



CAIR's Origins

Founded in 1994, CAIR was incorporated by three leaders of the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) -- Nihad Awad, Omar Ahmad, and Rafeeq Jaber.¹ Mousa Abu Marzook, the current deputy political chief of Hamas, served on the board of directors of IAP in 1989 and provided the group with \$490,000.² IAP, which is now defunct, was long a central player in Hamas' U.S. support network while CAIR's future founders controlled IAP. A 2001 Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) memo extensively documented IAP's support for Hamas and noted that the "facts strongly suggest" that IAP is "part of Hamas' propaganda apparatus."³

In August 2002, a federal judge ruled that there was evidence that "the Islamic Association for Palestine has acted in support of Hamas."⁴

In November 2004, a federal magistrate judge held IAP civilly liable for \$156 million in the 1996 shooting of an American teenager by a Hamas member in the West Bank.⁵ The judge ruled that there was "an abundance of evidence" that "IAP...desired to help Hamas' activities succeed, and...engaged in some act of helping those activities succeed."⁶ She added, "If IAP has never outrightly cheered on Hamas' terrorist activities, it has come awfully close."⁷

The U.S. Appeals Court in the Seventh Circuit overturned the award in December 2007 after determining the Joyce and Stanley Boim had not done enough to establish that the groups' support for Hamas contributed, even indirectly, to their son David's murder. It did not challenge the conclusions by U.S. Magistrate Judge Arlander Keys. The case was sent the case back to the district court to allow for additional proceedings.⁸

In the summer of 2007, evidence from the Dallas trial charging the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF) and its officers with providing material support for Hamas shows that the IAP played a central role in the Muslim Brotherhood's Palestine Committee. The trial marked this first time the Committee's existence was publicly disclosed. A sampling of those exhibits includes:

- A 1991 memo suggesting changes to Committee bylaws which show the IAP, HLF and a Virginia think-tank Marzook founded were the Committee's primary components.⁹

¹ "Articles of Incorporation, Council on American-Islamic Relations," September 15, 1994.

² *Ila Filastin*, February 1989, 27; and "In the matter of Hasan Faisal Yousef Sabri, Notice of Revocation of petition for Amerasian, Widow, or Special Immigrant," Attachment (Form I-360).

³ "In the matter of Hasan Faisal Yousef Sabri, Notice of Revocation of petition for Amerasian, Widow, or Special Immigrant," Attachment (Form I-360).

⁴ *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, 2d 57 70, "Memorandum Opinion," 219 F (D.D.C. 2002).

⁵ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00-CV-2905, "Report and Recommendation,"(N.D. Ill 12/14/2004).

⁶ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00-CV-2905, "Memorandum and Order,"(N.D. Ill, 11/10/2004).

⁷ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00-CV-2905, "Memorandum and Order,"(N.D. Ill 11/10/2004).

⁸ *Boim v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development et al.*, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, decided Dec. 28, 2007.

⁹ *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, 3:04-CR-240-G Government Exhibit 3-17(TX ND 7/30/3007).



- A November 1991 status report approved by the Shura Council explained that the Ikhwan, or Muslim Brotherhood, created IAP “to serve the cause of Palestine on the political and media fronts ... The Association’s work has developed a great deal since its inception, particularly with the formation of the Palestine Committee, the beginning of the Intifada at the end of 1987 and the proclamation of the Hamas Movement.”¹⁰
- A 1992 internal memo, which calls on the Palestine Committee to work to “increase the financial and the moral support for Hamas” to “fight surrendering solutions,” and to publicize and focus on “the savagery of the Jews.”¹¹
- A later report, dated July 30, 1994, includes CAIR along with HLF, the IAP and the United Association for Studies and Research think tank as Committee members.¹² Each group was listed among more than 300 unindicted co-conspirators in the case.

