



An IPT Investigative Report:

BEHIND THE FACADE

THE MUSLIM PUBLIC AFFAIRS
COUNCIL



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Muslim Public Affairs Council

An IPT Investigative Report

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Executive Summary

Founded in 1988 as an off-shoot of the Islamic Center of Southern California (ICSC), the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) hails itself as a “public service agency working for the civil rights of American Muslims, for the integration of Islam into American pluralism, and for a positive constructive relationship between American Muslims and their representatives.”¹ Despite this magnanimous mission statement, since its inception, an analysis of the group’s membership, statements, and publications reveals a far more menacing organization. In reality, MPAC routinely speaks in defense of designated terrorist organizations, as well as individuals and charities that are supporters of terrorism; opposes U.S. counterterrorism measures as part of a consistent knee-jerk reaction claiming bias and discrimination behind law enforcement efforts; and reflects a blatant and conspiratorial anti-Semitism.

Part I of this report will examine MPAC’s history of broadcasting, in print media, a message of hate. MPAC’s leadership and members have repeatedly graced the pages of the ICSC’s magazine *The Minaret*, downplaying the threat posed by Islamic extremists, propagating inflammatory rhetoric about Jews and Zionism, and reiterating conspiracy theories about the attacks of September 11, 2001.

Part II of this report will take an in-depth look at the anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist hate rhetoric that has been put forth by MPAC. MPAC routinely makes allegations that perpetuate anti-Semitic stereotypes and incite hatred towards Jews. The results have been consistent criticism of the creation of the State of Israel, the continued existence of the nation, and U.S. support for what is viewed as anti-Islamic actions undertaken by Israel.

Next, Part III will review MPAC’s historical attempts to sow distrust between the American and Arab American communities. Whether it is in the form of generalized fear mongering or more specific allegations that the “war on terrorism” is a “war on Islam,” the leadership of MPAC has done more to undercut relations between these two segments of our society than it has to forge ties.

Part IV of this report will closely examine MPAC’s defense of terrorist financiers. Rather than concede the obvious—that terrorist groups have used Islamic charities as cover for financing their violence acts—MPAC has consistently criticized U.S. counter-terrorism efforts by arguing that criminal investigations and prosecutions are based on politics rather than fact.

Finally, Part V recounts MPAC’s statements in defense of domestic and international terrorists. As with MPAC’s response to U.S. efforts to shut down the support structure for terrorist organizations, the group has publicly defended at least a dozen individuals suspected of terrorist activity within the United States.

¹ Muslim Public Affairs Council Web Page, “About MPAC,” <http://www.mpac.org/about/#axzz0eKMCPAE8>, viewed February 1, 2010.

The Development of MPAC's Islamist Ideology: A Primer

Throughout the 1980s there was a perceived need in the American-Muslim community to become more involved in the American political scene by developing political action committees. In response, the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) was founded in 1986 in Los Angeles as the Muslim Political Action Committee² of the Islamic Center of Southern California (ICSC).³ After working in concert with the ICSC for a few years, MPAC declared its independence in 1988 and was renamed the Muslim Public Affairs Council. Although now independent, MPAC remains intertwined with the ICSC, as demonstrated by its shared leadership and membership.⁴

Perhaps more important than an overlap in personnel, MPAC and ICSC also share a common Islamist ideology. This ideology can be traced back to the organizations' principle founders Dr. Maher Hathout⁵ and Dr. Sabri el Farra.⁶ Although we will discuss the biographies of each of these men and their relationships with MPAC and the ICSC at length, *infra*, it is important to begin this story where the stories of so many modern day Islamist organizations began—with the Muslim Brotherhood.

A. The Muslim Brotherhood

In 1928, Hassan al Banna founded the Muslim Brotherhood (“MB”), a rigidly conservative and highly secretive Egyptian-based organization dedicated to resurrecting a Muslim empire.⁷

² Muslim Public Affairs Council, “MPAC Timeline,” available at <http://www.mpac.org/about/timeline> (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009). MPAC changed its name to the Muslim Public Affairs Council in 1988 and was officially incorporated on February 8, 1990. *Id.*

³ ICSC was officially incorporated as a non-profit 501(c)(3) organization in 1953. Although it moved several times in its early days, the ICSC came to 434 South Vermont Avenue in 1971-72 and has been there ever since. *See* Mohammad Yacoob, “Brief History of the Islamic Center of Southern California (1952-1972),” *Islamic Center of Southern California Newsletter*, (Winter 2006), at 3. *See also*, Ron Kelley, “Muslims in Los Angeles,” *Muslim Communities in North America*, Albany, ed., Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Jane Idleman Smith, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994 at 134-68. Today, the ICSC has approximately 1,000 members but boasts of outreach that affects more than 10,000 Muslim families. *See* Pat McDonnell Twair, “In Memoriam: Dr. Sabri el Farra (1934-2000),” *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, (June 2002) at 59, 86, available at http://www.wrmea.com/archives/June_2000/0006059.html. In addition to serving as a Mosque, the ICSC is also an umbrella organization, collaborating with over 30 other local mosques, and has become a very large, active, and influential organization in Southern California. *Id.*

⁴ *See* Appendix A (detailing the cross-over between the MPAC and the ICSC).

⁵ Laurie Goldstein, “Influential American Muslims Temper Their Tone,” *New York Times*, Oct. 19, 2001.

⁶ Mohammad Yacoob, “Brief History of the Islamic Center of Southern California (1952-1972),” *Islamic Center of Southern California Newsletter*, (Winter 2006), at 3. Dr. el Farra served on ICSC’s Advisory Council from 1966-71, and became its chairman in 1971. *Id.* Dr. el Farra has connections to Yasser Arafat, formerly of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and served as ICSC Chairman for many years. *See* Pat McDonnell Twair, “In Memoriam: Dr. Sabri el Farra (1934-2000),” *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, (June 2002) at 59, 86, available at http://www.wrmea.com/archives/June_2000/0006059.html (explaining that his family was from Khan Younis in the Gaza Strip, that he studied with Yasser Arafat of the PLO in Cairo in the 1950’s, and that “over the years the two have maintained close ties”).

⁷ *See* Neil MacFarquhar, “Egyptian Group Patiently Pursues Dream of Islamic State,” *New York Times*, Jan. 20, 2002.

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According to al Banna, “it is the nature of Islam to dominate, not to be dominated, to impose its law on all nations and to extend its power to the entire planet.”⁸ Building upon that theme, al Banna gave the group the motto it still uses today:

“God is our purpose, the Prophet our leader, the Quran our Constitution, jihad our way, and dying for God our Supreme Objective.”⁹

The MB is well recognized as the ideological underpinning for all modern Islamic terrorist organizations.¹⁰ When discussing Hamas, al Qaida, and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, former National Security Council Counter-Terrorism Adviser Richard Clarke testified, “the common link here is the extremist Muslim Brotherhood—all of these organizations are descendents of the membership and ideology of the Muslim Brothers.”¹¹ Despite the violent ideology espoused by the MB, at least one of the founders of MPAC began his “career,” by studying with and following the teachings of al Banna and other MB leaders.

B. MPAC’s “Founding Fathers”

Although their rhetoric may have tempered over the years, it is important to recognize that the founders of MPAC and ICSC share a common ideology with the MB. In the cases of Maher Hathout and Mohamed Fathi Osman, these connections can be traced back to their youth. Consequently, we now examine the upbringing of each of them in turn, attempting to glean from their past some insight into the philosophies underpinning MPAC.

1. Dr. Maher Hathout

Maher Hathout has served as a senior advisor to MPAC¹² and, with his brother Hassan, helped found the Islamic Center of Southern California (ICSC) based upon the teachings that were enshrined in them from their upbringing with the MB.¹³ In recounting their childhood and involvement in the MB, Hassan explained that Maher had grown up and followed a similar path:

“It was no wonder that my brother Maher (ten years younger) grew up a bird of the same feather, even after I left the country. At a certain time of our political history, martial courts lavished jail sentences for Muslim activism even for

⁸ Fereydoun, Hoveyda, *The Broken Crescent*, (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002), at 56.

⁹ Muslim Brotherhood Homepage, available at <http://www.ummah.org.uk/ikhwan/index.html> (last accessed Aug. 23, 2004).

¹⁰ See e.g., The 9/11 Commission Report, at 51 (noting that Osama bin Laden “relies heavily” on Sayyid Qutb, al Banna’s ideological MB successor).

¹¹ Testimony of Richard Clarke before the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, (Oct. 22, 2003).

¹² Resume of Maher Hathout, available at <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Guestcv.asp?hGuestID=1CITGp> (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009); Mathis Chazanov, “Call of Mecca: A Rising Response,” *Los Angeles Times* (July 3, 1988).

¹³ Laurie Goldstein, “Influential American Muslims Temper Their Tone,” *The New York Times*, (Oct. 19, 2001).

giving a donation...to the families of imprisoned Muslims...In one of these mock trials my brother [Maher] and three of his fellows were at court interrogated...”¹⁴

Maher himself later admitted to participating in anti-British resistance activities during an interview, on MPAC’s Muslim Wavelength Radio in September 2000.¹⁵

Following Maher’s release from prison in 1968, he moved from Egypt to Kuwait, and in 1971 immigrated to the United States to Buffalo, NY.¹⁶ In 1978, Maher moved to California and helped found the ICSC.¹⁷ When MPAC was established as an offshoot of the ICSC, Hathout took a position as senior advisor.¹⁸

The influence Hathout’s brother Hassan played in Maher’s life is relevant in assessing the ideology driving the ICSC, which Hassan co-founded, and MPAC. Hassan Hathout died in April 2009. Until then, the Hathout brothers were inseparable, making their way to California from Egypt and working together on the closely intertwined activities of the ICSC and its publication, *The Minaret*.

Hassan Hathout had close and well-documented ties to the MB. As he recounted in his memoirs, his connections to the MB began at an early age. Discussing his relationship with al Banna, Hathout stated:

“My teacher was a student at the time. His name was Hassan al Banna...I believe he is a unique type of person. Centuries might roll over before a similar personality is produced. I think that the person who most influenced my life was that teacher.”¹⁹

Discussing the effect that these teachings had on him and his youthful work with the MB, Hathout explained:

¹⁴ Dr. Hassan Hathout, “Living Memories: My Mother,” *The Minaret*, Vol. 14, No. 5 (Sept./Oct. 1992) at 47.

¹⁵ Dr. Maher Hathout, “Hillary Clinton; Mujahedine-e Khalq; Media Bias in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict; Hate Crimes,” Muslim Wave Length Radio and Islamicity (Sept. 31, 2000) (“I participated in, while I was very young, in the rallies and the struggles against British occupation”).

¹⁶ Pat and Samir Twair, “Southern California Chronicle: Muslim Achievement Awards go to Hathout Brothers,” *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, (Jan/Feb. 2000) at 47-50.; available at http://www.wrmea.com/archives/Jan_Feb_2000/0002047.html

¹⁷ Laurie Goldstein, “Influential American Muslims Temper Their Tone,” *The New York Times* (Oct. 19, 2001).

¹⁸ Dr. Maher M. Hathout, Muslim Wavelength; available at <http://web.archive.org/web/19981212015744/http://mpac.org>

¹⁹ Dr. Hassan Hathout, “The Man Who Influenced My Life,” *Voice of Islam* (Dec. 25, 1997), available at <http://www.islamicity.com/voi/transcripts/HassanAB.htm>. In recounting the story of the establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood and al Banna’s teachings, Hathout quoted one of the Koranic verses that al Banna used to preach to his followers: “those who disobey and fight God and his Apostle, and spread mischief in the land should have their punishment in the form of being killed, crucified, mutilated, or exiled.” *Id.* Since then, Hathout explained that al Banna “is among the few who have influenced my life, and he certainly shaped my Islamic personality.” Dr. Hassan Hathout, “Tales of the Blessed,” Dr. Hassan Hathout, *Personal Memoirs*, Los Angeles: Multimedia Vera International (2002) at 51-53.

“Parents are usually concerned when their children get too involved in Islamic and/or Patriotic activities that compete with scholastic work and indeed expose them to actual peril. Not in my case, for in my home God and country were primary concerns.”²⁰

Having worked alongside the MB in Palestine,²¹ when Hassan Hathout returned to Egypt he was arrested along with his brother Maher for “Muslim Activism.”²² Hathout later commented on these arrests, his subsequent exile, and arrival in the United States.²³ In particular, he said that he found the U.S. to be fertile ground to restart the Islamic Movement and grow from there:

“Long after Hassan al Banna, when Egypt had been through the Revolution and the new Regime, but Islam was always considered an enemy. We were persecuted, we were in jail, including my brother and myself. We had to flee home, at last coming to the United States of America. *Who knows, maybe the infertile soil that would not accept the seed of Islam in the East, might be replaced by a more fertile soil that would accept Islam in the West...This is the beginning of the Islamic Movement in the United States and in the West, and you are a part of this.*”²⁴

2. Dr. Mohamed Fathi Osman

Also demonstrative of the shared Islamist ideology of the founding members of MPAC is the story of Mohamed Fathi Osman.²⁵ Over the course of his career and time with MPAC, Osman repeatedly has made statements either justifying terrorism or attempting to downplay such acts.

²⁰ Dr. Hassan Hathout, “Living Memories: My Mother,” *The Minaret*, Vol. 14, No. 5 (September/October 1992) at 47.

²¹ Dr. Hassan Hathout, “The Man Who Influenced My Life”, *Voice of Islam* (Dec. 25, 1997), available at <http://www.islamicity.com/voi/transcripts/HassanAB.htm> (“many volunteers, including myself, volunteered in Palestine in 1948. Not hateful at all, but to serve the cause of Justice, for wherever Justice is compromised, Muslims should be concerned, whether in Palestine, Kashmir, Eastern Europe, or South Africa. Wherever there is the question of just and unjust, Muslims should have a stand. Because the mission of Islam is a global, universal mission”).

²² Dr. Hassan Hathout, “My Mother,” *The Minaret* vol. 14, Issue 5 (Sept/Oct. 1992) at 47.

²³ Dr. Hassan Hathout, “The Man Who Influenced My Life,” *Voice of Islam* (Dec. 25, 1997), available at <http://www.islamicity.com/voi/transcripts/HassanAB.htm>.

²⁴ *Id* (Emphasis added).

²⁵ Dr. Fathi was born in Cairo in 1928, studied history at the University of Cairo, and eventually received a Ph.D. from Princeton University in 1976. He is an Islamic author and scholar who has written numerous books and articles and served as Editor in Chief for the London Magazine in Saudi Arabia, *The Islamic World Review*. Since that time, he has held numerous academic positions at different universities, including when he was a Visiting Professor for the Spring, 1995 at the Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. See Conference Speakers, Prof. Mohamed Fathi Osman, University of Southern California institute for Advanced Catholic Studies (May 5-7, 2003), available at <http://www.usc.edu/programs/iacs/programs/conferences/bv/speakers/osman>.

In his book *Sharia in Contemporary Society*, Osman minimized issues with Islamist movements, saying that Western and Muslim reservations towards such groups were the result of Western media attacks on Islam:

“Why do we find many Muslims and non-Muslims along with Westerners worried about any movement or state which may commit itself to Islam and Islamic law? Whenever any individual or group from an Arab or Muslim country is accused of an act of violence, especially if the group’s name contains *jihād*, Western media automatically accuses and attacks Islam.”²⁶

More than simply defending Islamist movements, Osman has explicitly condoned jihad. In a 1987 article entitled “The Anatomy of Terrorism,” Osman argued that the concept of jihad is justified in Islam if undertaken in response to oppression:

“Jihad is allowed in Islam against those who attack the faithful...the jihad of Islam is no more nor less than any legitimate struggle for justice, which many contemporary political powers and intellectuals insist on ignoring whenever they discuss terrorism and Islam.”²⁷

Although the humble beginnings of these three individuals can be clearly traced back to the MB, MPAC continues to rely on the same Islamist ideologies enshrined in its leaders decades ago by the Brotherhood. Demonstrative of this influence is the continuing anti-Zionism,²⁸ apologia for acts of terror,²⁹ and subversive political tactics.³⁰

C. The Muslim Public Affairs Council Today

MPAC began as a small, single-issue organization, with many of their earliest activities dedicated to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In particular, MPAC actively supported the Palestinians during the first *Intifada* in 1987-88.³¹ Then known as the Muslim Political Action Committee, MPAC held a New Year’s protest for Palestinian human rights in front of Los Angeles City Hall³² and held another anti-Israeli rally on January 22, 1988.³³ An advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times* in March 1988 by MPAC compared Israel to the Nazis, intent on slaughtering the Palestinians:

²⁶ Fathi Osman, *Sharia in Contemporary Society: The Dynamics of Change in the Islamic Law*, Los Angeles: Multimedia Vera International 1994 at 109.

²⁷ Fathi Osman, “The Anatomy of Terrorism,” *The Minaret* Vol. 8, Issue 2 (Spring 1987) at 24-27.

²⁸ See e.g., Part III, B.

²⁹ See e.g., Part III, C.

³⁰ See e.g., Part IV, B.

³¹ Press Release, “American Muslims Enter the Democratic Party Process,” Muslim Political Action Committee, July 20, 1988.

³² Salam al Marayati, “Political Profile: MPAC,” *The Minaret*, Vol. 9, Issue 3 (Summer 1988) at 11.

³³ “Jerusalem is Bleeding!,” Muslim Political Action Committee Advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times* (Jan. 22, 1988).

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“A new chapter of violence and terrorism is opening...In the 1930’s acquiescence led to the Holocaust. Our acquiescence now towards such atrocities [Israeli occupation] will prepare the stage for a new one.”³⁴

MPAC’s first paper, published in February 1989 was entitled *Israel, the United States and the Palestinians: A Relationship Re-examined*, and discussed Israeli human rights violations with recommendations for courses of action.³⁵

MPAC offers a young, dynamic leadership, from executive director Salam al Marayati (who will be referenced throughout this report) and spokeswoman Edina Lekovic. As a UCLA student during the late 1990s, Lekovic served as an editor for *Al-Talib*, a Muslim student magazine.³⁶

Its July 1999 issue featured Ayatollah Khomeini and Osama bin Laden on its cover, with a headline “The Spirit of Jihad.” Inside, bin Laden was identified as a “freedom fighter and philanthropist.”³⁷

In an editorial about Muslim pride and maintaining a Muslim identity in the West, the *Al-Talib* staff urged readers “that we act not according to the watered-down, twentieth-century version of Islam in the West, but to the Islam that was revealed by Allah and taught by the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) – the Islam people took pride in, and didn’t sacrifice any part of.”³⁸

By July 1999, Al Qaida had issued a declaration of war against the United States and issued a fatwa saying it was “an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to... kill Americans and their allies.”³⁹ Among its attacks were the 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.⁴⁰ Yet, the *Al-Talib* editorial cast bin Laden as a heroic figure:

“When we hear someone refer to the great *Mujahid* (someone who struggles in Allah’s cause) Osama bin Laden as a ‘terrorist,’ we should defend our brother and refer to him as a freedom fighter; someone who has forsaken wealth and power to fight in Allah’s cause and speak out against oppressors. We take these stances only to please Allah.”⁴¹

³⁴ Advertisement, “Never Before...Never Again,” Muslim Political Action Committee, *Los Angeles Times* (March 30, 1988).

³⁵ Book Review: “Israel and the United States: A Relationship Reexamined,” *The Minaret*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Summer 1989) at 54-55.

³⁶ Lekovic is listed as managing editor in the November 1998, January, May and July 1999 issues. In at least five issues from November 1999 through May 2002, she was listed as a copy editor and writer. In addition, Lekovic’s service as an *Al-Talib* managing editor was included in her biography at the December 2001 MPAC convention. The listing can be seen at http://www.investigativeproject.org/redirect/MPAC-2001_Bio_with_Al-Talib.pdf#page=6

³⁷ *Id.*

³⁸ Editorial, “Jihad in America, maintaining an Islamic identity in an un-Islamic environment,” *Al-Talib*, Volume 9, issue 6, July 1999.

³⁹ “Text of Fatwa Urging Jihad Against Americans,” first published in *Al Quds al-Arabi*, London, February 28, 1998.

⁴⁰ *US v. bin Laden, et al.*, Indictment, (98cr1023 SDNY), November 4, 1998.

⁴¹ Editorial, “Jihad in America, maintaining an Islamic identity in an un-Islamic environment,” *Al-Talib*, Volume 9, issue 6, July 1999.

Over the years, MPAC has evolved to a non-profit social welfare organization, describing its objectives as a “public service agency working for the civil rights of American Muslims, for the integration of Islam into American pluralism, and for a positive, constructive relationship between American Muslims and their representatives.”⁴² Run by Executive Director Salam al Marayati (“al Marayati”),⁴³ MPAC now has as many as 21 branches throughout the United States with its headquartered in Los Angeles.⁴⁴ The organization has become so influential within government and public policy spheres that the U.S. State Department recently sent al Marayati to Europe to discuss religious freedom and free speech.⁴⁵

As a result of its growth and development, MPAC has referred to itself as the “guiding light for American Muslim institutions on contributions to both the formulation of counterterrorism policy and its enforcement at the Mosque level.”⁴⁶ While these objectives reflect magnanimous and genuine intentions, since its inception, an analysis of the organization’s ties and membership

⁴² Muslim Public Affairs Council, “About MPAC,” available at http://www.mpac.org/about/about_menu.shtml (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

⁴³ Muslim Public Affairs Council, “About: Staff,” available at <http://www.mpac.org/about/staff-board> (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009). Al Marayati is married to Dr. Laila el Farra, the daughter of the ICSC’s el Farra. See Pat McDonnell Twair, “In Memoriam: Dr. Sabri el Farra (1934-2000),” *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, (June 2002) at 59, 86, available at http://www.wrmea.com/archives/June_2000/0006059.html.

