5 million annually – approximately 50% of Hamas' budget – comes from Saudi Arabia. Arab press reports indicate that WAMY spends \$2.7 million annually in support of the Palestinian Intifada in addition to \$70 million it has collected in donations for this purpose at WAMY offices worldwide.

News of WAMY's involvement in terrorist financing is not surprising. Its American office was incorporated by Abdullah Bin Laden, the brother of Osama Bin Laden, the head of al Qaeda. It has written numerous inflammatory pamphlets condemning non-Muslims as infidels, and its affiliates, the Muslim World League and the International Islamic Relief Organization, have been named on search warrants executed by the federal government in terrorist financing investigations.

Cutting off funding to Hamas, undermining its ability to attack Israeli civilians, would do wonders to push the Middle East peace process forward and, in turn, improve American national security. This is why it is essential that the United States crack down on organizations like WAMY as well as countries such as Saudi Arabia which, public statements aside, permit financial support for extremist groups like Hamas.

If we are to win the War on Terror, we must do all that is in our power to end the flow of money to organizations like Hamas whose actions threaten our national security. Accordingly, I strongly urge you to place WAMY on the Office of Foreign Assets Control list of organizations that fund terrorism and to move immediately to freeze its assets.

Sincerely,



Charles Schumer
U.S. Senator

September 17, 2003

The Honorable John Ashcroft
United States Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Attorney General Ashcroft:

It has come to my attention that there is substantial evidence suggesting that the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, an Islamic organization that operates out of Virginia, participates in terrorist financing. Given the threat this poses to our national security, I request that you open a criminal investigation immediately into this matter.

Over the past year, reports indicate that WAMY has hosted fundraisers at which Khalid Mishaal, a senior Hamas leader, praised Saudi officials, including de facto Saudi leader Crown Prince Abdullah, for continuing to fund Hamas through civilian and popular channels, despite all the American pressure. Just last month, Hamas' spiritual leader, Sheik Ahmed Yassin, publicly thanked WAMY for its continued support in a speech he delivered in Gaza. Reports show that WAMY serves as a major conduit for Saudi Arabian financing of the terrorist group Hamas. An estimated \$5 million annually — approximately 50% of Hamas' budget — comes from Saudi Arabia. Arab press reports indicate that WAMY spends \$2.7 million annually in support of the Palestinian Intifada in addition to \$70 million it has collected in donations for this purpose at WAMY offices worldwide.

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If we are to win the War on Terror, we must do all that is in our power to end the flow of money to organizations like Hamas whose actions threaten our national security. Accordingly, I strongly urge you to open a criminal investigation into WAMY's activities and to prosecute them to the fullest extent of the law.

Sincerely,



Charles Schumer
U.S. Senator