The documents were found in the home of Ismail Elbarrasse, a former assistant to Marzook, records and testimony from the HLF trial show.¹³

An internal memo, also taken from Elbarrasse, defines in chilling fashion the role the Muslim Brothers play in North America.¹⁴

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

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

Records from the 2004 Boim lawsuit brought show how the IAP acted upon these plans. As the magistrate judge noted, IAP has “published and distributed an abundance of pro-Hamas documents.”¹⁵ The group published the Hamas charter - a viciously anti-Semitic document that calls for the murder of Jews - and noted in the October 1988 issue of its Arabic-language publication, *Ila Filastin*, “The IAP will deliver this charter of the Hamas movement to all over the American continents.”¹⁶ Similarly, a statement in the December 1988 edition of *Ila Filastin* read, “The call for Jihad in the name of Allah, is the only path for liberation of Palestine and all the Muslims lands ... We (Hamas) promise Allah, in continuing the Jihad way and with the martyrdom’s way.”¹⁷

¹⁰ *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, 3:04-CR-240-G Government Exhibit 3-3 (TX ND 7/30/2007).

¹¹ *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, 3:04-CR-240-G Government Exhibit 3-15 (TX ND 7/30/2007).

¹² *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, 3:04-CR-240-G Government Exhibit 3-78 (TX ND 7/30/2007).

¹³ *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, 3:04-CR-240-G, Government’s Exhibit List submitted May 21, 2007.

¹⁴ *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, 3:04-CR-240-G Government Exhibit 3-85 (TX ND 7/30/2007).

¹⁵ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, “Memorandum and Order,” (N.D. Ill 00-CV-2905, 11/10/2004).

¹⁶ *Ila Filastin*, October 1988.

¹⁷ *Ila Filastin*, December 1988, page 17.



In addition to disseminating Hamas statements in *Ila Filastin*, IAP published the English-language *Muslim World Monitor* and the Arabic periodical, *Al-Zaitounah*, which frequently praised Hamas terror attacks. An October 1994 *Al-Zaitounah* headline captures the magazine's ideological bent: "In Its Greatest Operation, Hamas Takes Credit for the Bombing of an Israeli Bus in the Center of Tel Aviv."¹⁸

In August 1994, the Muslim American Youth Association (MAYA) conference featured [a booklet](#) called "America's Greatest Enemy: THE JEW! and an UNHOLY ALLIANCE" which featured Jewish and Zionist conspiracies for global domination, as well as Holocaust denial claims among its contents.¹⁹

Another key element of IAP's Hamas propaganda machine was its audiovisual wing, Aqsa Vision, which distributed videos celebrating Hamas attacks and showcasing operatives undergoing training. One of these videos, titled "Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades," showed Hamas members armed with Kalashnikovs, making Molotov cocktails, and bragging about the killing of Jews. The video also contained interviews with blindfolded Palestinian "collaborators" prior to their execution.²⁰

Annual conferences also allowed IAP to promote the Hamas agenda. As the October 1988 *Ila Filastin* noted, "The Islamic Association for Palestine held conferences and activities to celebrate [the] one year anniversary of the blessed Intifada and...the inception of the Hamas movement."²¹ Hamas members made frequent appearances at IAP's conferences.²² At these conferences, IAP raised significant amounts of money for the Holy Land Foundation (HLF), Hamas' primary fundraising arm in the United States, which was shut down by the government in 2001,²³ and indicted for providing material support to Hamas in 2004.²⁴

On October 22, 2007 after 19 days of deliberation, the jurors in the HLF case were unable to reach a unanimous verdict on almost all the charges against the defendants, and the judge ordered a mistrial. Defendant Mohammed El-Mezain was acquitted on all but one count; that of conspiracy to provide material support to terrorists. A retrial is scheduled for August 2008.²⁵

Evidence from the Boim case shows all of the money IAP raised during its *Intifada* celebrations in the late 1980s and early 1990s went to HLF, or the Occupied Land Fund as it was then known.²⁵ Additionally, all the proceeds from IAP's 1996 convention went to HLF.²⁶ Jaber, one of CAIR's founders, became IAP president earlier that year.²⁷

¹⁸ *Al-Zaitounah*, October 1994.

¹⁹ "America's Greatest Enemy: THE JEW! and an UNHOLY ALLIANCE," Published by Islamic Association for Palestine.

²⁰ "Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades: Gaza, September 1992," Aqsa Vision.