⁴⁴ The branches include San Francisco, Muslim Public Affairs Council, *Muslim Public Affairs Council-Local Chapters*, available at <http://web.archive.org/web/1996111123227/www.mpac.org/local.htm> (last updated Sept. 26, 1996) (founded in 1993); Chicago, Muslim Public Affairs Council, *Muslim Public Affairs Council-Local Chapters*, available at <http://web.archive.org/web/1996111123227/www.mpac.org/local.htm> (last updated Sept. 26, 1996) (founded in 1994); New York, Muslim Public Affairs Council, *Muslim Public Affairs Council-Local Chapters*, available at <http://web.archive.org/web/1996111123227/www.mpac.org/local.htm> (last updated Sept. 26, 1996) (last updated Sept. 26, 1996); Washington, D.C., MPAC News, *Ted Koppel Speaks at MPAC Forum in DC*, available at <http://web.archive.org/web/1997122122115712/http://mpac.org>; Iowa, Joe Rodriguez, *Losing Sight of Islam*, *Wichita Eagle* (Sept. 10, 2006), available at <http://www.kansas.com/mld/eagle/living/religion/15474263.htm>; Arcadia, *Great Work From Our Chapters*, MPAC Report, Second Quarter, 202, at 8; North Orange County, *Great Work From Our Chapters*, MPAC Report, Second Quarter, 202, at 8; South Orange County, Muslim Public Affairs Council, *MPAC National Chapters*, available at http://web.archive.org/web/20030602203022/www.mpac.org/home_chapters.aspx; Law Vegas, *MPAC’s Houston and Las Vegas Chapters Participate in Raising Funds for Gujarat Victims*, Second Quarter, 2002, at 2; Houston, *MPAC’s Houston and Las Vegas Chapters Participate in Raising Funds for Gujarat Victims*, Second Quarter, 2002, at 2.; Glendale-Pasadena, *MPAC Chapters’ Work Expanding*, MPAC Report, First Quarter 2002, at 7; Inland Valley, *MPAC Chapters’ Work Expanding*, MPAC Report, First Quarter 2002, at 7; Fresno, *MPAC Chapters’ Work Expanding*, MPAC Report, First Quarter 2002, at 7; Bakersfield, Muslim Public Affairs Council, *MPAC National Chapters*, available at http://web.archive.org/web/20030602203022/www.mpac.org/home_chapters.aspx; South Bay-Santa Monica, Muslim Public Affairs Council, *MPAC National Chapters*, available at http://web.archive.org/web/20030602203022/www.mpac.org/home_chapters.aspx; Dayton, Ohio, Muslim Public Affairs Council, *MPAC National Chapters*, available at http://web.archive.org/web/20030602203022/www.mpac.org/home_chapters.aspx; Phoenix, AZ, Muslim Public Affairs Council, *MPAC National Chapters*, available at http://web.archive.org/web/20030602203022/www.mpac.org/home_chapters.aspx; and Boston, Muslim Public Affairs Council, *MPAC National Chapters*, available at http://web.archive.org/web/20030602203022/www.mpac.org/home_chapters.aspx.

⁴⁵ Muslim Public Affairs Council, “Al Marayati Explores Religious Freedom and Free Speech in Paris & Geneva,” *MPAC News* (Jan. 28, 2010), available at <http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=102#9x220eD4e9a20>.

⁴⁶ *The Islamic Society of Boston, et al., v. The Investigative Project on Terrorism, et al.*, Brief of Amicus Curiae Muslim Public Affairs Council, at 3, Doc. 2006-P-1358 (Mass. App.) (Feb. 26, 2007).

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- as well as its statements and publications - reveals an organization that has routinely defended designated terrorist organizations;⁴⁷ as well as individuals and charities that are supporters of terrorism;⁴⁸ opposes U.S. counterterrorism measures as part of a consistent knee jerk reaction claiming bias and discrimination behind law enforcement efforts;⁴⁹ and reflects a blatant conspiratorial anti-Semitism.⁵⁰

BROADCASTING HATE: MPAC'S MEDIA WING

Taking a page from the Muslim Brotherhood,⁵¹ and recognizing that any effective political action committee would need an effective media arm; MPAC has teamed up with the ICSC to build a campaign touting their policies. ICSC created and has maintained *de jure* control over its media outlet-Multimedia Vera International (“MVI”). Despite the apparent control of ICSC, in reality, MVI has served as a consistent outlet for MPAC and its media wing. This is particularly true of *The Minaret* magazine, a monthly publication that was in operation from 1985 to 2005.⁵² In fact, MPAC officials have served in both MVI and *The Minaret* while employed by MPAC.⁵³

While in operation, *The Minaret* published countless articles and editorials, including those by MPAC members, downplaying the threat posed by Islamic extremists,⁵⁴ propagating inflammatory rhetoric about Jews and Zionism,⁵⁵ and reiterating conspiracy theories about 9/11 and the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.⁵⁶

A. Downplaying the Threat Posed by Islamic Extremists

As part of a long-standing practice to sanitize acts of terrorism, *The Minaret* has been used as a mouthpiece for those seeking to downplay the threat posed by Islamic extremists. In an article in the March 2004 issue of the magazine, Dr. Javeed Akhter discussed the emergence of divisions and different strands of thought within Islam.⁵⁷ When discussing suicide bombings, he downplayed Islamic extremism and terrorism, saying that suicide bombings were merely responses to justified anger at oppressive powers. If those oppressive conditions were rectified, suicide bombings as a phenomenon would cease:

⁴⁷ See, *infra* Part III, B.

⁴⁸ See, *infra* Part V.

⁴⁹ See, *infra* Part IV.

⁵⁰ See, *infra* Part III, A.

⁵¹ Muslim Brotherhood, “An Explanatory Memorandum: On the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America,” May 22, 1991 at 14 (explaining the importance of media for civil engagement and political discourse).

⁵² See Multimedia Vera International, IRS Form 990 (1998). From 1993, *The Minaret* was distributed and circulated by MVI, a “non-profit organization dedicated to the needs of Muslims and others in the field of education and information.” *Id.* At first, MVI was described as a “non-profit organization affiliated with the ICSC from 1993.” See *The Minaret*, Vol. 15, issue 1 (Jan./Feb. 1993) at 4. Then in mid-1994, MVI was listed as a “Department” of the ICSC. See *The Minaret*, Vol. 16, issue 4 (July/Aug. 1994) at 6. Finally, from 1996 onwards MVI was listed as “owned by” the ICSC. See *The Minaret*, Vol. 18, issue 3 (March 1996) at 6.

⁵³ See Appendices A, B, and C (detailing the overlap in employment between MPAC, MVI, and *The Minaret*).

⁵⁴ See *infra* Part II, A.

⁵⁵ See *infra* Part II, B and II, C.

⁵⁶ See *infra* Part II, D.

⁵⁷ Dr. Javeed Akhter, “Schisms and Heterodoxy,” *The Minaret*, Vol. 26 Issue 3, March 2004, p. 38.

“The suicidal militant springs from young men with seething and legitimate anger towards the oppressors of Muslims all over the world ... Their suicidal missions are reactive to the injustice they are faced with and not the result of an accepted theology or philosophy. Restoration of justice and fair play within nations and in international relations will largely vaporize the motivation for a suicidal mission.”⁵⁸

More than simply rationalizing Islamic extremism, *The Minaret* has openly supported designated foreign terrorist organizations. In the June 2000 issue of *The Minaret*, an article titled “World Celebrates Israeli Retreat” was penned by a *Minaret* staff writer.⁵⁹ The author praised Hezbollah for forcing Israel’s withdrawal from Lebanon saying the determination and will shown would lead to the liberation of occupied land and called Hezbollah a “freedom fighter” organization:

“[The Israeli withdrawal] is a clear sign that determination and will can lead to the liberation of an occupied homeland. Hezbollah, the Lebanese freedom fighter group that led the effort to drive Israel out, is being widely praised through the world.”⁶⁰

These statements of support were made despite the fact that Hezbollah has been designated by the U.S. State Department as a Foreign Terrorist Organization.⁶¹ Among the countless attacks involving Hezbollah were the April 18, 1983 car bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut which killed 63 people and the June 14, 1985 hijacking of TWA flight 847.⁶²

In July 1995, *The Minaret* published an article by Suleman Ahmer, an official with the Benevolence International Foundation, which was shut down by the U.S. government in December of 2001 for its connections to Al Qaida.⁶³ Ahmer said he had returned from a trip to

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ Staff Writer, “World Celebrates Israeli Retreat,” *The Minaret* June 2000 Vol. 22 Issue 5, p. 19.

⁶⁰ *Id.* See also Larry Mantle, Salam Al-Marayati, and Rabbi Mordecai Finley, “Lebanon, Israel and Hezbollah:

Southern California's Perspective” *KPCC “AirTalk” Radio*, August 3, 2006.

http://www.publicradio.org/tools/media/player/kpcc/news/shows/airtalk/2005/08/20050831_airtalk1?start=00:00:00&end=00:28:15 Accessed August 11, 2008 (Marayati states that “The Israeli war machine is targeting civilians in

Lebanon; regardless of their claim or why their doing it or what happened to their soldiers... Human Rights Watch found no cases in which Hezbollah deliberately used civilians as shields to protect them from retaliatory [IDF]

attacks. In none of these cases of civilian death documented in this report is there evidence to suggest that Hezbollah forces or weapons were in or near the area that IDF targeted during or just prior to the attack... And I think we’re all

victims of getting these lies and propaganda that we’re subjected to”); Salam Al-Marayati, “Muslims in America.”

PBS: NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, November 24, 1999 (“If the Lebanese people are resisting Israeli intransigence on Lebanese soil, then that is the right of resistance and they have the right to target Israeli soldiers in this conflict.

That is not terrorism. That is a legitimate resistance. That could be called liberation movement, that could be called anything, but it's not terrorism”).

⁶¹ See *Background Information on Foreign Terrorist Organizations*, United States Department of State, available at <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/rpt/fto/2801.htm> (showing that Hezbollah was designated in 1999, prior to the statements of support made in *The Minaret*). See also *Current List of Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations*, United States Department of State, available at <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>.

⁶² See “Timeline of Hezbollah Violence,” Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in the Middle East, (July 17, 2006), available at, http://camera.org/index.asp?x_context=2&x_outlet=118&x_article=1148.

⁶³ Press Release: Treasury Designates Benevolence International Foundation and Related Entities as Financiers of Terrorism, United States Department of the Treasury, available at,

Chechnya where he provided relief to families in the war torn region.⁶⁴ Ahmer also said he spoke to Chechen families and “freedom fighters” while he was there.⁶⁵ Ahmer described their struggle in glowing terms, saying that they were fighting in the spirit of jihad and that they were devout Muslims:

“The Russian onslaught has not deterred Muslims from pursuing their path to freedom. Chechniyans are born fighters and a great majority of them are engaged in the struggle to achieve independence and human rights under the spirit of jihad...The freedom fights display their commitment to their faith by offering five daily prayers on schedule in the battlefield.”⁶⁶

Meanwhile, the Chechen rebels that MPAC defends have engaged in numerous acts of terrorism, including an August 1999 bombing of a shopping arcade and a September 1999 bombing of an apartment building in Moscow that killed sixty-four people, and the October 2002 seizure of Moscow’s Dubrovka theater, where approximately 700 people were taken hostage.⁶⁷ Nearly 40 terrorists were killed, along with at least 120 hostages, when Russian security forces stormed the theater in a rescue attempt.⁶⁸

B. Inflammatory Rhetoric About Jews and Zionism

Rather than criticize acts of violent jihad, *The Minaret* has been used as a means of blaming the victims of terrorism—most notably Israelis.⁶⁹ Rooted in a desire to justify acts of terrorism, the

<http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/po3632.htm> (Nov. 19, 2002) (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009). See also “Feds Close Two More Muslim Groups,” *CBS News*, December 14, 2001; *BIF v. Ashcroft* (NDIL) 02-CV-763 “Plaintiff’s Memorandum in Opposition to Defendant’s Motion to Stay Proceedings.” May 9, 2002.

⁶⁴ Suleman Ahmer, “Chechniyans Freedom Fighters,” *The Minaret* Vol. 17 Issue 4, July 1995, p. 29.

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ *Id.*

⁶⁷ See *Backgrounder: Chechen Terrorism*, Council on Foreign Relations (Aug. 5, 2008), available at <http://www.cfr.org/publication/9181/> (last accessed Oct. 30, 2009).

⁶⁸ *Id.*

⁶⁹ See e.g., Joel Beinin, “Thought Control for Middle East Studies,” *The Minaret* Vol. 26 Issue 6, June 2004, p. 37-38 (accusing neoconservatives with close ties to Israel of trying to stifle freedom of expression); Editorial: “Zionism is Racism,” *The Minaret* Vol. 23 Issue 8, September 2001, p. 7 (“The Zionist movement is a colonial movement that used, and is still using, Judaism to serve its unlawful purposes ... Zionism is an apartheid philosophy ... the Zionist state could only emerge by denying the majority its rights or by becoming the majority, either through immigration, or in reducing the number of Palestinians by ethnic cleansing which is what is happening now”); Adil Khan, “When Will Injustice End?” *The Minaret* Vol. 23 Issue 7 July/August 2001 p. 10 (“In spite of skewed reporting and in defiance of the long arm of opposing lobbies ... No one can deny that an oppressed population has the right to speak out and act out against violent occupation and encroaching settlements ... Genocide, oppression, and injustice are wrong ... Furthermore, the systematic slaughter of victimized civilians is a heinous crime that cannot continue unchecked”); “Zionist Extremism: What Will it Lead To?” *The Minaret* Vol. 23 Issue 1, January 2001, pp. 7, 10 (“It is obvious that the Zionists are perturbed with the growing effectiveness of MPAC’s stance on domestic and international issues. They feel threatened and are apprehensive that if such voices are not silenced. Their monopoly of power may be in jeopardy. This amounts to a campaign of hatred against American citizens to preserve the interests of a foreign country. The extremists intend to create a climate of hate against MPAC and its leadership in order to prevent it from playing any role in public policy. This is a dangerous trend and it deserves the full attention of anyone who upholds American values of justice and liberty”); *Press Conference: The Crisis in Gaza*, Muslim Public Affairs Council (Dec. 30, 2008) (Edina Lekovic arguing that “the actions that are taking place today only guarantee further bloodshed on all sides and instead of eliminating the threat of Hamas and the rockets into Israel, as

anti-Zionist rhetoric which has graced the pages of *The Minaret* ranges from comparing Israel to apartheid South Africa,⁷⁰ claiming that U.S. Jews are attempting to undermine Muslim participation in the democratic process,⁷¹ and alleging that Israel is engaged in genocide.⁷²

Although the public record is replete with *The Minaret's* anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic rhetoric, arguably most demonstrative of the overarching theme of the magazine is an article penned by Pejman Novin, former Assistant Program Director of the Muslim Student Association at

we are seeing today, there are more rockets that are going into Israel than few. This campaign is counterproductive and it is only crating more extremism and militancy on the ground and recruits for Hamas”).

⁷⁰ See “Editorial: Zionism is Racism,” *The Minaret* Vol. 23 Issue 8, September 2001, p. 7 (“This is a biased verdict [against the conference] because Zionism is based on the concept of ethnic superiority, and cultural and political domination ... the Zionist state, Israel, is built on a racist foundation”). See also Dr. Maher Hathout, “Jerusalem Day Rally.” Lafayette Park, Washington D.C., October 28, 2000 (“We did not come here to condemn the condemned atrocities committed by the apartheid state of Israel. Because butchers do what butchers do and because what is expected from a racist apartheid is what is happening now. ... You [U.S.] have been manipulated. You are financing an apartheid state ... They say Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East. This is a lie. Israel is not a democracy, Israel is a theocracy, and is an apartheid state, against every fiber of the modern world”); Dr. Maher Hathout, “Rally for Palestine – Juma and Khutba” MPAC, Los Angeles, California, October 6, 2000 and Susan Schwartz, “After Witnessing the Brutal Murder of a Child, The People Speak Up.” *The Minaret*, November/December 2000 p. 29 (I would like to make it very clear. We are not making any statement to the government of Israel. We have no business with the government of an apartheid regime. We have no calls on the government of Israel, we have no expectations. They are doing what they used to do best, killing people and stealing their land. We have no addressing to the government of Israel”).

⁷¹ See e.g., “Zionist Extremism: What Will it Lead To?” *The Minaret* Vol. 23 Issue 1, January 2001, p. 10 (“Obviously, the Zionists have a different perspective. They feel that if the U.S. followed even-handed policy and adopted a balanced position in the Middle East, Israel would not be able to subdue the Palestinians and pursue its apartheid policies ... The Zionists want to silence voices of moderation”); “Threats to American Democracy” *The Minaret* Vol. 21 Issue 9, September 1999, pp. 25-29 (“Racist and hate groups do exist among Muslims. however, those groups are marginal and condemned by Muslims in general ... Unlike other groups, Muslim hate groups emerged as a result of their interactions with colonialism, Zionism, and imperialism ... We should never deny that there are groups among Muslims, who have twisted their religion to react to the atrocities of colonialism and imperialism”); “Threats to American Democracy” *The Minaret* Vol. 21 Issue 9, September 1999, pp. 25-29 (“The hate groups want to silence voices that are opposed to their views and to eliminate any opposition from the political scene. For instance, extreme Zionist groups have been orchestrating a campaign of hatred against Muslims and their organizations in this country for many years ... Their activities are in direct violation of the constitutionally guaranteed freedoms and the First Amendment. Obviously, they would like to introduce changes in our constitution to curtail our freedoms”).

⁷² See e.g., “Threats to American Democracy” *The Minaret* Vol. 21 Issue 9, September 1999, pp. 25-29 (“Indeed, recent surveys show that ever more Israeli Jews support, or are at least willing to seriously consider, the most brutal measures against the Arabs living under their control, including genocidal forced mass expulsion from the land of ‘greater Israel’”); MPAC Press Conference: *The Crisis in Gaza*, Islamic Center of Southern California (Dec. 30, 2008) (statement of Dr. Maher Hathout) (“The Israeli war machine is executing an operation that is totally unacceptable by world standards. It is disturbing to us that our administration is really not only giving a green light but refusing to do the reasonable thing—to join the world in calling for a cease fire”); MPAC Convention, *Rebuilding U.S.-Muslim World Relations*, (Dec. 5, 2009) (Statement of Laila al-Marayati, Spokesperson, Muslim Women’s League, Chairperson, KinderUSA) (“we need to stop talking about Israelis and Palestinians as if they are equals, because they are not”); Salam al Marayati, *Op-ed Playing Local Politics with Gaza*, Los Angeles Times (Jan. 19, 2009), available at <http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/la-oe-w-almarayati19-2009jan19.0.6606647.story> (“the dehumanization of Palestinians and the demonization of Islam are now linked to the collateral damage in Gaza, that is, the killing of innocent civilians in this conflict. Until we as Americans demand that our government values human life equally for both Palestinians and Israelis, our public officials will continue to deny human dignity to Palestinians and therefore fuel anti-Americanism around the world”).

UCLA.⁷³ In the 1998 article entitled, “Anti-Semitism and Muslims,” Novin said that Zionism was based on racism, expansionism, and colonialism.⁷⁴ He also said that the Israeli state rested on stolen Palestinian land and that Israel was systematically slaughtering Palestinians to territorially expand even further:

“The Zionist ideology can be characterized with three qualities, settler colonialism, expansionism and racism. It is an ideology much like Apartheid in South Africa that has bred hate and violence ... Why is Zionism equal to colonialism? The history of Zionism has striking similarities to the first European settlers in America and their attempt to annihilate native Americans ... Since 1948, over four million Palestinians have been either systematically killed or forced to flee the country ... Why does Zionism equal expansionism? There are at least two methods by which an ideology is propagated, expansion by colonization and expansion by ideology ... Israel has now accomplished the first stage of its conquest by stealing the land from the Palestinians.”⁷⁵

Claims that Palestinians were displaced en masse have been largely debunked as gross exaggeration. Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, a 1945 British census found approximately 1.2 million Arabs in Palestine.⁷⁶ A report by the UN Mediator on Palestine found that following the Israeli war of independence, there were approximately 360,000 refugees.⁷⁷ Although even these numbers are high, they fail to identify the reason why many Palestinians fled their homes—they were encouraged to by Arab leaders. For instance, in his memoirs, former Syrian Prime Minister Haled al Azm stated:

“[s]ince 1948 we have been demanding the return of the refugees to their homes. But we ourselves are the ones who encouraged them to leave. Only a few months separated our call to them to leave and our appeal to the United Nations to resolve on their return.”⁷⁸

Articles like the one penned by Novin, while virulent in their own right, are part of a larger media campaign undertaken by MPAC and the ICSC through *The Minaret*. Indicative of this broader anti-Semitic mindset are the cartoons which frequently appeared in the magazine.

⁷³ Patrick Marantal, “Muslim Students Rally for Freedom,” *The Daily Bruin*, February 20, 1996.

<http://beta.dailybruin.com/articles/1996/2/20/muslim-students-rally-for-free/>

⁷⁴ Pejman Novin, “Anti-Semitism and Muslims,” *The Minaret* Vol. 20 Issue 1, January 1998, pp. 19-20. Novin wrote a similar article a year prior for *The Daily Bruin*, UCLA’s student newspaper. See Pejman Novin, “Zionist Ideology Equal to Colonialist Expansionism,” *The Daily Bruin*, April 29, 1997.

<http://beta.dailybruin.com/articles/1997/4/29/zionist-ideology-equal-to-colo/>

⁷⁵ *Id.*

⁷⁶ See Arieh Avneri, *The Claim of Dispossession*, (NJ: Transaction Books, 1984) at 272.

⁷⁷ Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine, Submitted to the Secretary General for Transmission to the Members of the United Nations, General Assembly Official Records: Third Session, Supplement No. 11 (A/648), Paris, 1948, at 47.

⁷⁸ “The Memoirs of Haled al Azm,” (Beirut, 1973), Part 1, pp. 386-387. See also Myron Kaufman, *The Coming Destruction of Israel*, (NY: The American Library Inc., 1970), pp. 26-27 (quoting Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri as saying, “we will smash the country with our guns and obliterate every place the Jews seek shelter in. The Arabs should conduct their wives and children to safe areas until the fighting has died down”).

C. The Minaret's Anti-Semitic and Radical Cartoons

In addition to their inflammatory and virulent articles and essays, each month *The Minaret* would provide its readers with a “political cartoon.”⁷⁹ What follows is a compilation of the cartoons which were published in *The Minaret*, a magazine which leaders of MPAC played a hand in putting out each month.

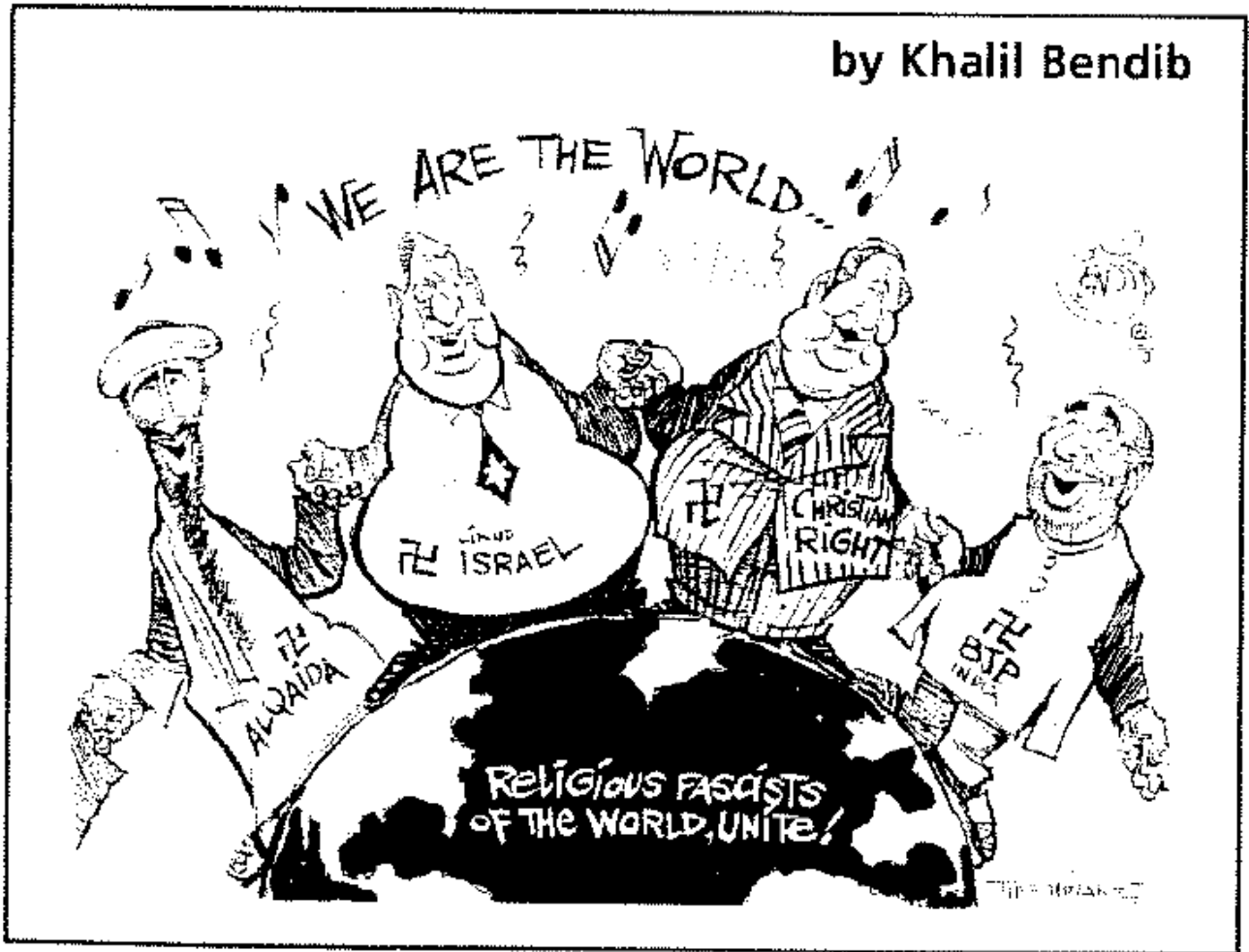


⁷⁹ These cartoons were originally drawn by Tarik Trad, however in 1995 Khalil Bendib, an Algerian-American artist and political cartoonist took over the drawings. See Biography: Khalil Bendib, *Studio Bendib*, available at <http://www.studiobendib.com/bio.html>. His first cartoon for *The Minaret* was published in Vol. 17, issue 1 (Jan./Feb. 1995) at 11.

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In the September 2003 issue cartoon, a grotesque looking Ariel Sharon is shown talking to a mirror on an “apartheid wall” holding a fork in preparation to devour “Palestine” to take it over, with only the crumbs going to the Palestinians.⁸⁰

In a February 2003 cartoon, Osama Bin Laden representing Al Qaida, Ariel Sharon representing Likud Israel, Jerry Falwell representing the Christian Right, and Atal Vajpayee representing the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) are shown linking hands and singing the song, “We are the World.” Each are shown with Swastikas on their jackets above the cartoon title of “Religious Fascists of the World, Unite!”⁸¹



Bendib’s January 2003 cartoon in *The Minaret* was entitled, “What Would Jesus Do?”⁸² It depicts President George W. Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney at the head of the table, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and a man representing the Christian Right.⁸³ Praying before eating, each asked themselves what would Jesus do?⁸⁴ According to Bush, incinerate Iraq,

⁸⁰ Khalil Bendib, “Because Fair is Fair,” *The Minaret* Vol. 23 Issue 8, September 2003, p. 14.

⁸¹ Khalil Bendib, “Religious Fascists of the World, Unite!” *The Minaret* Vol. 25 Issue 2, February 2003, p. 13

⁸² Khalil Bendib, “What Would Jesus Do?” *The Minaret* Vol. 24 Issue 10, January 2003, p. 13.

⁸³ *Id.*

⁸⁴ *Id.*

according to Cheney, Iran was added.⁸⁵ Rumsfeld went a step further thinking that Jesus would nuke Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia while the Christian Right, supporting Rumsfeld's idea added destroying the rest of Palestine through ethnic cleansing.⁸⁶



⁸⁵ *Id.*

⁸⁶ *Id.*

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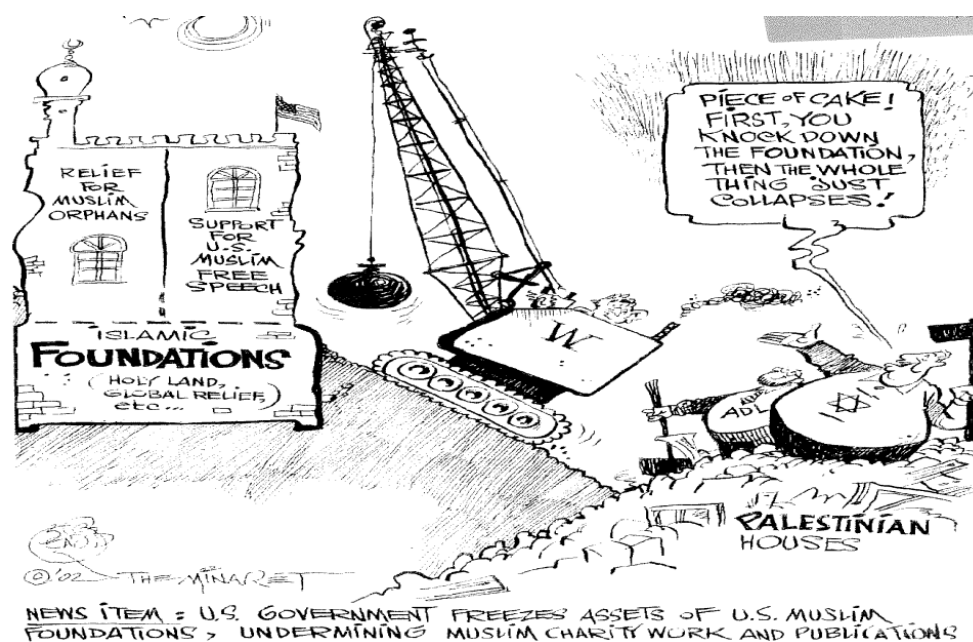
A September 2002 cartoon in *The Minaret* depicted Vice President Dick Cheney representing the Bush Administration, fooling his stupid American audience with puppets of Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden saying that Muslims and Arabs were the real threat deflecting attention away from the administration's illegitimacy, war mongering, and theft of American constitutional freedoms.⁸⁷



⁸⁷ Khalil Bendib, "Bush Administration/Saddam and Osama/U.S. Public Opinion," *The Minaret* Vol. 24 Issue 8, September 2002, p. 17.

The March 2002 *Minaret* cartoon shows an impish George W. Bush driving a wrecking ball at Muslim charitable foundations such as the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) and the Global Relief Foundation (GRF) and Muslim free speech at the behest of Ariel Sharon and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), standing atop the rubble of bulldozed Palestinian houses.⁸⁸

The HLF was an Islamic charity based in Richardson, Texas whose assets were frozen in December 2001 and found on November 24th, 2008 *guilty on all counts* of providing financial support to Hamas.⁸⁹ The GRF was an Islamic charity based in Bridgeview, Illinois,⁹⁰ that had ties with an Al Qaida precursor organization in Pakistan, and other known terrorist groups.⁹¹ In December 2001, GRF's assets were frozen⁹² and its offices were raided.⁹³ Following the raid, GRF sued the Treasury Department for release of its assets in January 2002.⁹⁴ That suit was dismissed and the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit refused to reverse the Treasury seizure.⁹⁵



⁸⁸ Khalil Bendib, "News Item: U.S. Government Freezes Assets of U.S. Muslim Foundations, Undermining Muslim Charity Work and Publications," *The Minaret* Vol. 24 Issue 3, March 2002, p. 16.

⁸⁹ *United States v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development et. al.*, (NDTX) 3:04-CR-240 "Jury Verdict," November 24, 2008. Defense attorneys have indicated an intent to appeal the verdicts.

⁹⁰ Global Relief Foundation. Form 990, 1993.

⁹¹ "Monograph on Terrorism Financing." *National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States*, August 21, 2004, p. 91 http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/staff_statements/911_TerrFin_Monograph.pdf

⁹² *Global Relief Foundation, Inc. v. New York Times Company, et al.*, (NDIL) 01-C-8821, "Memorandum Opinion and Order." February 19, 2003.

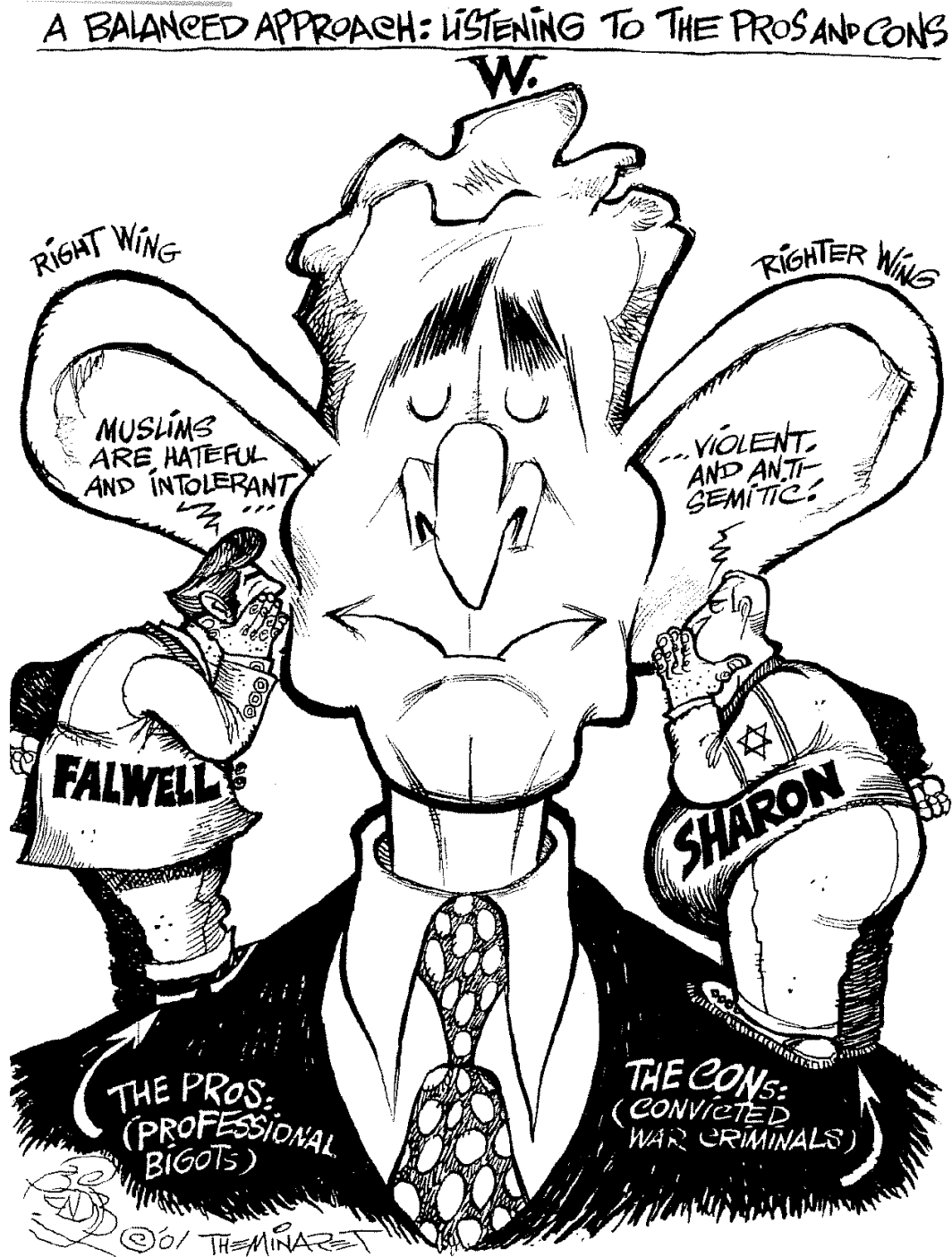
⁹³ "Feds Close Two More Muslim Groups," *CBS News*. December 14, 2001.

⁹⁴ Allan Dodds Frank, *Islamic Charity Fights Asset Freeze*, CNN.com (Jan. 28, 2002).

⁹⁵ *Global Relief Foundation, Inc. v. O'Neill*, 315 F.3d 748 (7th Cir. 2002)

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The April 2001 cartoon showed Jerry Falwell, a “professional bigot,” speaking into President George W. Bush’s left ear and Ariel Sharon, the “convicted war criminal” speaking into his right ear defaming Muslims as hateful and anti-Semitic.⁹⁶



⁹⁶ Khalil Bendib, “A Balanced Approach: Listening to the Pros and Cons,” *The Minaret* Vol. 23 Issue 4, April 2001, p. 14.

In Bendib's September 2000 *Minaret* cartoon, he depicts what he thinks of American evenhandedness in the Middle East. President Bill Clinton is shown shaking Israeli Prime Minister Barak's hand, while crushing and strangling Yasir Arafat representing Palestine with the other.⁹⁷



⁹⁷ Khalil Bendib, "Evenhandedness in the Middle-East," *The Minaret* Vol. 22 Issue 8, September 2000, p. 14.

Bendib's January 2000 cartoon for *The Minaret* shows a bunch of men in suits representing the West carting money and heaping apologies on to a older Jewish woman representing the "Jewish Holocaust."⁹⁸ Ignored by the West are the crippled figures of Palestine, Indian Genocide, and African Slavery.⁹⁹



⁹⁸ Khalil Bendib, "The Jewish Holocaust/The West/Palestine – Indian Genocide – African Slavery," *The Minaret* Vol. 22 Issue 1, January 2000, p. 15.

⁹⁹ *Id.*

In a July/August 1999 cartoon a “U.S. Congress” marionette is being manipulated by a stereotypical figure called the “Israel Lobby” while leaning against a table which says “National Committee on Terrorism.”¹⁰⁰ “Muslims” are gagged and bound next to the table as the “Israel Lobby” states, “OK, NOW we can have a serious discussion about religious fanaticism and intolerance ...”¹⁰¹



¹⁰⁰ Khalil Bendib, “National Committee on Terrorism: Ok, Now We can Have a Serious Discussion About Religious Fanaticism and Intolerance ...” *The Minaret* Vol. 21 Issue 7-8, July/August 1999, p. 13.

¹⁰¹ *Id.*

The June 1999 Minaret cartoon by Bendib shows President Clinton representing NATO holding two boxes of detergent labeled “ethnic cleansing.”¹⁰² While Kosovo is labeled “Bad Ethnic Cleansing,” Israel is accused and singled out as a “Good Ethnic Cleansing” with endorsements on the box saying, “Whiter Whites” and “Turns Muslim Lands Jewish!”¹⁰³



¹⁰² Khalil Bendib, “Compare Shop,” *The Minaret* Vol. 21 Issue 6, June 1999, p. 15.

¹⁰³ *Id.*

Bendib's May 1999 cartoon depicts a Hotel USA where a gigantic man, with money lining his pockets, representing the Zionist Lobby is using an elevator to crush the Muslims in the basement.¹⁰⁴



¹⁰⁴ Khalil Bendib, "Hotel USA: (Zionist) Lobby; (Muslim) Basement." *The Minaret* Vol. 21 Issue 5, May 1999, p. 13.

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In his October 1998 *Minaret* cartoon, Bendib shows two frames.¹⁰⁵ In the top frame, Congress and the media are shouting at Bill Clinton over his affair with Monica Lewinsky as being immoral.¹⁰⁶ In the bottom frame however, they are clapping for Clinton regarding the “brutal rape” of the “innocent” Muslim countries of Sudan and Afghanistan.¹⁰⁷ The cartoon was published after the American missile strikes in Afghanistan and Sudan against Osama bin Laden.¹⁰⁸



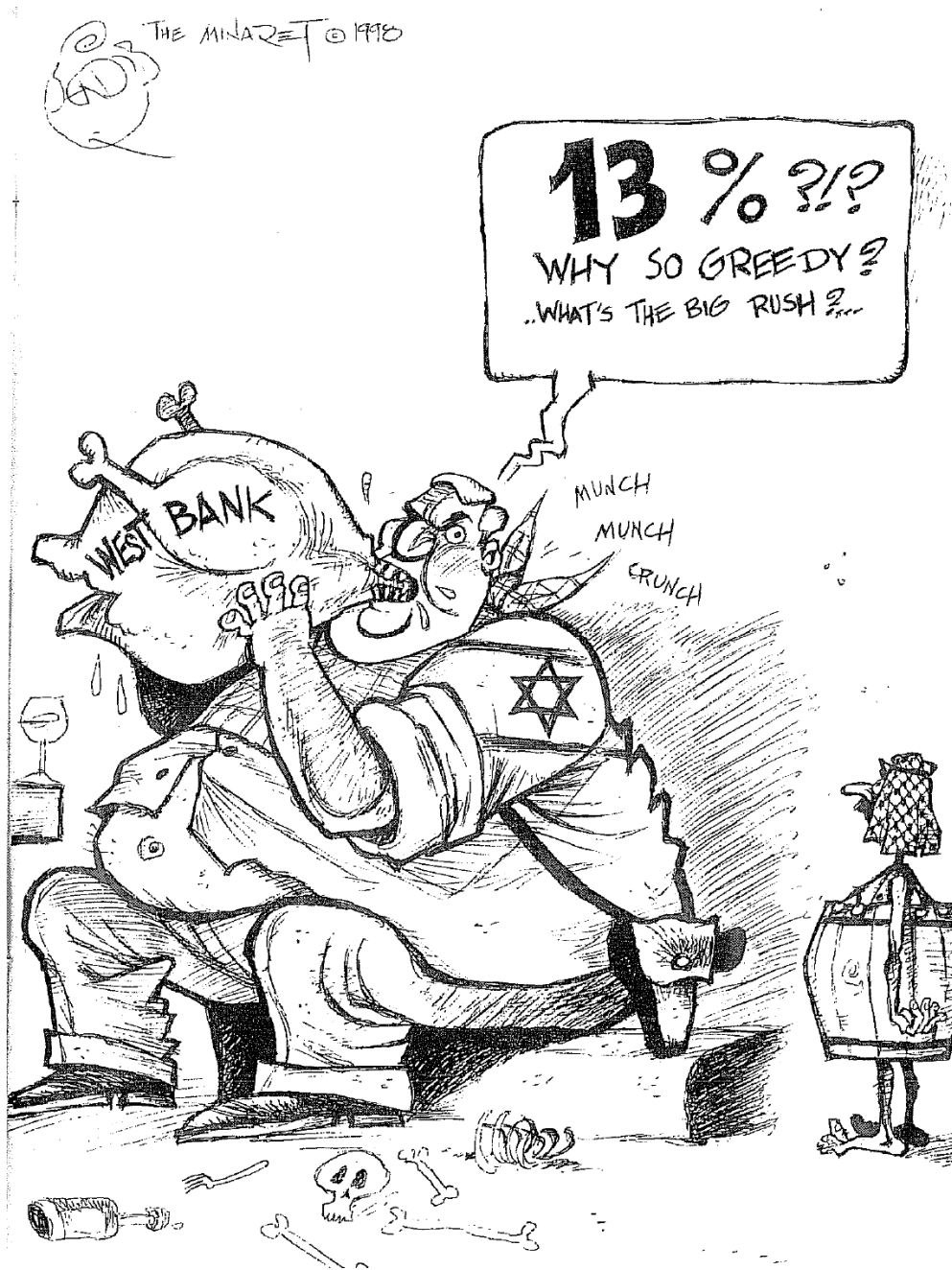
¹⁰⁵ Khalil Bendib, “Morality in the 90ies” *The Minaret* Vol. 20 Issue 10, October 1998, p. 12.

¹⁰⁶ *Id.*

¹⁰⁷ *Id.*

¹⁰⁸ *Id.*

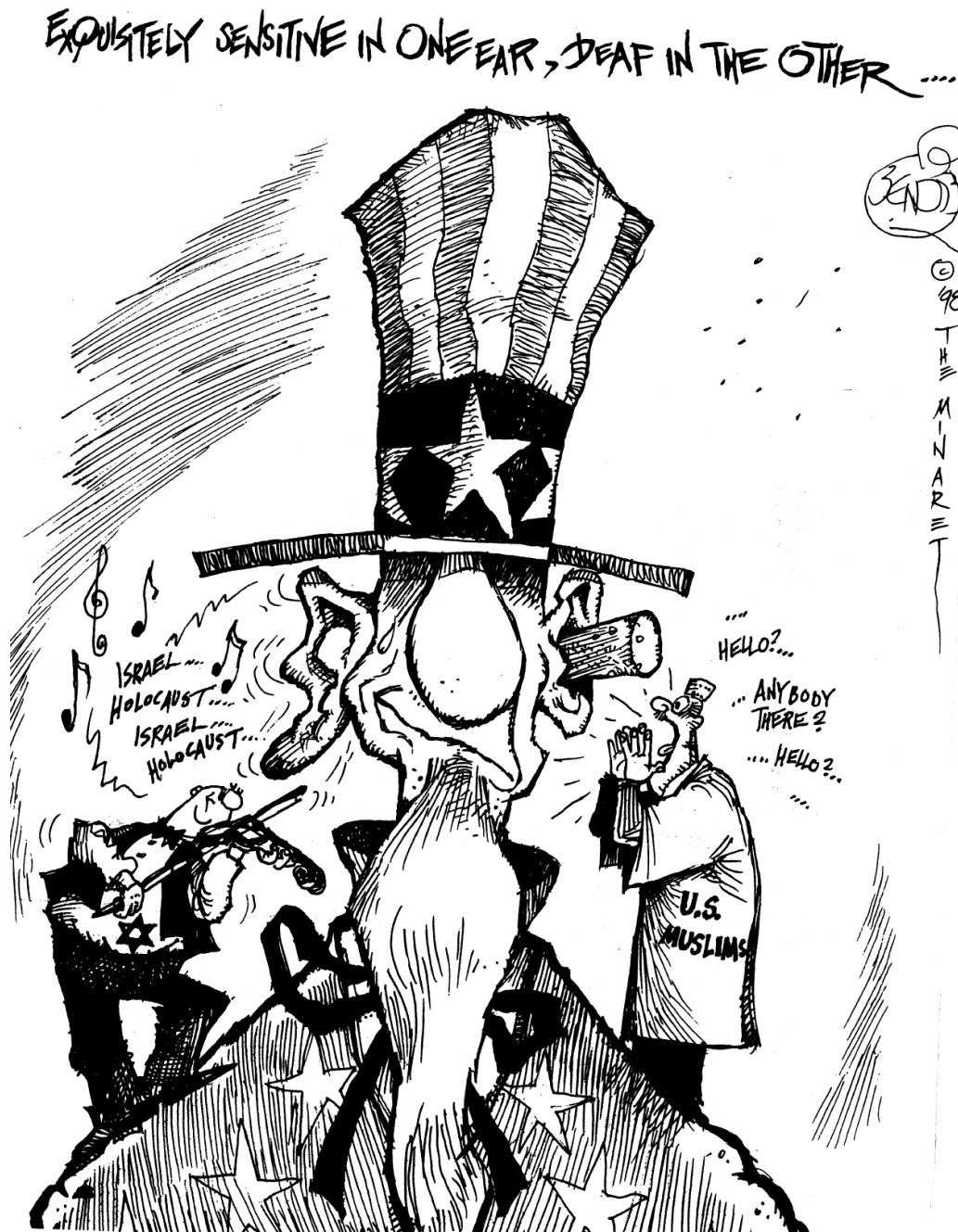
In the June 1998 cartoon, Bendib drew a grotesque looking Ariel Sharon devouring a turkey representing what was left of the West Bank, with a smaller, frightened, kaffiya wearing Palestinian looking on helplessly.¹⁰⁹ Near Sharon's feet are empty bottles and human bones, suggesting that Israel represented by Sharon had cannibalized and were cannibalizing Palestinians.¹¹⁰



¹⁰⁹ Khalil Bendib, "13%? Why so Greedy? What's the Big Rush?" *The Minaret* Vol. 20 Issue 6, June 1998, p. 13.