²¹ *Ila Filastin*, October 1988.

²² Islamic Association for Palestine Annual Conference, Kansas City, Missouri, December 27-30, 1989.

²³ US Treasury Department, "Shutting Down the Terrorist Financial Network," December 4, 2001, <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/po841.htm> (accessed July 8, 2004).

²⁴ *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, "Indictment," (N.D. TX July 27, 2004).

²⁵ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00-CV-2905, "Deposition of Rafeeq Jaber," 77-78 (N.D. Ill July 28, 2003).

²⁶ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00-CV-2905, "Deposition of Rafeeq Jaber," 253-255 (N.D. Ill July 28, 2003).



IAP consistently encouraged people to donate to HLF²⁸ in its publications²⁹ and on its website, and the two organizations formalized their close relationship. The following is an exchange between the IAP's president and the attorney representing the family in the Boim civil case against Hamas-front groups referenced above:

Q: Was there any communication that you or anybody else at IAP had with the Holy Land Foundation about putting Holy Land Foundation in as a potential recipient for donors in action alerts such as this?

A: I think it's part of our contract that to promote them in every way we can.³⁰

In 1993 and 1994, Omar Ahmad, who served as CAIR's chairman from its incorporation until 2005,³¹ was also the president of IAP National.³² He acknowledged in a 2003 deposition that Hamas speakers and others advocating its positions routinely were invited to IAP conferences.³³

At IAP, Ahmad "worked closely"³⁴ with Nihad Awad, the group's public relations director in 1993 and 1994,³⁵ as well as a contributing editor of its English language publication *The Muslim World Monitor*.³⁶

In a 2000 article in *The Link*, Awad, who now is CAIR's executive director,³⁷ described how Ahmad had suggested that they split off from IAP: "Omar...had the insight to realize that the central issue facing the Muslim community in the United States was not being addressed. The core challenge, that of stereotyping and defamation, was having a devastating effect on our children and paralyzing adults from taking their due roles in

²⁷ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00-CV-2905, "Deposition of Rafeeq Jaber," 11 (N.D. Ill April 9, 2003).

²⁸ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00-CV-2905, "Deposition of Rafeeq Jaber," 167, 201-202 (N.D. Ill July 28, 2003).

²⁹ See for example: *Muslim World Monitor*, July 30, 1993 and *Muslim World Monitor*, February 9, 1994 and *Muslim World Monitor*, February 2, 1995. For more on IAP's promotion of HLF in its publications, see *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, 02-442 GK, Exhibit 28 at 1443 (D.D.C.).

³⁰ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00-CV-2905, "Deposition of Rafeeq Jaber," 203 (N.D. Ill April 9, 2003).

³¹ Jeff Brumley, "Prof. Parvez Ahmed Elected CAIR Chairman," *Florida Times Union*, May 21, 2005.

Note: Omar Ahmad wired thousands of dollars from his personal bank accounts to CAIR when the organization was being formed. In total, CAIR received \$41,930 in start-up capital directly from Ahmad. The NationsBank Wire Transfers took place on October 3, 1994, February 8, 1995, February 10, 1995, February 17, 1995 and March 1, 1995.

³² Omar Yayha, "Letter to IAP Members/Supporters," December 1, 1993, and *Al-Zaitounah*, August 25, 1994, 14.

³³ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00C-2905, "Deposition of Omar Ahmad," 123 (E.D. CA May 27, 2003).

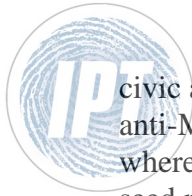
³⁴ Nihad Awad, "Muslim-Americans in Mainstream America," *The Link*, February-March 2000.

³⁵ Nihad Awad, "Muslim-Americans in Mainstream America," *The Link*, February-March 2000.

³⁶ *The Muslim World Monitor*, July 30, 1993, 2.