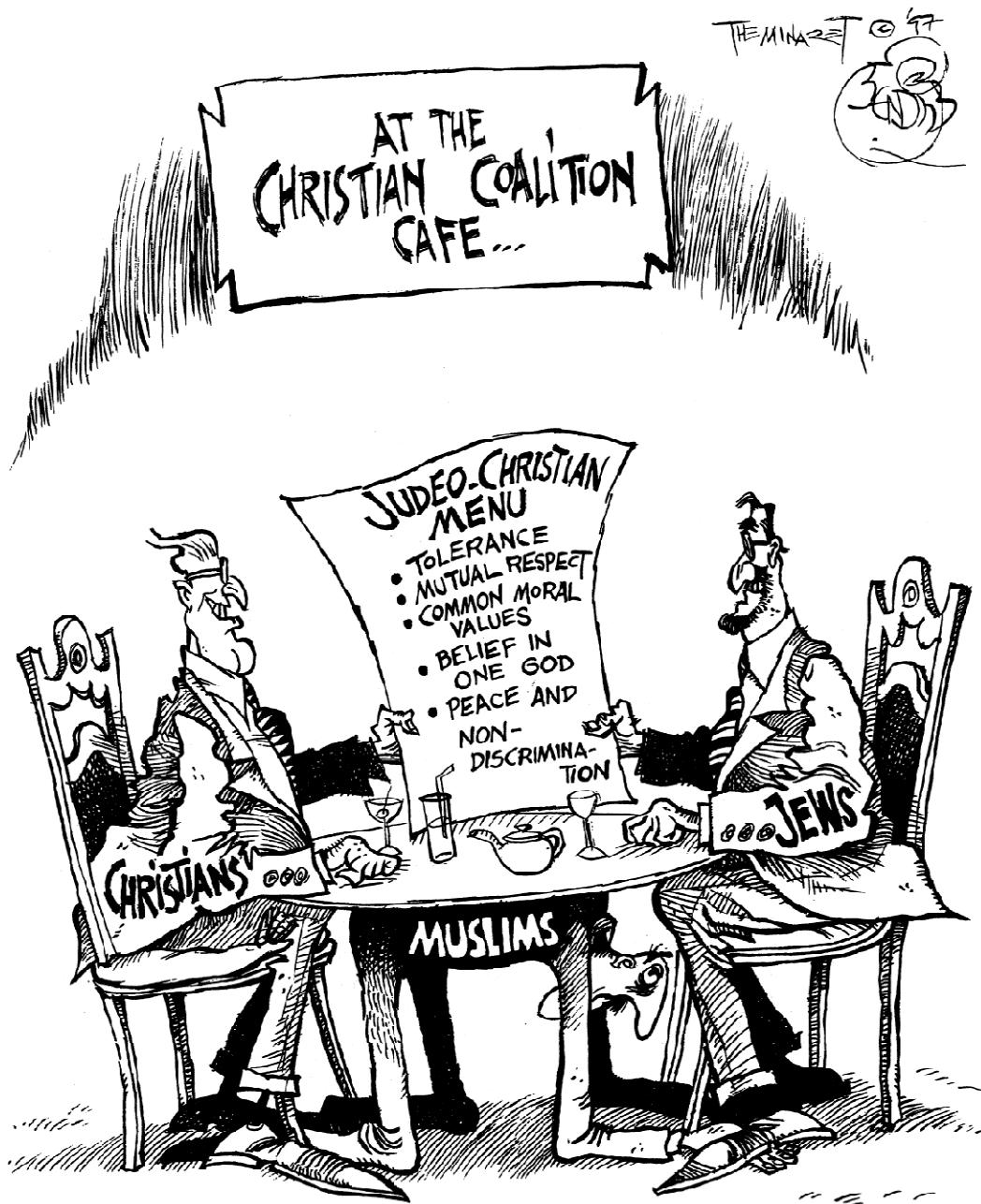
¹¹⁰ *Id.*

In the April 1998 *Minaret* cartoon, Bendib shows Uncle Sam listening in his left ear to a Jew sing songs about Israel and the Holocaust, while his right ear is corked and ignoring Muslim Americans.¹¹¹



¹¹¹ Khalil Bendib, "Exquisitely Sensitive in One Ear, Deaf in the Other ..." *The Minaret* Vol. 20 Issue 4, April 1998, p. 13.

The June 1997 *Minaret* cartoon, depicts an imaginary meal at the “Christian Coalition Café” where a man representing the Christians and man representing the Jews are holding a Judeo-Christian Menu listing tolerance, mutual respect, and other values at a table on top of a Muslim on the floor.¹¹²



¹¹² “At the Christian Coalition Café ...” *The Minaret* Vol. 19 Issue 6, June 1997, p. 13.

D. Conspiracy Theories about the 1993 World Trade Center Bombings and 9/11

The Minaret frequently published articles questioning the well-documented events surrounding both the 1993 World Trade Center bombing as well as the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. Perhaps unsurprisingly based upon the other rhetoric espoused by the magazine, these conspiracy theories often took the form of blaming America and Israel for the attacks.

The 1993 World Trade Center bombing, which occurred on February 26, 1993, killed six people and wounded 1,042 others. The perpetrators of the attack were eventually found, arrested, prosecuted, and convicted for their participation. Despite that, in the July/August 1993 issue of *The Minaret*, Editor in Chief Aslam Abdullah wrote an article entitled “On the New York Arrests.”¹¹³ Although the investigation remained ongoing at the time the article was written, by March 4, 1993, the FBI had already arrested Mohammad Salameh and was beginning to unravel the terrorist conspiracy.¹¹⁴ Abdullah, ignoring the evidence that had been put forth by the government, used the pages of *The Minaret* to spread conspiracy theories regarding the attacks. In the article, Abdullah claimed that the eight suspects arrested for the crime were set up and that the bombing might have been at the behest of those wanting to paint Islam and Muslims as enemies of the United States:

“There is another version of the story, which is circulating....Defense lawyers say that there are elements in the law enforcement agencies and political parties who are keen to project Islam and Muslims as enemies of the United States. Their concern is even shared by some government officials....Defense lawyers also suggest that [one of the conspirators] Emad Saleh was the brain behind the alleged plot and not all eight members of the group knew what they were framed for until they found themselves handcuffed by the FBI.”¹¹⁵

Eight years later, following the attacks of September 11, *The Minaret* again published articles questioning Osama bin Laden’s role in the attacks and suggesting instead that the events were undertaken by the American or Israeli governments.¹¹⁶

In the October 2001 issue of *The Minaret*, Ahmed Nedim urged his readers to “reach their own conclusions,” but then went on to reiterate conspiracy theories about the attacks.¹¹⁷ The article quoted a Hezbollah *al Manar* television report and Jordanian *al Watan* newspaper which claimed that Jews working at the World Trade Center in New York stayed home from work on 9/11 because they had been warned in advance of the attack.¹¹⁸ Nedim wondered why no investigation had been launched:

“Furthermore, there is a report about the arrest of five Israeli citizens for puzzling behavior near the World Trade Center within hours of the attacks...They reportedly were

¹¹³ Aslam Abdullah, “On the New York Arrests,” *The Minaret*, Vol. 15, issue 4 (July/Aug. 1993) at 13.

¹¹⁴ *First Strike: Global Terror in America*, Federal Bureau of Investigation (Feb. 26, 2008) available at http://www.fbi.gov/page2/feb08/tradebom_022608.html (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

¹¹⁵ *Id.*

¹¹⁶ Ahmed Nedim, “Conspiracy Theories Abound,” *The Minaret*, Vol. 23, issue 9 (Oct. 2001) p. 13-14.

¹¹⁷ *Id.*

¹¹⁸ *Id.*

caught videotaping the disaster and shouting in what was interpreted as cries of joy and mockery. What is puzzling is that the American media which has been so quick to report all kinds of breakthroughs chose to overlook these significant arrests.”¹¹⁹

Although this was a common conspiracy theory propagated by anti-Semites, it has been widely disproved. For instance, a September 21, 2001 *ABC News* report detailed how at least 130 Israeli nationals were killed in the attack.¹²⁰

In the same issue, *The Minaret* published an article by Australian journalist and documentary filmmaker John Pilger titled “Inevitable Ring to the Imaginable.”¹²¹ In an attempt to justify the attacks of 9/11, Pilger argued that the U.S. was the greatest source of terrorism and that the Islamic world was its principle victim:

“Far from being the terrorists of the world, the Islamic people have been its victims—primarily the victims of U.S. Fundamentalism, whose power in all its forms, military strategic, and economic, is the greatest source of terrorism on earth.”¹²²

Pilger went on to argue that 9/11 was the end of a long line of betrayal by the West and the U.S. of the Islamic World and that the U.S. was to blame because:

“Inevitably terror breeds terror and more fanaticism. But how patient the oppressed have been. It is only a few years ago that the Islamic fundamentalist groups, willing to blow themselves up in Israel and New York were formed, and only after Israel and the U.S. had rejected outright the hope of a Palestinian state, and justice for a people scarred by imperialism. Their distant voices of rage are now heard; the daily horrors in faraway brutalized places have at last come home.”¹²³

Even as additional evidence came in and it became clear who perpetrated the attacks, *The Minaret* continued to publish conspiracy theories. In its November/December 2001 issue, Marghoob Quraishi penned an article titled “Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy.”¹²⁴ In the article, Quraishi said that an examination of U.S. foreign policy should be conducted to determine the cause of the attacks:

“The most prudent way of dealing with this tragedy demands that we first ask the basic question: who are the real perpetrators of this tragedy, and what are their motives? Then, find the possible root causes of these attacks, and reexamine those overt or covert domestic and foreign policies of the United States that may have contributed to the armed conflicts that have been raging in Third World countries for several decades.”¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ *Id.*

¹²⁰ *Foreign Nationals Add to List of Missing in Terror Attack*, ABCNews.com, (Sept. 21, 2001) available at http://web.archive.org/web/20010921204336/http://dailynews.yahoo.com/h/abc/20010921/wl/wtc_recovery_rescue010921_1.html.

¹²¹ John Pilger, “Inevitable Ring to the Imaginable,” *The Minaret*, Vol. 23, issue 9 (Oct. 2001) p. 30-31.

¹²² *Id.*

¹²³ *Id.*

¹²⁴ Marghoob Quraishi, “Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy,” *The Minaret*, Vol. 23, issue 10 (Nov./Dec. 2001) at 21-24.

¹²⁵ *Id.*

Anti-Semitic Hate Speech

Lest MPAC claim that the virulently anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist propaganda published by *The Minaret* is not representative of the views of the organization, MPAC itself has put out similar material. In fact, MPAC routinely makes allegations that perpetuate anti-Semitic stereotypes and incite hatred towards Jews. The results have been consistent criticism of the creation of the state of Israel, the continued existence of that state, and U.S. support for what is viewed as anti-Islamic actions undertaken by Israel.

Most recently, and demonstrative of its anti-Semitic ideology, MPAC recently attempted to stoke a new “blood libel” that Israelis were indiscriminately killing Palestinians in order to harvest their organs.¹²⁶ Highlighting an editorial in a Swedish newspaper which claimed that the Israeli army kidnapped and killed young Palestinians to harvest their organs,¹²⁷ MPAC misconstrued the facts of the case to fit a pre-set narrative. Contrary to the “story” published by MPAC, Israel admitted to a program operated by a state-run forensic laboratory in the 1990s which harvested organs from bodies in its labs without consent from surviving relatives. This program involved both Israelis and Palestinians, and when news of it came to light, the program was immediately stopped.

A. Anti-Israeli Rhetoric

MPAC frequently argues against the establishment of the state of Israel. In a July 2006 radio interview, MPAC Executive Director Salam al Marayati said that the Holocaust was no excuse for Israeli “dehumanization” of Arab peoples:

“[a]s far as the Holocaust is concerned, we’ve come out very clearly saying that the Holocaust is the worst genocide, war crime, in the 20th century. We’re against Holocaust denial, but we’re also against people who exploit that as a way of shoving this kind of war propaganda and dehumanization of the Arab peoples and the Muslim peoples as if they have to pay the price for what Nazi Germany did to the Jews back in the 20th Century.”¹²⁸

More than simply claiming that the creation of the state of Israel was the result of European guilt, MPAC claims that it was done through intentional ethnic cleaning:¹²⁹ Searching for an analogy, MPAC frequently references U.S. actions towards Native Americans:

¹²⁶ See Muslim Public Affairs Council, *Israel Admits Harvesting Palestinian Organs; Int’l Criminal Court Must Intervene* MPACNews (Dec. 21, 2009), available at <http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=987#axzz0eKEbtWEw>

¹²⁷ Op-ed, *Our Sons are Plundered of their organs*, Adtonbladet (Aug. 26, 2009), available at <http://www.aftonbladet.se/kultur/article5691805.ab>.

¹²⁸ Larry Mantle, Salam al Marayati, and Rabbi Mordecai Finley, “Lebanon, Israel, and Hezbollah: Southern California’s Perspective” KPCC “AirTalk” Radio, Aug. 3, 2006, http://www.publicradio.org/tools/media/player/kpcc/news/shows/airtalk/2005/08/20050831_airtalk1?start=00:00:00&end=00:28:15.

¹²⁹ “Seeking an elusive Peace: Keys for Successfully advancing Middle East Peace” Muslim Public Affairs Council, May 28, 2009 at 4, <http://www.mpac.org/publications/seeking-an-elusive-peace/web.pdf> (“Palestinians see creation of modern Israel as a European settler state set up under the protective shield of the British colonizers. The European Jews that came to Palestine did so uninvited...and the creation of Israel in 1948 was made possible only through the

“We cannot give up on the children of Palestine. They ought to be the children of the whole world because the crime that is being committed in Palestine now is a shame to the human race, regardless of race, color, or creed. This is the second horrible atrocity after the Native Americans, where a population can be displaced, alienated, and reduced to Museums of anthropology. And we ought not to allow this to happen.”¹³⁰

Similarly, MPAC has compared the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to U.S. slavery. Speaking for MPAC at a 2002 Second Annual Palestinian Students Divestment Conference, then-Political Advisor Mahdi Bray,¹³¹ stated:

“[Israel] wants to maintain a certain control, a certain power and there is a certain vested interest, usually its economical interest. We might see it play itself out in religious context but ultimately, but the bottom line is economics...I’ve always said I think that the region has always wanted, and excuse my politeness and my bluntness, the Palestinians to be the new niggers of the Middle East. They’ve always wanted them to be the chief labor force.”¹³²

Unwilling to limit their criticism to what they view as the immoral and illegal creation of the state of Israel, MPAC continues to criticize the “occupation.”¹³³ In 2008, MPAC published: “A Resource Toolkit on 60 Years of Palestinian Suffering (1948-2008).” In the introduction, al Marayati accuses Israel of apartheid against the Palestinians, of forcing the people of Gaza to live like “caged animals,” and trying to erase Palestinian identity by calling Arab citizens of Israel, Israeli Arabs and not Palestinians:

deliberate ethnic cleaning of the Palestinians, which resulted in 700,000 Palestinian refugees. These refugees and their descendants have a legitimate more claim to redress the ethnic cleaning that occurred”).

¹³⁰ Dr. Maher Hathout, “KinderUSA Ramadan Iftar for the Children of Palestine, *KinderUSA Ramadan Iftar*, La Mirada, California, Oct. 8, 2006; *See also*, “Seeking an elusive Peace: Keys for Successfully advancing Middle East Peace” Muslim Public Affairs Council, May 28, 2009 at 4, <http://www.mpac.org/publications/seeking-an-elusive-peace/web.pdf> (“Palestinian use of violence cannot be understood without reference to this basic historical fact. The conventional American view is analogous to criticism of Native American assaults on white settlers while ignoring the underlying disposition”).

¹³¹ Note: Bray now serves as executive director of the Muslim American Society’s Freedom Foundation. MAS was founded by Muslim Brotherhood members in the United States.

¹³² Mahdi Bray, “Tactical Lessons from the U.S. Grassroots Struggle Against South African Apartheid,” *Students Allied for Freedom and Equality Program: The 2nd Annual Student Conference on the Palestinian Solidarity Movement*, Ann Arbor, MI, Oct. 12-14 (2002).

¹³³ *See e.g.*, Laila al Marayati, “KinderUSA Fundraiser,” *KinderUSA*, Bridgeview, Illinois, Aug. 17, 2003 (“But if you go into Palestinian towns in Israel itself, and it is as if they haven’t developed since 1950 because they can’t get permits to expand...If they do, they’re demolished...so we have to remember...Palestinians, inside Israel proper, or occupied Palestine, however, you want to refer to it, are suffering as well”); Dr. Aslam Abdullah, “Iraqi Crisis & 2004 U.S. Elections,” *IslamOnline Live Dialogue*, Aug. 23, 2003 (“Israel is an apartheid state...Mr. Bush...is a Zionist and he believes that Israel has a claim over the land from a divine perspective....Moreover, Mr. Bush or no American President is in command of foreign policy issues pertaining to Israel. It is Israel that dictates the policy and not the other way”); Aslam Abdullah, “A New Axis of Evil,” *The Minaret*, Vol. 24, Issue 5 (May 2002) at 21 (“the ideology of Zionism is executed by a regime that legitimizes apartheid and racism, through constitutional means. The regime receives support from a superpower that manipulates facts to serve the interests of oppressors...In this new axis of evil, the U.S. power elite, Israel, and the Arab rulers must be charged with denying the people of the region the dignity that they are born with, the democracy that they desire, the equality they struggle for and the peace they strive for”).

“In addition, those Palestinians who remained in Israel (often referred to as “Israeli Arabs” in an attempt to strip them of their identity as Palestinians) live as second class citizens in Israel. In the West Bank, where Jewish settlers are given rights denied to the local population, Palestinians live under an apartheid system...the common Israeli practice of using collective punishment against innocent people has reached a level that many thought impossible as the siege against Gaza continues unabated. By cutting off supplies of fuel and other basic necessities, Israel has reduced the life of Gazan families to that of caged animals.”¹³⁴

While critics often argue that Palestinians in Israel are treated as second class citizens, they fail to consider the conditions in place in other Arab states. According to annual reports compiled by the State Department, most Arab states are ruled by oppressive regimes, which deny their citizens basic freedoms of political expression, speech, press, and due process. The *Arab Human Development Report*, published by a group of Arab researchers from the UN Development Program, concluded that out of the seven regions of the world, Arab countries had the lowest freedom score.¹³⁵

In a speech at the Islamic Center of Irvine in July 2002, MPAC Communications Director Edina Lekovic said that Muslims were being oppressed and massacred everywhere by non-Muslims, and accused “Zionists” of massacring Muslims because this was inherent in their behavior:

“We feel as Muslims that we’re being oppressed everywhere, and we feel that injustice is being thrown upon the Muslims left and right in every corner of the globe...We focus on how we’re being oppressed by non-Muslims everywhere. Any corner of the globe that you choose, Muslims have been massacred...In Palestine, for example, we know the history of Zionism...and we point to the Zionists constantly. We can expect that the Zionists will act as Zionists. That’s the equation that we always know will exist...”¹³⁶

It is worth recognizing that criticism of the “occupation” essentially amounts to criticism of Israeli counter-terrorism efforts, something that MPAC has consistently railed upon the state of Israel for. In a later question and answer session at the Irvine event entitled “The Truth Behind America’s War on Terrorism,” Aslam Abdullah claimed:

“The State of Israel is an epitome of terrorism. It uses all its might to suppress the indigenous people of Palestine...some of the world’s powers such as the U.S. and Britain supported terrorist outfits such as South Africa and Israel.”¹³⁷

In response to Israeli military operations around Ramallah and Hebron in March 2001, an MPAC press release accused the U.S. of appeasing Israeli war crimes and massacres of Palestinians:

“The U.S. should realize that its credibility in the region is sinking to new lows because of its appeasement of Israeli war crimes and its silence at the massacre of

¹³⁴ “A Resource Toolkit on 60 years of Palestinian Suffering (1948-2008),” MPAC, 2008 at 3.

¹³⁵ Arab Human Development Report 2002, NY: UN, 2002.

¹³⁶ Edina Lekovic, “Struggle in the Muslim World,” MPAC and the Islamic Center of Irvine, Irvine, CA (July 14, 2002).

¹³⁷ Dr. Aslam Abdullah, “The Truth behind America's War on Terrorism.” *IslamOnline*, November 30, 2002.

Palestinians...The United States government, however, consents to Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people on Palestinian lands.”¹³⁸

To this end, MPAC continues to criticize even the existence of the state of Israel. In a khutba, or sermon, delivered at the ICSC on May 8, 1998, entitled “A Lesson From History,” Maher Hathout bemoaned the pending anniversary of Israel’s creation as the birth of terror in the region:

“On the 16 of May there will be a big hoopla in this country celebrating the day in which a wave of terrorists and vulgarity...uprooted the Palestinian people from their home, removed them, either into homeless refugees or a third class citizens in an apartheid state is falsely described as a democracy...Powers of tyranny and terrorists picked our people, slaughtered citizens, killed the babies in the laps of their mothers, to spread a wave of fear that will drive people out of their homes...just to listen to the happy birthday song for an entity based on aggression and stained with blood. An entity that reduced the people into refugees and third class citizenship and...pushed them into utter despair, and when some of them acted desperately, the whole were branded as crazy terrorists.”¹³⁹

Part of the problem, according to the MPAC is that the media doesn’t portray the conflict accurately. In an article in August 2001, then MPAC spokesman Nader Elmakawi compared the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* editorial sections and their reporting on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. *The New York Times*, Elmakawi wrote, was guilty of being “agenda driven” and papering over Israel’s brutality towards the Palestinians:

“The New York Times editorial section is devoid of a substantial existing body of argument rooted in the Palestinian perspective. This perspective offers important insight into colonialism, military occupation, extra-judicial killing, home demolition and expulsion that forms an integral part of daily Palestinian life and contributes to so much Palestinian frustration...It’s [sic] absence...thus indicates a substantial degree of bias...Though the attitude of the New York Times is clearly lopsided and agenda driven, it is unfortunately not the worst. Many mainstream newspapers perpetrate the same sharp and largely one-sided attacks on Arabs and Muslims and exhibit the same themes found in much anti-Arab sentiment.”¹⁴⁰

Although MPAC continues to criticize Israel for these actions and the media for failing to cover them, MPAC has also turned its sights on American politicians.¹⁴¹ In an article entitled

¹³⁸ “MPAC Condemns Israeli Aggression,” *MPAC News*, March 30, 2001, <http://web.archive.org/web/198/12/12015744/http://mpac.org>.

¹³⁹ Maher Hathout, “A Lesson From History,” *Voice of Islam*, Khutba at the Islamic Center of Southern California (May 8, 1998).

¹⁴⁰ Nader Elmakawi, “Israel and Palestine in the Media: A Comparison of the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times Editorial Sections,” *MPAC Opinion*, Aug. 24, 2001, http://web.archive.org/web/20020315115714/www.mpac.org/news/opinion_082401.shtml. See also Joyce M. Davis, “Muslim Translators say ‘60 Minutes’ Fabricated Bomber’s Quotes,” *Knight Ridder/Tribune News Service*, Aug. 24, 2001 (“the worst case scenario is that there is a deliberate spinning of the news. It is very fashionable now to present Muslims as particularly susceptible to being crazy of blowing themselves up”).

¹⁴¹ See e.g., Dr. Aslam Abdullah, “Israeli Mole in the Pentagon” *The Muslim Observer*, Vol. 6, Issue 36 (Sept. 3-9) at 4-5 (“Zionists and Israeli own most congressional members and their staff. Zionists and Israel are in control of the

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“Accomplice in Crimes,” MPAC Vice Chairman Aslam Abdullah said Americans shared responsibility for Palestinian suffering:

“[The United States] is a partner in the killing of people in Palestine. Our administration is responsible for giving the apartheid state a free hand in murdering people and our Congress is supportive of the criminal deeds of the racist state. Our congressmen are accomplice in heinous acts committed in the name of religion and race. The world’s only superpower in coordination with the Zionist State of Israel is presiding over the ethnic cleansing of the powerless, resourceless, and unarmed Palestinians.”¹⁴²

As MPAC explains, the Israeli lobby in the United States is so strong that politicians are afraid to speak out against it.¹⁴³ At the MPAC Symposium on May 6, 2001, Maher Hathout went so far as to claim that the U.S. Congress was under Israeli occupation:

“It is obvious that, at least from our perspective, that the United States is also under Israeli occupation. And so we have a Congress that beats the Knesset in being pro-Zionist and we have an administration that believes in these superiority/inferiority attitudes and exploitation.”¹⁴⁴

MPAC frequently states that the United States has not been even-handed in the Arab-Israeli conflict.¹⁴⁵ In a *khutba* entitled “on Nakba” at the ICSC in May, 2008, Maher Hathout spoke about Israel’s 60th Independence Day, saying that imbalance is a product of people being afraid to criticize Israel:

“I noticed that Americans...are very loud, except when it comes to Zionist injustice. You find old respectable people all of a sudden whisper...What is the whispering about? Be yourself man or woman, and say what you believe is the truth...We know that our president wanted to share the celebration to probably cut the cake there in Israel. That’s fine....he’ll be accountable to history....But we have a problem in our country, as the only major power in the world that can broker a real peace in the area. You cannot broker a peace if you are celebrating with the victorious and ignoring the victims.”¹⁴⁶

White House as nothing moves about Israel in the highest Executive office without the approval of Israel and AIPAC. Most public officials who are paid by American tax payers owe their allegiance to the State of Israel and its security. Moreover, almost all major media personalities are more Israeli’s than many Israeli media people”).

¹⁴² Dr. Aslam Abdullah, “Accomplice in Crimes!” *MSA News.net* Aug. 14, 2001.

¹⁴³ See e.g., Dr. Maher Hathout, “Facing Humanitarian Crisis in Palestine,” *CAIR, MAS, MPAC, MSA-West, & Shura Council*, La Mirada, California, June 21, 2006 (“another concept that needs to be completely demolished and cleared away is that the Palestinian issue is a remote, foreign, Arab issue; and that it is...that dwelling on that hinders our progress...This is exactly what Zionist extremists want us to believe; because it is false, it is untrue. It is false because the Palestinian issue is not a remove Arab issue. It is...an American issue”); Dr. Aslam Abdullah, “Israeli Mole in the Pentagon,” *The Muslim Observer*, Vol. 6, Issue 36, Sept. 3-9 (2004) at 5 (“it is not a secret that every word of the Presidential speech that relates to Israel has to be first approved by Zionists and Israel. It is not a secret that most congressmen receive their directives from pro-Israeli bosses in Washington...Congress...is already owned by Israel and by its agents in our country”).

¹⁴⁴ Dr. Maher Hathout, “Dispelling Myths,” *MPAC Symposium on Jerusalem*, California State University—Fullerton, May 6, 2001.

¹⁴⁵ *Id.*

¹⁴⁶ Dr. Maher Hathout, “On Nakba,” Islamic Center of Southern California, May 16, 2008.

Indicative of MPAC's constant criticism of U.S. efforts to broker a peace deal between the Israelis and Palestinians was an incident in August of 2001. Then-U.S. Representative Tom Lantos, in a speech to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), criticized Palestinian Chairman Yasser Arafat. Lantos, arguing that Arafat undermined the Oslo accords, drew a parallel to the Treaty of Hudaibiyah in 628 CE between Muhammed and the Quraish tribe of Mecca, which was broken by Quraish two years after the treaty was signed. MPAC upbraided Lantos in a letter which cast his remarks as bigoted toward Islam and all but accused him of being a stooge for pro Israel interest groups:

“The offensive, superficial, ignorant, and political viscous nature of these remarks is practically beyond words, and constitutes a clear defamation of Islam...What your remarks also highlight is the increasing propensity of politicians to defame Islam in an attempt to impress interest groups that support Israel...The connection between courting the pro-Israel vote and defaming Islam...is disturbing and grotesque. It is quite distinctly un-American to defame a complex and rich monotheistic religion...for the sake of a special interest group.”¹⁴⁷

Although MPAC frequently demands public condemnation of what they view as Israeli aggression, it is unwilling to publicly criticize Palestinian suicide bombings. In fact, on numerous occasions, leaders of MPAC have defended acts of terrorism. In April 2002, MPAC Executive Director Salam al Marayati appeared on Alan Keyes' MSNBC show. Keyes asked al Marayati to comment on a Palestinian Authority statement praising “the effectiveness of the human bombing attacks,” to which al Marayati responded:

“No. I think what you're doing is you're distorting the statements. And I'm kind of surprised, Mr. Keyes, because I thought this broadcast is out of Washington not out of Tel Aviv.”¹⁴⁸

In attempting to defend the Palestinian “resistance” as a spontaneous response against Israeli oppression, MPAC, in its recommendations to U.S. policymakers, explained:

“Terrorism is wrong: Israeli occupation is terrorism and oppression. American policy must be based on the recognition that no people will remain passive under foreign occupation and military aggression. The Palestinian people are no different...The uprising is a spontaneous, collective reaction to the continued illegal and immoral Israeli occupation of the Palestinian people and their land...Once again, the end of Israeli occupation will end the conflict.”¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ “Action alert: Bigoted Comments of Tom Lantos,” *MPAC News*, Aug. 3, 2001; *See also* Sarah Eltantawi, “MPAC Calls for International Intervention in Jerusalem,” *MPAC News*, Aug. 1, 2001 (criticizing a resolution by Rep. Eric Cantor (R-VA) to cut off all aid to the Palestinian Authority until unauthorized excavations ended, “this totally biased and unfair resolution is a provocation to Muslims around the world at the hands of occupation forces that make no secret of wanting to destroy the Haram al Sharif and terrorize Palestinians”).

¹⁴⁸ “Alan Keyes is Making Sense” *MSNBC*, April 15, 2002.

¹⁴⁹ “MPAC Condemns Israeli Aggression,” *MPAC News*, March 30, 2001, <http://web.archive.org/web/198/12/12015744/http://mpac.org>.

Despite claims to the contrary, more often than not, Palestinian violence has been premeditated and planned by terrorist organizations. For example, in the summer of 2001, Palestinian commanders circulated instructions on confronting Israeli troops.¹⁵⁰ The orders included the preparation of Molotov cocktails, hand grenades and barricades. Explosive "belts" were to be prepared for "hundreds of suicide youths who will be willing to confront the advancing troops." The instructions also suggested conserving ammunition and attacking tanks only with "suitable weapons" and not with light guns. "Forward positions should be established by fighters willing to sacrifice their lives to stop the advancing enemy." From 2000 to 2002, *USA Today* recorded at least 70 of these "spontaneous" suicide attacks.¹⁵¹

MPAC often invites well-known anti-Semites to speak at their events. For instance, MPAC has invited "reverend" William Baker to speak at several of their sponsored and co-sponsored conferences. Baker is the founder and head of Christians and Muslims for Peace, based in Laguna Hills, California.¹⁵² Prior to starting CAMP, Baker was the chairman of the "Populist Party," founded by neo-Nazi Willis Carto in 1984, organizing its national convention that year.¹⁵³ Baker has since attempted to reinvent himself as a Middle East expert. To that end he authored the book *Theft of a Nation*, a stridently anti-Israel book, that calls for the "Zionist state of Israel" to be "dismantled and eventually eliminated."¹⁵⁴

At the United for al Quds Conference in 2002, Baker was featured alongside al Marayati and Hathout. Al Marayati even introduced Baker, discussing the importance of Jerusalem to the Christian, Muslim, and Jewish faiths.¹⁵⁵ During Baker's speech he told the Palestinians not to accept any peace settlement without the right of return, which demographically would mean the end of a Jewish majority in the State of Israel:

"If I give one word of advice to the Palestinians, the Filastini people, it is, do not settle for anything, sign nothing until you have guarantee, the right of every Palestinian whose been driven from that land to return. [Crowd shouts: Allahu Ahkbar] There will be no peace with these people in the Diaspora, forced out, They must have the right to return."¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ "The Palestinians get their orders: hand grenades, Molotov cocktails and suicide bombers vs. US hi-tech," *Janes Defense*, (July 26, 2001), available at

http://www.janes.com/security/international_security/news/fr/fr010726_1_n.shtml.

¹⁵¹ Chronology of Suicide Bombings Against Israel, *USA Today*, (June 20, 2002), available at

<http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2002/06/19/bombings-glance.htm>.

¹⁵² "Welcome to CAMP: Christians and Muslims for Peace," <http://www.campintl.org>.

¹⁵³ Stan Brin, "Hour of White Power; Reverend Robert H. Schuller relies on a man with ties to Neo-Nazis to build religious understanding," *O.C. Weekly*, (Feb. 15-21 2002), available at, <http://www.ocweekly.com/2002-02-21/features/hour-of-white-power> The party's platform that year included provisions to allow states to restore Jim Crow segregation laws. *Id.*

¹⁵⁴ Baker, William, *Theft of a Nation*, Las Vegas, NV: Defender's Publishers, 1984. *See also* Stan Brin, "Hour of White Power; Reverend Robert H. Schuller relies on a man with ties to Neo-Nazis to build religious understanding," *O.C. Weekly*, (Feb. 15-21 2002), available at, <http://www.ocweekly.com/2002-02-21/features/hour-of-white-power>.

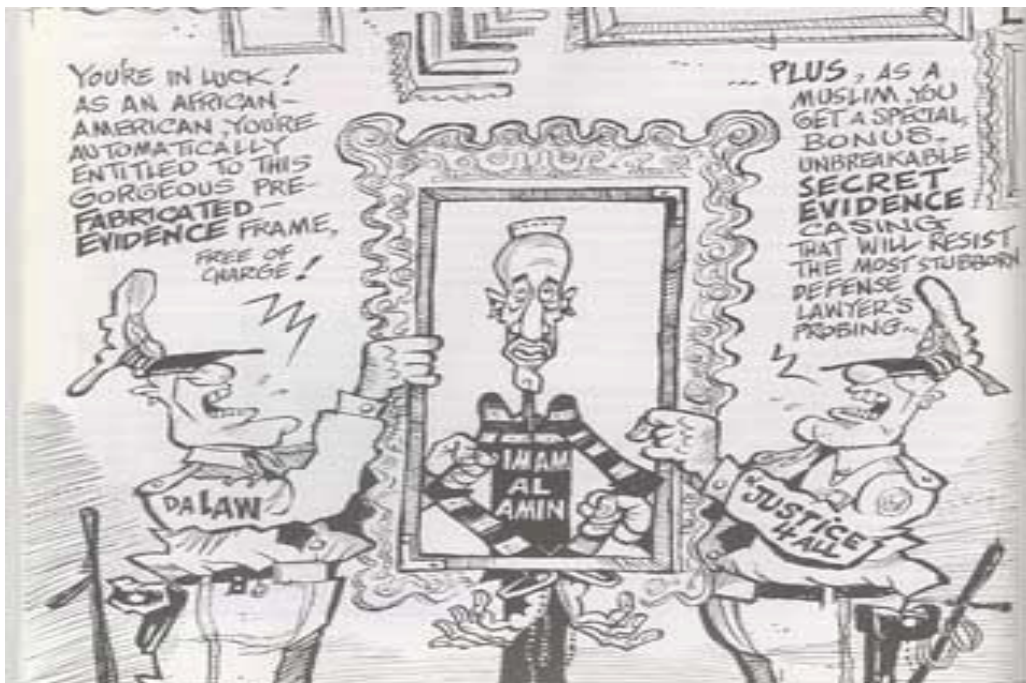
¹⁵⁵ Salam al Marayati, "Historical Perspectives," *American Muslims for Jerusalem United for al Quds Conference: Humanity in Crisis*, Buena Park, CA, June 15, 2002.

¹⁵⁶ William Baker, "The Importance of Jerusalem to All Faiths," *American Muslims for Jerusalem United for al Quds Conference: Humanity in Crisis*, Buena Park, CA, June 15, 2002.

MPAC and its officials supported and raised funds for Jamil Al-Amin, formerly known as Black Panther H. Rapp Brown, a career criminal convicted of killing a police officer.¹⁵⁷ Following Al-Amin's conviction, MPAC joined a number of Muslim groups in denying the verdict's validity.¹⁵⁸ At the MPAC co-sponsored event "Justice for Imam Jamil Al-Amin Benefit Dinner," on September 9, 2001 Maher Hathout expressed support for Al-Amin, saying that Al-Amin had more credibility and integrity than the Atlanta police:

"There are two stories for this case. One story, told by our brother Imam Jamil Al-Amin; the other story is a different one, told by the police of Atlanta. It just happened that we believe the story of Imam Jamil Al-Amin, and we don't believe the story told by the police of Atlanta ... we are looking at track records. The track record of our brother is one of integrity and straight-forward speaking and a bold stance, and the track record of the police of Atlanta like the police in so many other places ... is not a very good track record. So we have reasons to believe our brother rather than to believe the story told by the police."¹⁵⁹

A March/April 2000 *Minaret* cartoon by Khalil Bendib depicts Al-Amin as a victim of racism against African Americans and Muslims. The cartoon also says that the evidence was fabricated and that because Al-Amin was Muslim, charges of secret evidence would be added in stacking the case:¹⁶⁰



¹⁵⁷ "Ex black Panther Convicted of Murder," *CNN*, March 9, 2002; *See also*, "MPAC Protests Imam Jamil's Political Lockdown," *MPAC Press Release*, Jan. 30, 2002, http://www.mpac.org/news_Article_display.aspx?ITEM=179.

¹⁵⁸ Dr. Maher Hathout, "Justice for Imam Jamil Al-Amin Benefit Dinner," *Masjid Al-Islam*, U.C. Irvine, California, September 9, 200.1

¹⁵⁹ *Id.*

¹⁶⁰ Khalil Bendib, "At the Police Academy's Frame Shop," *The Minaret* Vol. 22 No. 1, March/April 2000, p. 14.

Following extensive appeals, in May 2004, the Georgia Supreme Court unanimously ruled to uphold Al-Amin's conviction.

B. Support for, and Defense of, Foreign Terrorist Organizations

Similar to the trends seen in *The Minaret*, MPAC goes further than simply making anti-Semitic statements aimed at justifying acts of terrorism. Despite the fact that groups such as Hamas and Hezbollah have been designated as Foreign Terrorist Organizations, MPAC continues to defend them at public conferences and rallies. The defenses typically take the form of either blaming the victims of terrorist attacks or downplaying the threat of violent extremism.¹⁶¹

It is a common theme throughout the public statements of MPAC that acts of terrorism against Israel and the United States are actually the result of Israeli and U.S. aggression.¹⁶² At a March 2006 fundraising dinner in Anaheim, Ali Mazrui of the American Muslim Alliance Policy Committee said that Israel's "militarism" prompted the violence committed by terrorist groups like Hamas and al Qaida:

"Israeli militarism, occupation of Arab lands and the repression of Palestinians are the main causes of not only anti-Israeli terrorism but also anti-American terrorism. Israeli repression and militarism provoke suicide bombers and give rise to movements like Hamas and al Qaida. The Israeli atrocities and repression cause terrorism in the United States, and terrorism in turn threatens civil liberties in America....The behavior of the State of Israel threatens not merely democracy within the Jewish state; Israel threatens democracy in America as well."¹⁶³

MPAC events also feature arguments that dialogue should be pursued with terrorist groups such as Hamas. At MPAC's 2005 convention, writer Reza Aslan ignored Hamas' absolutist ideology and argued it could "moderate" and become a partner in peace:

"So let's talk about Hamas. Hamas is a terrorist organization...However, if you look at the transformation that has taken place over the last year, in which Hamas has gradually begun to distance itself from its military organization...in which it has had to forgo any notion of creating a Sharia state because of course the vast majority of Palestinians do not

¹⁶¹ See e.g., Abdurahman Alamoudi, "Jerusalem Day Rally." Lafayette Park, Washington D.C., October 28, 2000 (at this rally, hosted by MPAC, Alamoudi stated, "I have been labeled by the media in New York to be a supporter of Hamas. Anybody supports Hamas here? [Crowd cheers responsively]... Hear that, Bill Clinton? We are ALL supporters of Hamas. Allahu Akhbar! [Crowd cheers]. I wish they added that I am also a supporter of Hezbollah"); "MPAC Issues Statement on August 8 Bombing in Jerusalem," *MPAC Press Release*, August 9, 2001, http://web.archive.org/web/20010915155303/mpac.org/news/press_010809.shtml, accessed July 12, 2004 ("[The August 9, 2001 Jerusalem bombing] is the expected bitter result of the reckless policy of Israeli assassination that did not spare children and political figures ... MPAC holds Israel responsible for this pattern of violence").

¹⁶² See e.g., Dr. Ali Mazrui, "Banquet and Fundraising," *MPAC 2002 Conference*, California, Dec. 21, 2002 ("from an American perspective two ominous trends have been developing since September 11, 2001: a growing American readiness to hurt other people abroad, external sadism, and a growing American readiness to hurt itself at home, internal masochism. In the readiness to hurt other people abroad has been taking the form increasingly of the militarization of American foreign policy, and the readiness to hurt ourselves at home, masochism, is taking the form of the erosion of civil liberties").

¹⁶³ Dr. Ali Mazrui, "Sami Al-Arian Banquet Dinner," *Islamic Shura Council of Southern California*, Anaheim, CA, March 12, 2006.

want such a state...And most importantly, that Hamas has in all of its electioneering had to forgo the very notion of a unified Palestinian state over all of historic Israel. And instead has been pushing...a two state solution is an indication of what happens when we allow these organizations, like the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, like the Islamic Action Front in Jordan, and like Hamas in Palestine to become a part of the dialogue.”¹⁶⁴

In another instance, Maher Hathout similarly cast Hezbollah as misunderstood:

“The whole country keeps condemning Hezbollah, I disagree with them on other issues, but on the issue of fighting to liberate their land and attacking only armed forces, this is legitimate, that is an American value—freedom and liberty.”¹⁶⁵

Oftentimes, the radical rhetoric of MPAC takes the form of advocating violence.¹⁶⁶ At an anti-Israel rally on December 22, 2000, co-sponsored by MPAC and organized by then political director Mahdi Bray in Washington DC, protestors responsively chanted with the emcee in Arabic, “Khaybar, Khaybar oh Jews, the Army of Mohammed is coming for you!” Posters calling for “Death to Israel” and equating the Star of David with the Nazi swastika were openly displayed and anti-Semitic literature calling for the destruction of the Jews and Israel was distributed. Members of the crowd burned the Israeli flag while marching from the White House to the State Department.¹⁶⁷

Speakers at this rally included Abdelhaleem al Ashqar, a prominent Hamas member¹⁶⁸ who was sentenced to eleven years in prison in November 2007 for refusing to testify for a grand jury about his Hamas ties.¹⁶⁹ Al Ashqar told the crowd:

“We have exclusive rights over Jerusalem, over al Aqsa mosque, it is not subject to negotiation.”¹⁷⁰

Also speaking at this rally was Imam Mohammed al Asi, Director of the Islamic Education Center in Potomac, MD, and a known supporter of Hezbollah.¹⁷¹ Introduced by Bray, he exhorted the crowd to violence in the name of Islam:

¹⁶⁴ Reza Aslan, “Role for Muslim Americans in U.S.-World Relations,” *MPAC Annual Convention*, Long Beach, CA, Dec. 17, 2005.

¹⁶⁵ “Afternoon Newsmakers: Event: Maher Hathout Speech at the National Press Club,” Thursday, June 18, 1998.

¹⁶⁶ See e.g., “Worldwide Day for Jerusalem,” Lafayette Park, Washington, D.C., Dec. 22, 2000; “Subject: CAIR-NET: Muslims Rally for Jerusalem Outside White House,” *MSANews.net*, (Oct. 25, 2000) (At this rally, officially co-sponsored by MPAC, protestors sang “victory comes from Allah and Hezbollah is our model” and “oh dear Nasrallah [head of Hezbollah], we are allied with you in liberation”); “Subject: CAIR-NET: D.C. Area Mosques Rally for Jerusalem/Gore Supporters Use Slurs Against Muslims,” *MSANews.net*, Oct. 5, 2000 (at this rally held in front of the Israeli Embassy in Washington, DC., about 2,000 participants repeatedly shouted “with our blood and soul we will liberate Palestine.” At one point, Mahdi Bray played the tambourine as one of the speakers sang with the crowd, “al Aqsa is calling us, let’s all go into Jihad, and throw stones in the face of the Jews.”)