³⁷ CAIR Key Staff, Nihad Awad

<http://www.cair.com/AboutUs/CAIRNationalBoardandStaff.aspx#NihadAwad2> (accessed November 13, 2007).



civic affairs. Omar suggested to me that we leave the IAP and concentrate on combating anti-Muslim discrimination nationwide. He proposed that I move to Washington, D.C., where any effective national effort would have to be based, while he tried to raise the seed money for the project.”³⁸

Rafeeq Jaber, the third incorporator of CAIR³⁹ and a board member in 1994 and 1995,⁴⁰ headed IAP’s Chicago office in 1991.⁴¹ He also served as IAP president from 1996-1998 and again from 1999 until the organization closed its doors in 2005.⁴² Additionally, he was president of the Chicago-based American Muslim Society (AMS) since its inception in 1993 through 1996.⁴³ In 1994, AMS applied for the name “Islamic Association for Palestine in Chicago.”⁴⁴

There are other significant links between CAIR and IAP.

Ghassan Elashi, a founding board member of CAIR-Texas in 1998,⁴⁵ incorporated an IAP office in California in 1986.⁴⁶ Elashi’s brother, Basman,⁴⁷ was IAP-Texas president from 1995-1998.⁴⁸

In 2001, Oliver Revell, the FBI’s former counterterrorism chief, said that IAP and CAIR had had “intertwined membership in the past.”⁴⁹ Moreover, CAIR and IAP have co-issued a number of statements⁵⁰ and co-hosted a number of radical events (discussed in a later installment at greater depth).⁵¹

³⁸ Nihad Awad, “Muslim-Americans in Mainstream America,” *The Link*, February-March 2000.

³⁹ “Articles of Incorporation, Council on American-Islamic Relations,” October 12, 1994.

⁴⁰ “1994 and 1995 Council on American-Islamic Relations Form 990,” *Internal Revenue Service*.

⁴¹ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00-CV-2905, “Deposition of Rafeeq Jaber,” (N.D. Ill July 28, 2003).

⁴² *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00-CV-2905, “Deposition of Rafeeq Jaber,” 10-12 (N.D. Ill April 9, 2003).

⁴³ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00-CV-2905, “Deposition of Rafeeq Jaber,” 10-12 (N.D. Ill April 9, 2003).

⁴⁴ Application to Adopt, Change, or Cancel an Assumed Corporate Name of a General Not for Profit Corporation, American Muslim Society, Secretary of State, State of Illinois, filed April 18, 1994. Note: AMS functions as the Chicago branch of IAP. See: *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00-CV-2905, 6 (N.D. Ill May 12, 2000).

⁴⁵ “Articles of Incorporation Council on American-Islamic Relations,” Texas Secretary of State, September 29, 1998.

⁴⁶ “Articles of Incorporation Islamic Association for Palestine,” California Secretary of State, November 11, 1986.

⁴⁷ *US v. Elashi*, 3:02-CR-052-R, “Superseding indictment,” (N.D. Tex. December 17, 2002).

⁴⁸ “Texas Franchise Tax Public Information Report, Islamic Association for Palestine,” Richardson, Texas, 1995-1998.

⁴⁹ Alexander Bolton, “Rep. McKinney to Headline Muslim Fundraiser,” *The Hill*, October 3, 2001.

⁵⁰ See for example: “Islamic Leaders Say No One Has the Right to Negotiate Away Muslim Rights in Jerusalem,” July 10, 2000,

<http://web.archive.org/web/20001211214400/www.iap.org/statements/statements/campdavidstatement.htm> (accessed November 13, 2007) and PR Newswire, “Raid on Texas Business is ‘Anti-Muslim Witch Hunt’ Say Muslim Leaders,” September 6, 2001.

⁵¹ See for example: “50 Years of Occupation,” MSA News, Direct submission from IAP Information Office, May 23, 1998 and “Conference on Palestine,”

<http://web.archive.org/web/20010202150200/groups.yahoo.com/group/iapinfo/message/883> (accessed November 13, 2007) and “IAP Media Dinner Reaches Out To Mainstream Press,”

<http://www.wrmea.com/archives/july01/0107082.html> (accessed November 13, 2007).