¹⁶⁷ “Worldwide Day for Jerusalem,” Lafayette Park, Washington, D.C., Dec. 22, 2000.

¹⁶⁸ “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, Nov. 5, 2001.

¹⁶⁹ *United States v. Ashqar*, 03-CR-978-3 (N.D. II. Nov. 21, 2007).

¹⁷⁰ Abdelhaleem al Ashqar, “Worldwide Day for Jerusalem,” Lafayette Park, Washington, D.C., Dec. 22, 2000.

“Now, all our *khatibs* [speakers], our Imams, our public speakers, should be concentrating on militarizing the Muslim public. This is not a time to make a speaking issue out of this...Muslims have to familiarize themselves with all and every means possible...Rhetoric is not going to liberate al Quds and al Aqsa. Only carrying arms will do this task. And it’s not going to be someone else who is going to carry arms for you and for me. It is you and me who is going to have to carry these arms.”¹⁷²

Stoking Distrust: Attempts to Undermine U.S.-Muslim Relations

Although MPAC claims to be an organization dedicated to the “integration of Islam into American pluralism, and for a positive, constructive relationship between American Muslims and their representatives,”¹⁷³ statements made by the organization sow distrust between the American and Arab American communities. Whether it is in the form of generalized fear mongering or more specific allegations that the “war on terrorism” is a “war on Islam,” the leadership of MPAC has done more to undercut relations between these two segments of our society rather than to help.

A. MPAC: The U.S. is Engaged in a “War on Islam”

Despite numerous public statements to the contrary by American political leaders, MPAC continues to claim that anti-terrorism efforts are a de facto “war on Islam.”¹⁷⁴ They claim that those in positions of authority are “Islamophobic,” and that statements made by these people have intentionally fueled misperceptions of Muslims.¹⁷⁵

In support of their claims of a rampant Islamophobia in America, MPAC frequently cites “special interest groups” working to marginalize the Muslim community.¹⁷⁶ Moreover,

¹⁷¹ See Mohamad al-Asi, The Anti-Defamation League, available at http://www.adl.org/israel/al_asi.asp (last accessed October 30, 2009).

¹⁷² Imam Mohammed al Asi, “Worldwide Day for Jerusalem,” Lafayette Park, Washington, D.C, Dec. 22, 2000.

¹⁷³ Muslim Public Affairs Council, *About: Staff*, available at <http://www.mpac.org/about/staff-board> (last accessed Aug. 8, 2008).

¹⁷⁴ *Id.*

¹⁷⁵ See e.g., Leila Fadel, *American Muslims Face Suspicion, Distrust*, Sun-Sentinel (Oct. 11, 2009), available at http://articles.sun-sentinel.com/2009-10-11/news/0910100126_1_muslim-americans-muslim-student-association-mosques (“It’s not a guilty complex; it’s the stigma of being a Muslim and constantly having to defend religion,” said Edina Lekovic, the communications director for MPAC. “It causes people to give up and say ‘why should I bother? No one likes me. Why should I keep trying?’”).

¹⁷⁶ See e.g., “Guidelines for Constructive Engagement, An Islamic Approach to Building Civil Partnerships,” MPAC, June 19, 2009, <http://www.mpac.org/docs/CivicEngagement.pdf> (“As the Muslim American community has grown into a considerable political force; many anti-Muslim elements have chosen to obstruct and even defame us. Whether they represent special interest or hate groups, their goal is to harm Muslims or marginalize us in society”); Dr. Maher Hathout, “U.S. Muslims—From Confrontation to Cooperation,” *IslamOnline.net*, Islamic Center of Southern California, Jan. 30, 2009, http://www.islamonline.net/English/Islamic_Audio/Topic_02.shtml (“of course, in an environment like that, there were the special interest groups and the gangs who are bent on hatred and fanaticism, exploiting the fear of the country after 9/11, and the agitation of the previous administration to spread lies about Islam and about Muslims to intimidate, marginalize them to prevent Muslims from being part of the American discourse”); Dr. Maher Hathout, “Grassroots Campaign to fight Terrorism Handbook: Campaign Mission,” *Muslim Public Affairs Council*, 2005 at 7, <http://www.mpac.org/ngcft/campaign-mission/index.php> (“While we find ourselves in the same line with most American citizens, there is a fear that those who are hateful

according to MPAC, anti-Islamic rhetoric is not limited to special interest groups, but rather has been part of a concerted effort by members of the U.S. government.¹⁷⁷ They claim that these groups have exploited the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in order to push their ideologies and spread distrust among the communities.¹⁷⁸ In an amicus brief filed on behalf of MPAC in a civil suit between the Islamic Society of Boston and the Investigative Project on Terrorism, MPAC complained that this Islamophobia was becoming normalized in the United States and that Muslims were being discriminated against and excluded:

“In the wake of the terrible tragedy of 9/11....the American Muslim community has fallen victim to McCarthyesque, guilt by attenuated and nonexistent association finger pointing...This Islamophobia has left American Muslims fearful and confused about their place in American society. And it has left them vulnerable to bigotry.”¹⁷⁹

fanatics or special interests opportunists will insist to marginalize Muslims and depict them as suspects to be watched”); Kim Lawton, “American Muslims and Politics,” *Religion & Ethics News Weekly*, November 2, 2001 (“We have special interest groups whether they represent Christian Fundamentalism or Zionist Extremism you have that notion that they don’t want to share power therefore they are going to do everything to prevent Muslims from even discussing these issues let alone have any influence on any policy”).

¹⁷⁷ Salam al Marayati, “There is Islamophobia in the American Government!” *Al Watan Al Arabi*, April 8, 2009 (“There is Islamophobia in the American government too, and this is a problem, since there are people in it spreading fear of Islam and distributing misleading generalizations against American Islamic organizations”); Dr. Aslam Abdullah, “Torturing in the Name of Democracy,” *The Minaret*, Vol. 26, Issue 6, June 2004 at 25 (“those responsible for the Iraq occupation have turned the American military presence in Iraq into a crusade by adopting policies and procedures that expose a religious and racist agenda and prejudice against Islam, Muslims, and Arabs”).

¹⁷⁸ Salam al Marayati and Edina Lekovic, “MPAC-NYC Benefit Dinner 2009,” *MPAC-NYC*, City University of New York, New York City, Feb. 27, 2009 (“It is really all around. There is not one source. It is an industry that is exploiting the fears and hysteria from 9/11 right now, and they are riding that wave to continue their anti-Islamic rhetoric”); Brent Hurd, “Americas Muslims: Caught in the Middle?” *Voice of America*, May 24, 2005 <http://www.voanews.com/English/NewsAnalysis/2005-05-24-voa65.cfm> (quoting MPAC National Director Ahmed Younis as stating “there is a whole market of people that are manipulating the genuine fears of the American public. Their goal is very simple—to make sure that Islam and Muslims are not part of mainstream American society because they see that as a threat to their existence”); Mahdi Bray, “Pro-Palestinian Rally,” *A.N.S.W.E.R. Coalition*, Washington, D.C. April 20, 2002 (“They are using the guise of terrorism as a front to extort money from our coughers, to increase the military buildup...and they’re going around and they’re actually pimping the tragedy of 9/11....”); MPAC, *MPAC Media Awards 2008*, Disneyland Resort and Hotel, Anaheim, CA (June 1, 2008) (quoting al Marayati as arguing that “as a result of the climate of fear, there is anti-Muslim hysteria, and people react to just the first suggestion that something may be sympathizing with extremism or is a defeat against terrorists. And people even say you should call it Islamic terrorism, because we don’t say Islamic terrorism, then that is a defeat against the terrorists”).

¹⁷⁹ *The Islamic Society of Boston, et al v. The Investigative Project on Terrorism, et al*, Commonwealth of Massachusetts Appeals Court 2006-P-1358. “Brief of Amicus Curiae Muslim Public Affairs Council,” Feb. 26, 2007 at 5; See also Selwyn Crawford, *Dallas-area Muslims fear Backlash from arrests tied to terror plot*, Dallas Morning News (Oct. 19, 2009), available at <http://www.dallasnews.com/sharedcontent/dws/dn/latestnews/stories/101909dnmetmuslimangst.3f4b3c3.html> (Al Marayati explaining that “suspicions about Muslims persist, in large part, because Americans—Most of whom are Christian—either can’t or won’t make a distinction between the mainstream and fringe elements of Islam, while they discern that difference for others.” The article says that Marayati explains as an example, “that when non-Muslims commit extreme acts, they are quickly dismissed as being crazy or weird or having some deep-seated emotional problems, and are not viewed as representative of an entire group of people”).

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The defamation suit was eventually dismissed by the Islamic Society of Boston, which had the effect of preventing additional disclosure of information during discovery.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, in a speech at ISNA's 39th Annual Convention, al Marayati tried explaining why rumors had been circulating that American-Muslim groups did not condemn 9/11 and cast the allegation as a political cheap shot:

“The question is why is it happening to the American Muslim community? Why are there special interest groups that are exploiting the pain and suffering of 9/11 to dehumanize, isolate, and stereotype Americans? Is it because they feel threatened by our mere existence as American Muslims? Is it because they feel that there is a political competition now taking place?”¹⁸¹

In support of its claims that there is a conspiracy aimed at Muslim Americans, MPAC points to the controversy surrounding the 2005 publication of cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammed in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*.¹⁸² Anger over the depictions of Muhammed, forbidden in Islam, escalated into violence that resulted in more than 100 deaths and the destruction of Danish embassies in Syria, Lebanon, and Iran.¹⁸³ To MPAC, the issue was not free speech, but a conspiracy to instigate Muslims to violence:

“While European newspapers hide under the false pretense of “freedom of press” to insult the Prophet and incite Muslims...in our view, it makes no sense for Muslims to die...over these cartoons. We urge our fellow Muslims to recognize that violence is exactly what European newspapers intended to instigate.”¹⁸⁴

The effect of this agitation, according to the MPAC is that the “war on terrorism” is viewed as a *de facto* “war on Islam.”¹⁸⁵ The result, in the words of Salam al Marayati is:

¹⁸⁰ Donovan Slack, *Islamic Society Drops Lawsuit*, The Boston Globe (May 30, 2007), available at http://www.boston.com/news/local/articles/2007/05/30/islamic_society_drops_lawsuit

¹⁸¹ Salam al Marayati, “Challenges Facing American Muslims in the Wake of 9-11: In Search of Effective Responses” *ISNA 39TH Annual Convention*, Chicago, Ill. (Sept. 1, 2002).

¹⁸² See Charlotte Martin, “Conference unites Students, Leaders,” *Yale Daily News*, Feb. 21, 2006 (quoting Salam al Marayati as stating that, “the prophet and all other prophets before him have faced insult. This is an issue of injustice and dehumanization”).

¹⁸³ See e.g., “Protesters Burn Consulate Over Cartoons,” CNN.com (Feb. 6, 2006), available at <http://www.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/asiapcf/02/05/cartoon.protests/index.html> (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

¹⁸⁴ “MPAC Response to Danish Cartoon Firestorm,” *MPAC Report*, Sprint 2006, at 1. See also “MPAC Condemns Beirut Riots, Supports Calls for Calm and Restraint,” *MPAC News*, Feb. 6, 2006, http://www.mpac.org/home_article_display.aspx?ITEM=873 (“many have viewed the cartoons as intentional provocation by conservative, anti-immigration forces in Europe, while others consider them an indicator of a broader perception of Islam and Muslims”).

¹⁸⁵ See e.g., Dr. Aslam Abdullah, “The Truth Behind America’s War on Terrorism,” *IslamOnline Live Dialogue*, Nov. 30, 2002 <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Browse.asp?hGuestID=Og1n6h> (“there are three specific lobbies that are turning the ongoing war on terrorism against Islam. The Christian Evangelicals who want to see Muslims converted, the political Zionists who want to see Muslims politically obliterated, and the Hindu extremists who want to see Muslims humiliated. Those are the groups that want to make Islam and Muslims the new war frontier... They will do everything possible to serve their interests and they will use whatever means they have to ensure that Muslims are marginalized... Many members of these lobbies are in the administration and in the FBI, law enforcement, and even Congress”).

“[D]ouble standards in opinion—and policymaking vis-à-vis counterterrorism; it also exacerbates tensions in interfaith relations...biases the Middle East peace process, and intensifies the clash of civilizations between Islam and the West.”¹⁸⁶

At the American Muslim Council’s Second Annual Imam Conference in April 2002, then-MPAC National Director Mahdi Bray, spoke on a panel with Sami Al-Arian, then under investigation for his ties to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (more on Al-Arian later in this report). Bray concluded his remarks by saying that terrorism was another word the government used to institute oppression against minorities:

“So let me just say this in conclusion, don’t fall for it brothers and sisters. You have to stand up. You have to realize this whole thing about terrorism is a paper tiger. It’s just an excuse. They’ve used it before. Before terrorism it was communism. They’ve used it before. So don’t fall for the terrorism.”¹⁸⁷

This “climate of fear,” according to MPAC, has fueled hate crimes against Muslims.¹⁸⁸ During a news conference in March 2008 about that year’s national elections, al Marayati warned that a bad perception could hurt America globally:

“America is judged today by the rest of the world by how it treats its Muslim citizens and how it views Islam. If the war on terror continues to be viewed as a war against Islam America will lose. It’s as simple as that. And this is not about censorship; it’s about exposing the stupidity...and the way messages are going out to our media and in the way politicians are conducting the affairs of our society.”¹⁸⁹

Whether the result of a deliberate policy or simply an unintended consequence, MPAC’s consistent efforts at painting the war on terrorism as a “war on Islam,” could negatively affect criminal investigations into terrorist activity.

¹⁸⁶ Salam al Marayati “Defining Terrorism for America: Jewish and Muslim Cases and their Readings by the American Public,” *CCAS Journal, A Reform Jewish Quarterly*, (Fall 2000), at 30.

¹⁸⁷ Mahdi Bray, “The Civil Rights and Empowerment in America,” *American Muslim Council 2nd Annual Imam Conference*, Alexandria, VA April 28, 2002.

¹⁸⁸ Salam al Marayati, “MPAC Testimony to the CA State Select Committee on Hate Crimes,” *MPAC News*, May 2, 2003, <http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=149> (“The trigger point for hate crimes is often a war or a violent incident in the Middle East. The hostile environment results in series of anti-Muslim bias in the media and in the political arena. This hostility creates an environment that is conducive to hate crimes”); Dr. Aslam Abdullah, “Islamaphobia: A Conflict of Ignorance?!” *IslamOnline Live Dialogue*, Dec. 14, 2004, <http://www.IslamOnline.net/livedialogu/english/Browse.asp?hGuestID=171CSX> (“What is being written about Islam is horrible. It is ridiculous and amounts to insanity. It appears to be an open season against Islam and Muslims...it is a combination of anti-Islam and Islamaphobia as well as ignorance that has resulted in attacking on Islam”).

¹⁸⁹ Salam al Marayati, “MPAC Election Coverage,” *MPAC and the Islamic Center of Southern California*, Los Angeles, California, March 22, 2008. See also Lenny Savino, “Justice Dept. Orders Sharing of Suspected Terrorist List,” *Knight Ridder/Tribune News Service*, April 13, 2002 (quoting al Marayati as saying “The only known American supporter of al-Qaida and bin Laden is John Walker Lindh. If the attorney general has any evidence that there are other supporters of al-Qaida in our community, then that should be disclosed immediately and due process should be followed in order to preserve the civil liberties we all cherish and aim to protect. This fishing expedition will not help the war against terrorism. It will only hurt America's image abroad”).

B. Impeding Criminal Investigations by Sowing Distrust

MPAC publicly feigns support for terrorism investigations while at the same time its officials often try to undermine any effective efforts at preventing acts of terrorism, most notably by claiming that the FBI's investigative efforts are isolating the community. They also argue that many laws enacted to prevent another attack in fact are designed to target Muslims.¹⁹⁰ In challenging the Bush administration's national security policies, MPAC stated:

“Several of Attorney General Ashcroft's initiatives...smacks of McCarthyism and constitutes a new threat to the freedoms, lifestyle choices, and safety of all Americans. Furthermore, just as McCarthyism accomplished little or nothing ... today's tactics of rampant racial and religious profiling ... have similarly accomplished little or nothing.”¹⁹¹

In August 2009, the new government liaison for MPAC's Washington, DC office, Alejandro Beutel, debated Kamal Nawash, founder of Free Muslims Against Terrorism, on Al-Jazeera English television about whether the FBI was targeting American Muslims. When asked by the host if the FBI was deliberately targeting American Muslims, Beutel answered yes, and that this was a trend in law enforcement since 9/11:

“Absolutely; we do see that there is a trend ... within the FBI, but more generally within law enforcement. Since 9/11 this has been going on ... These latest issues with informants seem to be the latest in a trend of ongoing issues.”¹⁹²

In a March 2003 *Los Angeles Times* article discussing the FBI's relationship with Muslim American communities, al Marayati said the law enforcement approach has not worked:

¹⁹⁰ “DOJ's New Fingerprinting Rules Diversionary,” *MPAC Report*, Second Quarter 2002, p. 6 (“[B]latant racial profiling that will yield no intelligence value ... MPAC believes that this Justice Department move is the latest in a grave chain of events that are chipping away at our civil liberties while hindering our efforts to defeat terrorism”); “Flaws in State Department Global Terrorism Report,” *MPAC News*, May 18, 2001.

http://web.archive.org/web/20030106000133/http://www.mpac.org/news_article_display.asp?ITEM=198 (“Domestic counterterrorism efforts, such as the unconstitutional use of secret evidence, also disproportionately target Muslims”).

¹⁹¹ “ACTION ALERT: American Muslims Decry Ashcroft's Tactics as the 'New-McCarthyism',” *MPAC News*, April 12, 2002.

¹⁹² Alejandro Beutel, “Is the FBI Targeting American Muslims?” *Al-Jazeera English*, Aug. 19, 2009 <http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=878>; “Gov't Liaison Debates FBI Surveillance of Mosques on Al-Jazeera English,” *MPAC News*, Aug. 19, 2009 <http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=878>.

“[T]he FBI’s policy of targeting people because of their race and religion...That’s what they’ve been doing since the attacks, and we don’t know of any case that has resulted in the arrest, indictment or prosecution of a terrorist.”¹⁹³

In addition to these types of broad brush critiques of U.S. counterterrorism policies, MPAC has singled out specific programs for extra scrutiny, including fusion centers, the PATRIOT Act, and the FBI’s use of informants.

C. Criticism of Report by National Commission on Terrorism

In June 2000, the National Commission on Terrorism issued a report proposing measures that would enhance national security against terrorist threats.¹⁹⁴ Among the recommendations, the Commission suggested that the “U.S. intelligence and law enforcement communities use the full scope of their authority to collect intelligence regarding terrorist plans and methods;” that policies “firmly target all states that support terrorists,” using both domestic and international sanctions mechanisms; and that “private sources of financial and logistical support for terrorists...be subjected to the full force and sweep of U.S. and international laws,” through the use of regulatory and immigration laws.¹⁹⁵

Responding to the report, al Marayati and Hussein Ibish, Communications Director for the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) published an editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* lambasting the report saying that its recommendations created new dangers for “core American values” without enhancing American national security and should be “vehemently” rejected. The report, al Marayati and Ibish said, should be “flung with full force” across the room:

“[T]he recommendations in its recently released report instead create new dangers for core American values ... Most of what is proposed would damage civil liberties without providing any obvious increase in security or even addressing the serious challenges demonstrated by this country’s experience with terrorism ...its recommendations should be vehemently rejected. As another great American, [sardonic poet] Dorothy Parker, might have put it, this report is not a document to be cast aside lightly; it should be flung with full force across the room.”¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ H.G. Reza, “FBI Has a Pledge and a Request for Muslims.” *The Los Angeles Times*, March 16, 2003; *See also*, MPAC News: *MPAC Concerned with iWatch Program* (Oct. 7, 2009), available at <http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=927> (discussing and criticizing the LAPD iWatch Program, which lists nine types of suspicious behavior that should compel people to call police and types of places to look for it, MPAC-D.C. Director Haris Tarin said, “while we understand law enforcement’s concern with preventing terrorism, these standards are ineffective and broad-brushed...if finding terrorists is like finding needles in a haystack, this just adds more hay”).

¹⁹⁴ *Countering the Changing Threat of International Terrorism*, The National Commission on Terrorism, available at <http://www.gpo.gov/nct/>

¹⁹⁵ *Id.*

¹⁹⁶ Salam Al-Marayati and Hussein Ibish, “Should The Army Keep Terrorists at Bay?; National Security: The Recommendations Intended to Make the U.S. Safer in Fact Infringe on Our Liberties.” *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 2000 p. B7

In an article in *The Minaret* in July/August 2000, al Marayati, who withdrew his name from participating in the commission “due to pressure of pro-Israeli elements and Zionists,” again lambasted the commission’s recommendations saying that they maintained a policy of “confrontation” that targeted Muslims:

“They [American Muslims] feel the recommendations, and the ensuing legislation or directives made by the government, will continue to target them, using Islam as the scapegoat for a serious and complex problem ... the new policies recommended by this commission only serve to reinvigorate stereotypes, target individuals, and fail in actually producing a plan to combat terrorism ... The commission seems determined to maintain the status quo of confrontation, targeting a segment of American society and the world.”¹⁹⁷

D. The USA PATRIOT Act

MPAC has been critical of the USA PATRIOT Act since its passage into law. In his book *American Muslims: Voir Dire [Speak the Truth]* published in 2002, MPAC Political Director Ahmed Younis described the Act as the work of a right wing Christian fundamentalist (U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft), who - along with others like him - was pursuing a racist agenda:

“Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and the rest of our founding fathers turned over in their graves when right wing Christian fundamentalist John Ashcroft pushed the USA PATRIOT Act. Such laws are designed to clearly lead to the subversion of ... the Bill of Rights that protect the right to due process, fair and speedy trials and protect citizens from illegal searches and seizures ... It is fair to assume that Ashcroft and the like don’t have an anti-Islam agenda. They have an anti-‘other’ agenda.”¹⁹⁸

Similarly, MPAC Board Member Omar Ricci went even further, saying in his opening remarks that the PATRIOT Act was “the biggest attack on democracy in America right now.”¹⁹⁹ While there are many provisions which have been criticized, the focus of Ricci’s speech was the ability

¹⁹⁷ Salam Al-Marayati, “Commission Report Rife with Bias,” *The Minaret*, July/August 2000, pp. 19-20.

¹⁹⁸ Ahmed Younis, *American Muslims: Voir Dire [Speak the Truth]*. Los Angeles: Multimedia Vera International, 2002, p. 53.

¹⁹⁹ “Patriot Act is Under Attack,” *Orange County Register*, December 22, 2002.