And IAP's website has redirected visitors⁵² to a webpage titled "CAIR List Server."⁵³

Given the opportunity to distance himself from IAP in September 2003 Senate testimony, CAIR Executive Director Awad instead chose to defend the group: "The Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP) is a grassroots organization which continues to function legally and has only been 'linked' through allusion and no charge of criminality has been brought against the organization."⁵⁴

The 1993 Philadelphia Hamas Meeting

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

Organized by senior Hamas operative⁵⁵ Abdelhaleem Ashqar,⁵⁶ who was indicted in August 2004 for allegedly participating in a 15-year racketeering conspiracy to finance Hamas' activities,⁵⁷ the meeting was called in the wake of the Oslo Accords. In the Accords, Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin agreed to a future of coexistence and independence for the Israelis and Palestinians.

The 25-person⁵⁸ gathering represented, according to the FBI, "a meeting...among senior leaders of HAMAS, the HLF and the IAP."⁵⁹ A FBI analysis further noted: "all attendees of this meeting are Hamas members" or sympathizers.⁶⁰

According to the July 2004 HLF indictment, "The purpose of the meeting was to determine their course of action in support of Hamas' opposition to the peace plan and to decide how to conceal their activities from the scrutiny of the United States government."⁶¹

Attendees at the FBI-monitored meeting included five HLF officials who were indicted with the group in July 2004: Executive Director Haitham Maghawri, Chief Executive

⁵² <http://web.archive.org/web/20030425141117/http://iap.org/> (accessed December 11, 2004).

⁵³ <http://web.archive.org/web/20021127102104/http://iap.org/> and <http://web.archive.org/web/20020924192830/http://iap.org/> (accessed December 2, 2004).

⁵⁴ Supplemental Testimony of Nihad Awad Before the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Homeland Security, *Terrorism: Two Years After 9/11, Connecting the Dots*, at 5, September 17, 2003.

⁵⁵ *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, "Memorandum Opinion," 22 (D.D.C 02-442 GK).

⁵⁶ "Action Memorandum, Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development International Emergency Economic Powers Act," From Dale Watson, Assistant Director FBI Counterterrorism Division to Richard Newcomb, Director of the Office of Foreign Assets Control, Department of Treasury, November 5, 2001, 9 (hereinafter "Watson Action Memo.")

⁵⁷ *US v. Marzook*, 03-CR-978, "Indictment," (N.D. Ill August 19, 2004). Ashqar was acquitted on the terror support charges but convicted for contempt of court. He was sentenced in November 2007 to 11 years in prison.

⁵⁸ FBI Analysis of the Philadelphia Conference, Submitted as an exhibit in *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, 02-442 GK, Exhibit 28 at 1400 (D.D.C).

⁵⁹ Watson Action Memo, 9.

⁶⁰ FBI Analysis of the Philadelphia Conference, Submitted as an exhibit in *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, 02-442 GK, Exhibit 28 at 1400 (D.D.C).

⁶¹ *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, "Indictment," (N.D. TX July 27, 2004).



Officer Shukri Abu Baker, Treasurer Ghassan Elashi,⁶² Chairman of the Board Mohammad El-Mezain,⁶³ and fundraiser Mufid Abdulqader.⁶⁴ Highlighting the familial ties binding HLF's top officials to Mousa Abu Marzook, the godfather of IAP and HLF, Elashi (cousins through marriage) and El-Mezain (cousin) are both related to him.⁶⁵

Also at the meeting was Abdel-Jabbar Hamdan,⁶⁶ an HLF fundraiser⁶⁷ who was arrested on immigration charges the same day that the HLF indictment was unsealed.⁶⁸ But surely the most notable attendees were future CAIR Chairman Omar Ahmad, whose presence is documented in the FBI-certified hotel registry;⁶⁹ and CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad.⁷⁰

Awad's presence was not confirmed until August 2007, when FBI Special Agent Lara Burns testified about it during the HLF trial in Dallas.⁷¹ Previous references to a Nihad LNU (last name unknown) appeared in government transcripts of the meeting that were released in other court proceedings.