<http://web.archive.org/web/20021223080708/http://www2.ocregister.com/ocrweb/ocr/article.do?id=17415§ion=LOCAL&year=2002&month=12&day=22>; Mahdi Bray, “The Patriot Act and the Silent War on Civil Liberties,” *MPAC 2nd Annual Convention*, California, December 21, 2002 (“[I]t is important to understand that the Patriot Act is only the tip of the iceberg in terms of what is happening in terms of civil liberties and civil justice in this country. It is the center of a larger violation that takes place against Muslims every day and also the rights of all Americans ... Make no mistake about it; there is an orchestrated attack on the Muslim community to circumvent your rights and your liberties and to prevent you from being effective in this country. There is an attack on, and we need to face up to it and move away from this thing that there is nothing going on ...”). See also Ahmed Younis, *American Muslims: Voir Dire [Speak the Truth]*. Los Angeles: Multimedia Vera International, 2002, p. 53. (“[A]uthorizes the government to violate the Constitution while failing to enhance national security,” and that by expanding the authority of the federal government to detain, investigate, and engage in electronic surveillance of citizens and non-citizens, the civil rights and liberties ... have been threatened and compromised”).

of the government to detain individuals for immigration violation and expanded electronic surveillance authorities, both of which have been consistently upheld in Federal courts.

At the Patriot Act Forum held at the Islamic Center of Southern California on January 22, 2003, Maher Hathout announced that the American Muslim Political Coordination Council (AMPCC), of which MPAC is a member, was working to repeal the Patriot Act saying that it was a “bad law,” that endangered American democracy and generated an idea of guilt towards Muslim Americans.

“Because in the past it was at first the African Americans ... and now it is our turn and the Japanese of course, and definitely tomorrow it will be somebody else ... you are guilty until proven innocent.”²⁰⁰

E. Fusion Centers

Another target in MPAC’s effort to undermine U.S. counterterrorism policies is a campaign against fusion centers.²⁰¹ Fusion centers were created after September 11th as part of efforts by state and local agencies to assist in terrorism investigations. More than 40 have been created throughout the country.

The focus picked up in the wake of the February 2009 arrest of Ahmadullah Niazi in California on immigration related charges. It’s not clear how they fit into the Niazi case, but MPAC joined other groups in raising the issue following the Afghan native’s arrest. Prosecutors say he is heard on recorded conversations discussing terrorist plots with an undercover informant, but is charged with perjury and unlawfully procuring his American citizenship. Niazi claimed that he was targeted because he refused to cooperate with the FBI and other agencies.²⁰² MPAC complained that the information and intelligence shared between centers was coming from dubious sources that would lead to “faulty” threat assessments:

“While not all fusion centers may be engaging in improper intelligence activities, MPAC and other privacy and civil liberties groups are concerned that the information gathered at fusion centers may be used in violation of Constitutionally protected civil liberties. Furthermore, nontraditional collectors of intelligence, such as private sector organizations who hold themselves out to be national security experts may be providing information that is inaccurate, biased and discriminatory. This could result in faulty threat assessments as it relates to American Muslims ...”²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Dr. Maher Hathout, “Patriot Act Forum”, *MPAC, CAIR, and AMC*, Islamic Center of Southern California, Jan. 22, 2003.

²⁰¹ Many states and larger cities have created state and local fusion centers to share information and intelligence within their jurisdictions as well as with the federal government. *See State and Local Fusion Centers*, Department of Homeland Security, available at http://www.dhs.gov/files/programs/gc_1156877184684.shtm

²⁰² See Eliot C. McLaughlin, *FBI Planting Spies in U.S. Mosques, Muslim Groups Say*, CNN.com, (March 20, 2009), available at <http://www.cnn.com/2009/US/03/20/fbi.muslim.groups/index.html>.

²⁰³ “What are Fusion Centers?” *MPAC D.C. News and Views*, May 18, 2009. <https://app.e2ma.net/app/view:CampaignPublic/id:2785.2019349196/rid:851945ffc565872c4472750337066fa7>.

MPAC continued criticizing the fusion centers in April 2009, supporting a statement released by the American Muslim Taskforce on Civil Rights and Elections (AMT) calling for their elimination:

“We are fully united in asking the Obama administration to address ... use of McCarthy-era tactics, most notably dissemination of Islamophobic analysis by federally-funded ‘fusion centers’ to local law enforcement agencies.”²⁰⁴

F. Use of Informants

Although MPAC has publicly called upon its members to remain vigilant and assist U.S. law enforcement officials, that message is undercut by the group’s casting informants as provocateurs. At a July 2005 conference in Dallas sponsored by the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), al Marayati told the audience that Muslims should not become informants for the federal government:

“We reject any efforts, notion, suggestion that Muslim should start spying on one another. In fact if you look at the Lodi case, the disaster of Lodi is that Muslims were reporting each other to the authorities saying, ‘Oh, this person is an extremist’ and the other camp saying the same things so both of them got in trouble. So, we are, this is the model not to follow.”²⁰⁵

The use of informants is a time tested investigative tool used to infiltrate drug cartels, organized crime rings and even to stop murder-for-hire schemes. In recent years, informants have helped break out terrorist plots in New York,²⁰⁶ North Carolina²⁰⁷ and New Jersey.²⁰⁸ Yet, MPAC remains critical of such efforts.²⁰⁹ In an October 2006 interview with PBS, Al Marayati cast informants as opportunistic and unreliable:

²⁰⁴ “U.S. Muslim Coalition Reaffirms Opposition to FBI Says,” *The American Muslim Taskforce on Civil Rights and Elections*, April 19, 2009.

<http://www.americanmuslimvoter.net/pView.asp?action=viewPDdetails&pageId=11307&pCatName=%20&pGrpName=%20&pT=U.S.%20Muslim%20Coalition%20Reaffirms%20Opposition%20to%20FBI%20Tactics>

²⁰⁵ Salam al-Marayati. “The Muslim Political Outreach Agenda (Constructive Engagement of Muslims with Other Americans in these Challenging Times).” *ISNA Dallas Conference*, Dallas, Texas, July 1-3, 2005. See also, Leila Fadel, *American Muslims Face Suspicion, Distrust*, Sun-Sentinel (Oct. 11, 2009), available at http://articles.sun-sentinel.com/2009-10-11/news/0910100126_1_muslim-americans-muslim-student-association-mosques (“There is a fine line between informant and entrapment,” said Edina Lekovic of MPAC. “Show us the guidelines these informants should operate under. Where is our privacy if I don’t even have my privacy in my mosque?”).

²⁰⁶ *United States v. Cromitie*, 09r558, Southern District of New York, Indictment, May 20, 2009.

²⁰⁷ *United States v. Boyd*, 5:09-CR-216-1-FL, Eastern District of North Carolina, Superseding Indictment, Sept. 24, 2009.

²⁰⁸ *United States v. Shnewer*, 07cr459, District Court of New Jersey, June 5, 2007. Mohamad Ibrahim Shnewer and co-defendants Serdar Tatar, Dritan Duka and Shain Duka were convicted of conspiring to kill U.S. soldiers at Fort Dix and each sentenced to at least 30 years in prison in April 2009. See; Statement of Acting U.S. Attorney Ralph J. Marra, Jr., “One Plotter Sentenced to Life plus 30 years; Second Gets 33 Years in Prison for Conspiring to Kill U.S. Soldiers,” April 29, 2009.

²⁰⁹ “MPAC Sends Letter to FBI Over Use of Informants,” MPAC News, May 26, 2009.

<http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=819> (“MPAC feels that it is of utmost importance that the FBI comes out with a clear and thorough explanation addressing what is perceived as a trend of using agent provocateurs and entrapment.

“I think the question that has to be asked about them is, are they providing us valuable information about terrorism, or are they just instigating people to say stupid things and as their meal tickets to justify their salaries right now? I don't have much respect for informants, but if the FBI feels that they have to utilize informants, then I would like them to make the case to us on how they've been useful in their terrorist investigations. And if they have been involved in entrapment, then I would like that to be made clear as well.”²¹⁰

The Niazi arrest ratcheted up the campaign, after an informant disclosed publicly that he was sent into several California mosques as part of his assignments from the FBI. The AMT statement MPAC joined in signing cast this as a betrayal:

“Federal law enforcement cannot establish trust with American Muslim communities through meetings and townhall forums, while at the same time sending paid informants who instigate violent rhetoric in mosques. This mere act stigmatizes American mosques and casts a shadow of doubt and distrust between American Muslims and their neighbors. It has also led many mosques and community groups to reconsider their relationship with the FBI.”²¹¹

There has been no evidence or court finding that the informant instigated any plot or otherwise behaved inappropriately to back up MPAC's concerns. In sworn testimony, FBI agent Thomas Ropel III said that Niazi instigated conversations in which Niazi called jihad a duty for Muslims to perform and in which he talked about possibly blowing up buildings in California.²¹²

FBI Director Robert Mueller, while declining to discuss any specific case, rejected MPAC's allegations during testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Informants are not dispatched at random, he said, and their actions are closely monitored:

“[W]e do not focus on institutions, we focus on individuals. And I will say generally if there is evidence or information as to individual or individuals undertaking illegal activities in religious institutions, with appropriate high-level approval, we would undertake investigative activities, regardless of the religion.”²¹³

In Defense of Terrorist Financiers

In addition to casting a cloud on the credibility of the FBI and the seriousness of effective counterterrorism, it enforces a stigma that some insist on using when addressing the Muslim community in America”).

²¹⁰ Salam Al-Marayati, “The Enemy Within,” *PBS Frontline*, Oct. 10, 2006.

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/enemywithin/interviews/al-marayati.html>; See also ²¹⁰ “MPAC Files Freedom of Information Act Request with FBI,” *MPAC News*, Dec. 2, 2004. <http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=30> (“The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests seek two kinds of information: 1) the actual FBI file of groups and individuals targeted for speaking out or practicing their faith, and 2) information about whether the structure and policies of the Joint Terrorism Task Force are encouraging rampant and unwarranted spying”).

²¹¹ “FBI Losing Partnership with American Muslim Community,” *MPAC News*, Feb. 25, 2009.

[https://app.e2ma.net/app/view:CampaignPublic/id:2785.1761898998/rid:7e1330c1a667b900378e1b55870a6d81](https://app.e2ma.net/app/view/CampaignPublic/id:2785.1761898998/rid:7e1330c1a667b900378e1b55870a6d81).

²¹² *United States v. Niazi*, 8:09-cr-00028-UA, Central District of California, Bond Hearing, Feb. 24, 2009.

²¹³ Testimony of the Honorable Robert S. Mueller, III, Senate Judiciary Committee, March 25, 2009.

In an effort to disrupt this method of terrorist financing, the FBI and the United States Treasury Department have undertaken programs aimed at “stopping the flow of funds by freezing the assets of charities that are supporting terrorist groups, as well as aggressively investigating suspected abuses of charities.”²¹⁴ Despite the array of tools available for starving the terrorists of funding, labeling a group *persona non grata* has been the most effective.²¹⁵

Rather than concede the obvious—that terrorist groups have used Islamic charities as covers for financing their violent acts—MPAC has consistently sought to undermine U.S. counter-terrorism efforts by arguing that authorities “have not proven their allegations” against organizations such as the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, the Global Relief Foundation, and the Benevolence International Foundation. MPAC charges that U.S. enforcement actions against these organizations “bear strong signs of politicization.”²¹⁶ MPAC has gone so far as to claim that efforts to shut down charities funneling money to organizations identified as Foreign

²¹⁴ The Role of Charities and NGOs in the Financing of Terrorism: Hearing Before the S. Banking Subcommittee on International Trade and Finance, (June 4, 2002) (statement of Kenneth W. Dam, Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Treasury). See also Exec. Order. No. 13,224 (authorizing the Treasury to freeze or impose financial sanctions on any individual entity that meets the following five criteria: (i) foreign individuals or entities listed in the executive order; (ii) foreign individuals or entities that “have committed or...pose a significant risk of committing acts of terrorism that threaten the national security...” of the United States; (iii) individuals or entities that either are “owned or controlled by” or “act for or on behalf of” the parties above; (iv) individuals or entities that support parties designated as terrorist organizations; (v) individuals or entities that are “otherwise associated” with the parties listed above).

²¹⁵ See 2003 Money Laundering Strategy, at 6-7 (“Freezing terrorist assets...does more than deprive terrorists of their money. Rather it has the added benefit of being a highly visible weapon which often prevents the collecting, receiving, consolidating, managing, and moving of assets by deterring those who would use the financial system to fund terrorism in the future”). See also Audrey Kurth Cronin, *The “FTO List” and Congress: Sanctioning Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations*, (CRS Report No. RL 32120) (Oct. 21, 2003) (discussing the process of designating an individual or entity as a terrorist organization and the effects of such designations). A list of all currently designated organizations is maintained by the Treasury Department. *Specially Designated Nationals List*, United States Department of Treasury, Office of Foreign Assets Control, available at <http://www.treas.gov/offices/enforcement/ofac/sdn/t11sdn.pdf> (compiling all U.S. designation lists).

²¹⁶ “A Review of U.S. Counterterrorism Policy: American Muslim Critique and Recommendations,” *MPAC*, September 2003, http://www.mpac.org/bucket_downloads/CTPaper.pdf (“sensationalized allegations have become common features in terrorism-related prosecutions, perhaps as means of bolstering cases that otherwise appear to be built on pretexts. The arrests of individuals connected with Muslim charities accused of involvement in terrorist financing, in particular, many of those that had been under investigation for several years prior to September 11, bare strong sings of politicization”); see also Laila Al-Marayati and Basil Abdelkarim, “The Crime of Being a Muslim Charity.” *Washington Post*, March 12, 2006, p. B10 (“Changes in the law have greatly enhanced the Department’s ability to target and disable organizations and individuals based primarily on suspicion and not on proven evidence of wrong doing as would be required in a court of law for a conviction of terrorism ... Despite attempts by the Administration, the Treasury Department and others to reassure American Muslims that neither they nor their institutions are being targeted unfairly, the facts suggest the opposite ... The government appears to function under the basic assumption that charitable donations on behalf of Muslims have been and will be corrupted intentionally or unintentionally and therefore, all acts of Muslim giving overseas are suspect”); Laila Al-Marayati, “American Muslim Charities: Easy Targets in the War on Terror,” *MPAC News*, August 15, 2005 (“Based on the evidence offered to the public to date, one can hardly conclude that the seizure of assets, intimidation of the community, and dwindling opportunities for Muslims to give ... overseas has had any meaningful effect in the War on Terror. In fact, these actions may actually make things worse ... the long-term success of US efforts ... will be thwarted when we target the wrong groups at home simply because of political expediency ... the Treasury Department functions based on the principle of “guilty until proven innocent”).

Terrorist Organizations was simply the “result of people who are against Islam and Muslims.” Criticizing the need to defend such criminal and civil suits, al Marayati exclaimed:

“So far, the government has frozen over \$12 million of Muslim assets. Those \$12 million have dwindled to \$3 million because, even though the money is frozen, the organizations have to continue paying for rent and for lawyer's fees. Not only that, but we have people whose interests are against Islam and Muslims, who are filing lawsuits for those assets to seize those assets in the name of defending victims of terrorism.”²¹⁷

Contrary to these statements, a number of charitable groups have been the subject of both criminal and civil actions aimed at holding them liable for their financial support of terrorist acts. At each turn in the road, MPAC defended charities designated as terror financiers such as the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, Infocom, Benevolence International Foundation and Global Relief, Islamic American Relief Agency, KindHearts, and the SAAR Foundation.

A. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development

The case presented against the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF) by federal prosecutors represents one of the starkest examples of the abuse of Islamic charities for nefarious purposes.²¹⁸ Although HLF initially began operating in 1989 as a Section 501(c)(3) charitable organization,²¹⁹ over time it became clear that it was an active supporter of and financial conduit for Hamas.²²⁰ As evidence gathered by the FBI and the Treasury Department demonstrated, HLF supported Hamas activities through direct fund transfers to charities it controlled in the West Bank and Gaza.²²¹

As a consequence of HLF's persistent support for Hamas, on December 4, 2001 the Secretary of the Treasury designated the charity as a Specially Designated Terrorist and a Specially Designated Global Terrorist.²²² Additionally, Treasury issued a blocking order for all funds,

²¹⁷ Salam Al-Marayati, “The Shape of the American Muslim Community in the Next Decade,” *MPAC*, Houston, Texas June 18, 2004; *See also* “Congress Endangers Muslim Zakat Money,” *MPAC Press Release*, Nov. 22, 2000 (“American Muslims consider the diversion of the funds of these charities, intended to fulfill American Muslim religiously-mandated zakat (almsgiving) and other forms of charitable contributions, a clear violation of our 1st Amendment right for the free exercise of religion”).

²¹⁸ *Holy Land Found. for Relief and Develop. v. Ashcroft*, 219 F. Supp. 2d 57 (D.D.C. 2002).

²¹⁹ *Id.* At 64.

²²⁰ Press Release: Statement of Secretary Paul O'Neill on the Blocking of Hamas Financiers' Assets, United States Department of the Treasury, (Dec. 4, 2001), available at <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/po837.htm>

²²¹ Press Release, *Statement of Secretary Paul O'Neill on the Blocking of Hamas Financiers' Assets*, United States Department of the Treasury (Dec. 4, 2001) available at <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/po837.htm> (explaining that “HLF funds were used by Hamas to support schools that served HAMAS ends by encouraging children to become suicide bombers and to recruit suicide bombers by offering support to their families”). *See also Holy Land Found.*, 219 F. Supp. 2d at 69 (explaining that “there is evidence that HLF raised funds for Hamas, that Hamas provided financial support to HLF, and that HLF paid for Hamas leaders to travel to the United States on fundraising trips”).

²²² *Statement of Secretary Paul O'Neill on the Blocking of Hamas Financiers' Assets*, *supra* n.24 (explaining that “the seven Vol., 3,130 page administrative record in this case provides substantial support for OFAC's determination that HLF acts for or on behalf of Hamas”).

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property, and assets based on alleged links to the terrorist group Hamas.²²³ As Secretary Paul O'Neill explained in the statement announcing HLF's designation, "the Holy Land Foundation masquerades as a charity, while its primary purpose is to fund Hamas...*This organization exists to raise money in the United States to promote terror.*"²²⁴

MPAC criticized the HLF designation, issuing a joint statement with seven other Islamic groups:²²⁵

"American Muslims support President Bush's effort to cut off funding for terrorism and we call for a peaceful resolution to the Middle East conflict. These goals will not be achieved by taking food out of the mouths of Palestinian orphans or by succumbing to politically-motivated smear campaigns by those who would perpetuate Israel's brutal occupation."²²⁶

The statement further condemned the government's actions as creating the impression that there was a war against Islam:

"We ask that President Bush reconsider what we believe is an unjust and counterproductive move that can only damage America's credibility with Muslims in this country and around the world and could create the impression that there has been a shift from a war on terrorism to an attack on Islam."²²⁷

²²³ *Id.*

²²⁴ *Id.* (emphasis added); *See also Holy Land Found. v. Ashcroft*, 219 F. Supp. 2d (D.D.C. 2002).

²²⁵ "Freeze on Group's Assets Questioned by U.S. Muslims." *CAIR Press Release*. Dec. 4, 2001.

<http://web.archive.org/web/20011207204405/www.cairnet.org/asp/article.asp?articleid=531&articletype=3>, Accessed August 11, 2008. The American Muslim Alliance (AMA), American Muslim Council (AMC), Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), Muslim American Society (MAS), Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), and Muslim Student Association of USA and Canada all co-issued this statement.

²²⁶ "Freeze on Group's Assets Questioned by U.S. Muslims." *CAIR Press Release*, Dec. 4, 2001.

<http://web.archive.org/web/20011207204405/www.cair-net.org/asp/article.asp?articleid=531&articletype=3>, (Accessed Nov. 2, 2009). The American Muslim Alliance (AMA), American Muslim Council (AMC), Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), Muslim American Society (MAS), Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), and Muslim Student Association of USA and Canada all co-issued this statement.

²²⁷ "Freeze on Group's Assets Questioned by U.S. Muslims." *CAIR Press Release*, Dec. 4, 2001.

<http://web.archive.org/web/20011207204405/www.cairnet.org/asp/article.asp?articleid=531&articletype=3>, (Accessed August 11, 2008). The American Muslim Alliance (AMA), American Muslim Council (AMC), Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), Muslim American Society (MAS), Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), and Muslim Student Association of USA and Canada all co-issued this statement; *See also* "State Department Receiving Ire from the Muslim Community," *MPAC News*, Sept. 2, 2000 ("There is a strong suggestion, therefore that this policy of targeting Muslim charities is driven by special interests and anti-Muslim bigotry. Other Muslim charities will be detrimentally affected by this political posturing of the US government if the problem is not rectified and a clear course of counterterrorism policy is not elucidated to the public. MPAC demands disclosure of substantive evidence by the State Department of violating US laws ...")

After HLF was forced to closed down, MPAC Board Member Laila al-Marayati created a new entity with a former HLF director.²²⁸ Al-Marayati co-founded KinderUSA,²²⁹ along with Riad Abdelkarim,²³⁰ who had served as HLF's secretary.²³¹ Al-Marayati currently serves as KinderUSA's chairperson, while Abdelkarim, is listed as former chairperson.²³² A 2004 *Los Angeles Times* article described KinderUSA's approach to giving aid:, "When aiding orphans, the organization does not inquire how the father died to avoid charges that it knowingly supports the families of suicide bombers."²³³

B. Infocom

Infocom was a Richardson, Texas based internet company run by five brothers named Elashi, selling computer systems, networking, telecommunications, and internet services and exported computers to the Middle East.²³⁴ On September 5, 2001, the FBI raided Infocom offices,²³⁵ freezing two of its accounts,²³⁶ and subpoenaing records from HLF and the Islamic Association for Palestine.²³⁷ In December 2002, Infocom, the Elashi brothers, Hamas leader Musa Abu Marzook, a relative of the Elashis, and his wife Nadia Elashi were all indicted. Nadia Elashi is a cousin of the Elashi brothers. Infocom and the Elashi brothers were charged with illegally sending computer equipment to Libya and Syria and with engaging in financial transactions with Marzook, a Specially Designated Terrorist.²³⁸

MPAC repeated the allegation that Israel dictates U.S. policy and law enforcement activity in a 2003 counterterrorism paper:

"The Elashi arrests, the culmination of an investigation dating back more than two years, also came one year after a formal request by the Israeli government to close HLF and more than six years of inflammatory allegations by pro-Israel groups."²³⁹

²²⁸ Pat Twair and Samir Twair, "Los Angeles Resident Startled by 'Israeli Checkpoint'" *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, September-October 2002, pp. 59-61. <http://www.wrmea.com/archives/sept-oct02/0209059.html> (Accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

²²⁹ *Id.*

²³⁰ *Id.*

²³¹ Holy Land Foundation. Internal Revenue Service. Form 990, 2000.

²³² "Board of Directors.. *KinderUSA*. http://www.kinderusa.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=50&Itemid=36 (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

²³³ Teresa Watanabe, "U.S. Muslims Temper Ramadan Giving With Caution." *The Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 6, 2004. <http://articles.latimes.com/2004/nov/06/local/me-beliefs6>

²³⁴ *U.S. v. Elashi*, (NDTX) 02-CR-052-R, "Superseding Indictment." December 17, 2002.