According to the FBI's recordings of the meeting, Ahmad referred to himself as Omar Yahya.⁷² Although he claimed in a 2003 deposition that he "can't recall attending this meeting."⁷³ he acknowledged that "some people call me" Omar Yahya "because it's like one of my middle names."⁷⁴ Ahmad also acknowledged knowing many of the men who were in Philadelphia, including Ashqar, Abu-Baker, Elashi and Maghawri.⁷⁵

While he testified that he could not remember being there, transcripts show it was Ahmad who called the meeting to order:

⁶² *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, "Indictment," (N.D. TX July 27, 2004).

⁶³ FBI Memorandum Regarding the Philadelphia Conference, October 27, 1993, Submitted as an exhibit in *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, 02-442 GK, Exhibit 14 at 255 (D.D.C).

⁶⁴ FBI Memorandum Regarding the Philadelphia Conference, October 27, 1993, Submitted as an exhibit in *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, 02-442 GK, Exhibit 14 at 255 (D.D.C).

⁶⁵ *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, "Indictment," (N.D. TX July 27, 2004); "Texas Islamic Group Busted By Feds," *CBS*, December 28, 2002, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/12/18/attack/main533469.shtml>.

⁶⁶ FBI Memorandum Regarding the Philadelphia Conference, October 27, 1993, Submitted as an exhibit in *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, Exhibit 14, at 255 (D.D.C 02-442 GK), and H.G. Reza, "Man Tied to Charity Stays in Jail," *The Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 2004.

⁶⁷ "1999 Holy Land Foundation Form 990," *Internal Revenue Service*.

⁶⁸ Kevin Pang and Mike Anton, "Rally Supports Muslim Man Who Was Arrested by FBI," *The Los Angeles Times*, July 29, 2004. Hamdan was ordered deported in 2005, but released from custody July 31, 2006 after a judge ruled he had been detained longer it should have taken to carry out the deportation.

⁶⁹ FBI Memorandum Regarding the Philadelphia Conference, October 27, 1993, Submitted as an exhibit in *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, Exhibit 14, at 255 (D.D.C 02-442 GK), and *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, at 51 (N.D. Ill 00-CV-2905, Memorandum and Order, filed November 10, 2004).

⁷⁰ Testimony of FBI Agent Lara Burns, *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, 3:04-CR-240-G, Aug 2, 2007

⁷¹ Testimony of FBI Agent Lara Burns, *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, 3:04-CR-240-G, Aug 2, 2007

⁷² FBI Analysis of the Philadelphia Conference, Submitted as an exhibit in *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, Exhibit 28, at 1466 (D.D.C 02-442 GK). See p. 12 of this document for more details on Ahmad's reference to himself as Omar Yahya.

⁷³ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, 00C-2905, "Deposition of Omar Ahmad," 8 (E.D. CA May 27, 2003).

⁷⁴ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, CA 00C-2905, "Deposition of Omar Ahmad," 224 (E.D. May 27, 2003).

⁷⁵ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, CA 00C-2905, "Deposition of Omar Ahmad," 241-242 (E.D. May 27, 2003).



This meeting was called for by the Palestine Committee in order to have a seminar or a meeting to the brothers present here today in order to study the situation in light of the latest developments on the Palestinian arena, its effects and impact on our work here in America.⁷⁶

Awad, like Ahmad, said he could not remember whether he attended the Philadelphia meeting when asked during a 2003 deposition.⁷⁷

But government transcripts show Awad was an active participant, including this exchange in which he and Ahmad discuss tailoring their message to appeal to Americans while hiding their true intent:

Awad: What is important is that the language of the address is there even for the American. But, the issue is how to use it.

....

Omar Ahmad: There is a difference between you saying "I want to restore the '48 land" and when you say "I want to destroy Israel."

....

Awad: Yes, there are different but parallel types of address. There shouldn't be contradiction. Address people according to their minds. When I speak with the American, I speak with someone who doesn't know anything. As for the Palestinian who has a martyr brother or something, I know how to address him, you see?⁷⁸

According to the hotel registry, Ahmad shared a room with "Abdul Rahman Baraski,"⁷⁹ which is likely a misspelling of "Abdul Rahman Barajki." Barajki would become CAIR-Northern California's registered agent,⁸⁰ a CAIR-National Board member,⁸¹ and a director of IAP-Texas.⁸²

Participants in the Philadelphia meeting apparently attempted to cover up their true agenda. As an FBI analysis of the secret recordings states, they "spent much effort hiding their association with the Islamic Resistance Movement, a.k.a. HAMAS. Instead, they referred to HAMAS as 'Samah,' which is HAMAS spelled backwards."⁸³

Ahmad employed this unsophisticated counter-surveillance technique, remarking:

We can't, as an American organization, say we represent Samah. Can we go to the Congressman and tell him, I am Omar Yehya, Chairman of the

⁷⁶ *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, 3:04-CR-240-G, Government Exhibit 16-47, p. 10.

⁷⁷ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute*, CA 00C-2905, "Deposition of Nihad Awad," 195. Oct. 22, 2003).

⁷⁸ *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, 3:04-CR-240-G, Government Exhibit 16-71, p. 4.

⁷⁹ Watson Action Memo, Exhibit 14 at 4.

⁸⁰ "Articles of Incorporation of Council on American-Islamic Relations, N. Cal," California Secretary of State, August 30, 1995.

⁸¹ Letter on CAIR letterhead noting their accomplishments to date, September 1995.

⁸² Texas Franchise Tax Public Information Report, Islamic Association for Palestine, Richardson, Texas, July, 26, 1996, September 15, 1997, May 19, 1998.

⁸³ Watson Action Memo, 12. See also *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, (N.D. TX July 27, 2004) Government Exhibit 49, p. 10.



Union [IAP], Yassir Arafat doesn't represent me, but Ahmad Yasin does?⁸⁴

Sheikh Ahmad Yasin was the spiritual leader of Hamas.⁸⁵

In addition to trying to obscure their ties to “Samah,” those at the meeting discussed how organizations in the United States could support Hamas. A speaker contemplated the merger of HLF and IAP⁸⁶ and noted, “The institutions here should be at the service of the Movement over there... This should include finance, information, political, and everything.”⁸⁷ Another urged his colleagues to “focus on those people who are directly connected with Jihad.”⁸⁸

In conjunction with their support for the jihad in Palestine, the participants also recognized the critical importance of domestic lobbying. Stressing the need for deeper engagement with the American Muslim community, one attendee discussed the groups “attempting to encourage the Islamic community to be involved in the political life in this country.” He commented, “We should assist them in this task. This will be an entrance for us to put, through the Islamic community, pressure on the Congress and the decision makers in America.”⁸⁹

CAIR Founder Omar Ahmad went a step further, envisioning a lobby because “we don't have influence over the Congress... This will bolster our position in America with the U.S. Administration and other media and political organizations.”⁹⁰ He concluded:

This can be achieved by infiltrating the American media outlets, universities and research centers as we previously said. ... if Muslims engage in political activism in American and started to be concerned with Congress and public relations we will have an entry point to use them to pressure Congress and the decision-makers in America.⁹¹

CAIR was incorporated the following summer.

⁸⁴ FBI Analysis of the Philadelphia Conference, Submitted as an exhibit in *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, C 02-442 GK, Exhibit 28 1466 (D.D.C).

⁸⁵ FBI Analysis of the Philadelphia Conference, Submitted as an exhibit in *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, C 02-442 GK, Exhibit 28 1466 (D.D.C).

⁸⁶ FBI Analysis of the Philadelphia Conference, Submitted as an exhibit in *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, 02-442 GK, Exhibit 28 at 1439 (D.D.C).

⁸⁷ FBI Analysis of the Philadelphia Conference, Submitted as an exhibit in *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, 02-442 GK, Exhibit 28 at 1439 (D.D.C).

FBI Analysis of the Philadelphia Conference, Submitted as an exhibit in *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, 02-442 GK, Exhibit 28 at 1439 (D.D.C).

⁸⁹ FBI Analysis of the Philadelphia Conference, Submitted as an exhibit in *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. Ashcroft*, 02-442 GK, Exhibit 28 at 1439 (D.D.C).

⁹⁰ *US v. Holy Land Foundation*, 3:04-CR-240-G, Government Exhibit 16-75, p. 17

⁹¹ *Ibid.*