²³⁵ David Koenig, "FBI Raids Dallas-Area Internet Business as Part of Terrorism Investigation," *Associated Press*, Sept. 6, 2001.

²³⁶ Steve McGonigle, "Local Firm's Accounts Frozen," *The Dallas Morning News*, September 26, 2001.

²³⁷ *Id.*

²³⁸ *U.S. v. Elashi*, (NDTX) 02-CR-052-R, "Indictment." Dec. 17, 2002.

²³⁹ "A Review of U.S. Counterterrorism Policy: American Muslim Critique & Recommendations," MPAC, September 2003, p. 47, http://www.mpac.org/bucket_downloads/CTPaper.pdf.

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Additionally, MPAC released its own statement expressing concern over the raid, calling it “an assault,” and wondering whether civil liberties were violated:

“The Muslim Public Affairs Council joins other Muslim national organizations in expressing our deep concern regarding the raid of a Richardson Internet services company ... we are anxious over the possibility that the civil liberties of InfoCom owners and their many important clients were violated by this unexplained raid. We believe that such an assault leaves the Muslim community and the public at large with many vexing, unanswered questions and a sense of violation ... Furthermore, our constituency can not help but question the timing of this raid and the apparent sense of urgency with which it was undertaken.”²⁴⁰

The day after the raids, MPAC and several other Muslim groups issued a statement casting the raid as a sign law enforcement follows Israel’s orders:

“American Muslims view yesterday's action as just one of a long list of attempts by the pro-Israel lobby to intimidate and silence all those who wish to see Palestinian Muslims and Christians free themselves of a brutal Apartheid-like occupation. We believe the genesis of this raid lies not in Washington, but in Tel Aviv.”²⁴¹

On July 7, 2004, Infocom was found guilty on all 10 counts against it.²⁴² The named defendants, Ihsan Elashi, Hazim Elashi, Bayan Elashi, and Ghassan Elashi were convicted of illegally exporting computer equipment to Libya and Syria, conspiracy to illegally export computer equipment, laundering funds derived from the export violations, making false statements on export documents, conspiracy to make false statements on export documents, dealing in property of a Specially Designated Terrorist, and related offenses.²⁴³ Upon review by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, the conviction against Ihsan was reversed based upon a prior plea agreement with the government, however, all of the other convictions were affirmed.²⁴⁴

C. Benevolence International Foundation and Global Relief Foundation

The Benevolence International Foundation (BIF) began operating in the United States in the early 1990s.²⁴⁵ Founded in Saudi Arabia in the late 1980s as Lajnat al-Birr al-Islamiah (LBI), it was renamed upon incorporation in the United States.²⁴⁶ BIF provided support for the

²⁴⁰ “FBI Raids Raises Suspicion of Anti-Muslim Bias,” *MPAC News*, Sept. 6, 2001.

²⁴¹ “Raid on Texas Business is 'Anti-Muslim Witch Hunt' Say Muslim Leaders.” *PR Newswire*, September 6, 2001; see also “FBI Accused of Anti-Muslim Bias,” *BBC News*, September 7, 2001,

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/sci/tech/1530361.stm> (“Raid on Texas Business is 'Anti-Muslim Witch Hunt' Say Muslim Leaders.” *PR Newswire*, September 6, 2001 (“We have deep concerns that this once again is an attempt to rush to judgment and to marginalize the American Muslim community. There is a pattern of bias that often permeates all of these types of investigations”).

²⁴² “Elashi Brothers Convicted,” *U.S. Department of Justice Press Release*, July 8, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/usao/txn/PressRel04/elashi_conv.pdf, (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

²⁴³ *Id.*

²⁴⁴ *United States v. Elashi*, 554 F.3d 480 (5th Cir. 2008).

²⁴⁵ Benevolence International Foundation. Articles of Incorporation, 1992.

²⁴⁶ *Id.*

Mujahedeen fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan, as well as to facilitate the immigration of jihadists to the battlefield.²⁴⁷ After the war in Afghanistan ended, BIF helped al Qaida establish its presence in the Sudan, Bosnia and Chechnya, providing support for the Mujahedeen in those conflicts as well.²⁴⁸

BIF was shut down by the U.S. government in December of 2001, as part of a crackdown on terrorist financing after the September 11th attacks.²⁴⁹ The United States Treasury Department then designated BIF as a financier of terrorism on November 19, 2002, along with two closely-linked but separately incorporated entities called Benevolence International Fund (Canada), Bosanska Idealna Futura (Bosnia), and their branch offices.²⁵⁰ BIF also worked with HLF in its relief efforts in Palestine.²⁵¹

BIF challenged that designation in court, but voluntarily dismissed its lawsuit on February 25, 2003.²⁵² Earlier that month, the organization's executive director, Enaam Arnaout, pled guilty to conspiring to commit racketeering.²⁵³ In his plea, Arnaout admitted that BIF claimed to engage solely in humanitarian charity but in reality diverted donations to "fighters in Chechnya" and Bosnia-Herzegovina.²⁵⁴

Arnaout appealed his 10-year sentence, which was upheld by the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals in 2009.²⁵⁵

In a column for the *New York Times* on October 11, 2002, Salam al Marayati protested BIF's shutdown, saying that the action was counterproductive:

"The government's policy has inflicted considerable harm. By effectively shutting down these charities, it has given Americans the false impression that American Muslims are supporting terrorists. It has also given the Muslim world a similarly false impression that America is intolerant of a religious minority."²⁵⁶

The Global Relief Foundation (GRF) began operating in the United States as a tax-exempt, nonprofit charitable organization in 1992.²⁵⁷ Based in Bridgeview, Illinois, it grew into one of

²⁴⁷ *Id.*

²⁴⁸ *United States v. Arnaout*, (NDIL) 02-CR-892 "Government's Evidentiary Proffer Supporting the Admissibility of Co-Conspirator Statements," Jan. 6, 2003, pp. 48, 58.

²⁴⁹ *BIF v. Ashcroft* (NDIL) 02-CV-763 "Plaintiff's Memorandum in Opposition to Defendant's Motion to Stay Proceedings." May 9, 2002; "Feds Close Two More Muslim Groups," *CBS News*, Dec. 14, 2001.

²⁵⁰ "Treasury Designates Benevolence International Foundation and Related Entities as Financiers of Terrorism." *United States Treasury Department Press Release*, Nov. 19, 2002.

²⁵¹ "All Eyes on Palestine," *Benevolence Report* Vol. 6 Issue 4, Dec. 2000, p. 7.

²⁵² *BIF v. Ashcroft* (NDIL) 02-CV-763, Minute Order dismissing case with Prejudice by U.S. District Judge James H. Alesia, February 25, 2003.

²⁵³ *United States v. Arnaout*, (NDIL) 02-CR-892, Plea Agreement, February 10, 2003.

²⁵⁴ *Id.*

²⁵⁵ *United States v. Arnaout*, (NDIL) 02-CR-892, Order, April 3, 2009.

²⁵⁶ Salam Al-Marayati, "Indict Individuals, Not Charities" *New York Times*, Oct. 11, 2002, p. A33.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/11/opinion/indict-individuals-not-charities.html>.

²⁵⁷ Global Relief Foundation. IRS Form 990, 1993.

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the largest Islamic charities in the United States providing humanitarian and charitable relief to Muslims, especially in conflict zones such as Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chechnya, Kashmir, and Lebanon, through a network of overseas offices.²⁵⁸

In addition to undertaking this charitable work, however, the organization served as a propaganda organ for global jihad, and the U.S. government has alleged that GRF funded violent jihadism.²⁵⁹ GRF was suspected of having ties with an Al Qaida precursor organization in Pakistan, and other known terrorist groups such as Algerian Armed Islamic Group (GIA), the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Gama'at Al Islamiyyah, and the Kashmiri Harakat ul-Jihad-al-Islami, and Al Qaida.²⁶⁰

GRF's headquarters were raided on December 14, 2001 by the FBI and GRF co-founder and Chairman, Rabih Haddad²⁶¹ was arrested on a visa violation.²⁶² Subsequently, the U.S. Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) froze GRF's assets.²⁶³ On that same day, NATO soldiers and United Nations police raided GRF's offices in Kosovo.²⁶⁴

In November 2002, an immigration judge denied Haddad's application for asylum, concluding that he presented "a substantial risk to the national security of the United States"²⁶⁵ as a member of Makhtab Al-Khidamat, a precursor organization to Al-Qaida, founded by Osama Bin Laden and Abdullah Azzam.²⁶⁶ In July 2003, Haddad was deported to Lebanon.²⁶⁷

A federal judge in Illinois denied GRF's petition for a preliminary injunction blocking the Treasury freeze of its assets,²⁶⁸ a decision upheld by the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals in 2002.²⁶⁹

GRF sued six media outlets in 2002, claiming it was libeled and defamed in news reports about the U.S. crackdown on suspected terror financiers. A district judge granted summary judgment, finding the reports were true. The 7th Circuit upheld that find, too, affirming "that each of the reports was substantially true."²⁷⁰

²⁵⁸ "Monograph on Terrorism Financing." *National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States*, August 21, 2004, p.89 http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/staff_statements/911_TerrFin_Monograph.pdf

²⁵⁹ *Id.* at 90.

²⁶⁰ *Id.* at 91.

²⁶¹ Deanna Bellandi, "FBI Issues Search Warrants at Two Islamic Charities Based in Suburban Chicago." *Associated Press*, Dec. 14, 2001.

²⁶² *Id.*

²⁶³ *Global Relief Foundation, Inc. v. New York Times Company, et al.*, (NDIL) 01-C-8821, "Memorandum Opinion and Order." Feb. 19, 2003.

²⁶⁴ "Feds Close Two More Muslim Groups," *CBS News*. Dec. 14, 2001.

²⁶⁵ "Statement of Barbara Comstock, Director of Public Affairs, on the Haddad Asylum Decision," *Department of Justice Press Release*, Nov. 22, 2002, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2002/November/02_civ_691.htm.

²⁶⁶ "Treasury Announces Designation of Terrorist Organization," *U.S. Department of Treasury Press Release*, October 18, 2002. <http://usinfo.org/wf-archive/2002/021018/epf510.htm>.

²⁶⁷ Sarah Freeman, "Haddad Deported, Family Remains in the U.S.," *Associated Press*, July 16, 2003.

²⁶⁸ *Global Relief Foundation v. O'Neill, et al.* Memorandum Opinion and Order, 02CV674 (NDIL) June 11, 2002.

²⁶⁹ *Global Relief Foundation v. O'Neill, et al.*, 315 F.3d 748, 7th Circuit Court of Appeals, December 31, 2002.

²⁷⁰ *Global Relief Foundation v. New York Times, et al.* 390 F.3d 973, 7th Circuit Court of Appeals, December 1, 2004.

In the aftermath of a July 4, 2002 attack at the Los Angeles Airport in which Hesham Mohamed Hadayet shot and killed 2 Israelis at the El Al Airlines counter, al Marayati wrote an article discussing the definitions of terrorism as the FBI was conducting its investigation of the incident. Al Marayati argued the airport attack was not an act of terrorism.²⁷¹ In the same article, he cast HLF, BIF, and GRF as charitable organizations unjustly caught in the U.S. response to terrorism:

“Should the same standard [for defining terrorism] apply for the three American Muslim charities shut down as a result of the government's freeze of their assets? ... Selective justice is injustice -- it does not help us in the war on terror and continues to project the image that the U.S. is anti-Islam ... American Jews celebrate the fact that their children defer going to college in order to serve in the Israeli army, but American Muslims are chastised as terrorist sympathizers for giving money to the refugees of war-torn countries.”²⁷²

Al Marayati finished his article with a warning:

“To the valiant spokespeople who want to promote the war on terrorism in their selective application of terrorism: Be careful for what you wish, because you might get it, and then you will have to recoil to your corners when the double-edged sword of the terrorism debate swings the other way.”²⁷³

D. Islamic American Relief Agency

On October 13, 2004, the U.S. Treasury Department named the worldwide network of the Islamic African Relief Agency (IARA), along with five senior officials, as Specially Designated Global Terrorists (SDGT) for providing direct financial support to Osama Bin Laden as well as the terrorist organizations Hamas and Al-Ittihad al-Islamiya (AIAI).²⁷⁴ In March 2007, a 33-count indictment was filed against IARA and several of IARA's officials²⁷⁵ in the Western District of Missouri. Some of the more significant charges include conspiracy to violate the international emergency economic powers act and the Iraqi sanctions regulations, money laundering, and theft of public money.²⁷⁶

²⁷¹ Charles Feldman, “Federal Investigators: L.A. Airport Shooting a Terrorist Act,” *CNN*, Sept. 5, 2002. <http://archives.cnn.com/2002/US/09/04/lax.shooting/index.html>.

²⁷² Salam Al-Marayati, “When is Terrorism Not Defined as Terrorism?” *MPAC News*, July 15, 2002. <http://web.archive.org/web/20020825171331/http://www.mpac.org/NEWS/newsitemdisplay.asp?ID=188&ITEMTY PE=NEWS>.

²⁷³ *Id.*

²⁷⁴ “Treasury Designates Global Network, Senior Officials of IARA for Supporting bin Laden, Others.” *U.S. Department of the Treasury Press Release*, October 13, 2004. <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/js2025.htm> (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

²⁷⁵ Mubarak Hamed (IARA Executive Director, 1992-2004), Ali Bagegni (IARA Board Member, 1992-2004), Ahmad Mustafa (IARA fundraiser, 1996-2004), Khalid Al-Sudanee (Regional Director of Islamic Relief Agency's [ISRA] Middle Eastern Office in Amman, Jordan), and Abdel Azim El-Siddiq (IARA fundraiser and vice president for international operations).

²⁷⁶ *United States v. Islamic American Relief Agency* (WDMO) 07-CR-87 “Indictment.” March 6, 2007.

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After the shutdown, Salam al Marayati appeared on National Public Radio on October 26, 2004 and questioned the timing of the government's actions:

“It was a bit disturbing that the announcement of shutting down another charity taking place just before the month of Ramadan in the peak of the election season. And so there are always questions around. ‘Why now? What does the government know now that it didn't know three years ago, or apparently in 1999, when it has made accusations about this group?’”²⁷⁷

The criminal case is scheduled for trial in July 2010. On December 16, 2009, former IARA employee Ahmad Mustafa pled guilty in U.S. District Court for transferring money to Iraq as part of his work with the “charity.”²⁷⁸

E. KindHearts

KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development is an Islamic charity that was incorporated in Toledo, Ohio in 2002²⁷⁹ and is registered in other states including Colorado,²⁸⁰ Pennsylvania,²⁸¹ Oklahoma,²⁸² Nevada,²⁸³ and Indiana.²⁸⁴ The U.S. Treasury Department froze the assets of KindHearts on February 19, 2006 for its financial ties to Hamas.²⁸⁵ In a statement released with the news of the freeze, Treasury Under-Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence Stuart Levey called KindHearts “the progeny of Holy Land Foundation and Global Relief Foundation, which attempted to mask their support for terrorism behind the façade of charitable giving.”²⁸⁶

In response, MPAC released a statement calling for an emergency meeting of the National Council for American Non Profits to discuss the matter and accused the U.S. government of singling out Muslim charities for prosecution:

“Since the terrorist attacks of 9/11, more than 25 American Muslim non-profits and charities have been shut down amid vague allegations of providing support to terrorists ... In many cases U.S. Muslim and non-Muslim charities operate in the same parts of the

²⁷⁷ “Transcript: Treasury Department freezes assets of the Islamic African Relief Agency in Columbia, Missouri.” *National Public Radio: All Things Considered*, Oct. 26, 2004.

²⁷⁸ Tony Rizzo, *Fundraiser pleads guilty in case involving former Islamic charity group*, *The Kansas City Star* (Dec. 17, 2009), at A14.

²⁷⁹ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Ohio Secretary of State, Jan. 22, 2002.

²⁸⁰ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Colorado Secretary of State, Sept. 29, 2003; “Annual Report on Charitable Solicitations 2004 Part 1,” Colorado Secretary of State’s Office, Dec. 27, 2004, p. 74. <http://www.sos.state.co.us/pubs/charities/CCSAAnnualReport2004.pdf> (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

²⁸¹ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Unified Registration Statement for Charitable Organizations. September 9, 2002.

²⁸² KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Oklahoma Secretary of State, Sept. 29, 2003.

²⁸³ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Nevada Secretary of State, Aug. 18, 2003.

²⁸⁴ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Indiana Secretary of State, Oct. 17, 2003.

²⁸⁵ “Treasury Freezes Assets of Organization Tied to Hamas.” *U.S. Department of the Treasury Press Room*, Feb. 19, 2006, available at <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/js4058.htm> (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

²⁸⁶ *Id.*

world and send funds to the same social service agencies who can deliver assistance to needy individuals in the region; however, the perception is that the U.S. government is singling out charities such as KindHearts mainly because they are Muslim in origin.”²⁸⁷

Laila al Marayati offered similar sentiments in a subsequent *Washington Post* op-ed written with a fellow KinderUSA board member:

“The Treasury Department is playing target practice with American Muslim charities. On Feb. 19 Treasury seized the assets and froze the operations of KindHearts, a Toledo-based humanitarian organization, acting on the dubious allegation that it is financing terrorism.”²⁸⁸

During the summer of 2009, a federal court judge in Ohio, ruled in favor of KindHearts, finding that freezing the organization’s assets violated the charity’s due process rights.²⁸⁹ Even more recently, the same judge ordered the government not to move forward with efforts at designating KindHearts an SDGT until he has reviewed the underlying asset seizure and determined what, if any, remedy is available to KindHearts for the alleged violations.²⁹⁰

F. SAAR Foundation

The SAAR network is a sophisticated arrangement of non-profit and for-profit groups that are suspected of serving as fronts for Islamic terrorist organizations including the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), and Hamas.²⁹¹ On March 20, 2002, the FBI executed a series of raids on homes, businesses and charities associated with the SAAR Foundation in Northern Virginia as part of the government’s investigation into “a criminal conspiracy to provide material support to terrorist organizations.”²⁹²

In the May 2002 issue of *The Minaret*, Center for Islam and Science in Canada President Muzaffar Iqbal²⁹³ wrote “The American Calamity,” in protest of the SAAR raids. Iqbal lamented what he saw as a dangerous new phase in American assaults on Muslims:

“On March 20, the American government crossed yet another limit; it attacked its own citizens because they happened to be Muslims ...The American crusade against Islam

²⁸⁷ “MPAC calls for meeting of National Council of American Non-Profits on KindHearts closure,” *MPAC-DC*, March 3, 2006, available at, <http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=49> (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

²⁸⁸ Laila Al-Marayati and Basil Abdelkarim, “The Crime of Being a Muslim Charity.” *Washington Post*, March 12, 2006, available at, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/10/AR2006031001859.html>

²⁸⁹ *Kindhearts v. Geithner*, Order, Doc. No. 3:08-cv-02400-JGC (N.D. Oh., Aug. 18, 2009).

²⁹⁰ *See Kindhearts v. Geithner*, Doc. No. 3:08-cv-02400-JGC (N.D. Oh., Oct. 26, 2009).

²⁹¹ *In the Matter of Searches Involving 555 Grove Street, Herndon, Virginia, and Related Locations*, (EDVA) 02-114-MG “(Proposed Redacted) Affidavit In Support of Application For Search Warrant,” Oct. 17, 2003.

²⁹² *In the Matter of Searches Involving 555 Grove Street, Herndon, Virginia, and Related Locations*, (EDVA) 02-114-MG “(Proposed Redacted) Affidavit In Support of Application For Search Warrant,” Oct. 17, 2003.

²⁹³ “About Us: Local Executive Board,” *Center for Islam and Science*, 2009. http://www.cis-ca.org/index.php?page=About_Us.

and Muslims is now definitely in its most aggressive phase. One can say with enough justification that this crusade is not going to stop in the near future ... But the raid was not only a violation of all civilized norms, it was a clear indicator of a deeply pathological state of the American system ... we must ask some serious questions about the system that allows such atrocities ... Is the American system at the brink of degeneration into an apartheid system?²⁹⁴

MPAC's Report for the Second Quarter of 2002, further criticized the raids as an "assault on the community" which "further isolated and alienated law-abiding Muslims:"

"MPAC is gravely concerned and feels betrayed by the raids of 24 American Muslim establishments without disclosure as to the evidence, if any, against them, without consultation of American Muslim leaders ... MPAC is disappointed and outraged over the intimidating and humiliating manner in which the raids were conducted which may sour relations between the innocent American Muslim community and law enforcement.²⁹⁵

Defending Domestic Terrorists

As with MPAC's consistent response to U.S. efforts to shut down the support structure for terrorist organizations, they have publicly defended at least a dozen individuals suspected of terrorist activity within the United States.

A. On the Millennium Plot: Downplaying Ahmed Ressam

Two weeks before New Year's Day 2000, Al Qaida operative Ahmed Ressam was arrested as he tried to drive from Canada into Washington State with a trunk full explosives²⁹⁶ planning to bomb the Los Angeles International Airport.²⁹⁷ Ressam was convicted for his role in the plot and sentenced in July 2005 to 22 years in prison.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁴ Dr. Muzaffar Iqbal, "The American Calamity." *The Minaret* Vol. 24 Issue 5, May 2002, pp. 17-18; See also MPAC's Case Statement on March 20th Raids." *MPAC Position Papers*, March 27, 2002, available at http://web.archive.org/web/20040507010150/http://www.mpac.org/popa_article_display.aspx?ITEM=162 (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009) ("The Virginia raids were mere fishing expeditions or an attempt by federal agencies to find 'evidence' against American Muslim organizations. We would argue that this 'evidence' does not exist. MPAC is also cognizant of foreign-interest lobbies in the United States whose agenda includes curtailing American Muslim political power...").

²⁹⁵ "March 20 Raids: A Turning Point for American Muslims," MPAC Report, *Second Quarter* 2002, p. 1. See also "MPAC's Case Statement on March 20th Raids," *MPAC News*, March 27, 2002. <http://web.archive.org/web/20020415234901/www.mpac.org/NEWS/newsitemdisplay.asp?ID=111&ITEMTYPE=NEWS> ("MPAC feels a sense of betrayal over the raiding of twenty-four American Muslim establishments without disclosure as to the evidence, if any, against them, without consultation with American Muslim leaders, and without consultation with those who were raided ...").

²⁹⁶ Hal Bernton, Mike Carter, David Heath and James Neff. "The Terrorist Within." *The Seattle Times*, June 23 – July 7, 2002, available at, <http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/news/nation-world/terroristwithin/> (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

²⁹⁷ *Id.*

²⁹⁸ *U.S. v. Ahmed Ressam* (WDWA) 99-CR-666C-001 "Judgment." July 27, 2005.

Responding to Ressam's arrest and government assertions that it had discovered a worldwide network of sleeper cells, MPAC Vice Chairman Aslam Abdullah, downplayed the whole affair saying that the government and media were "overblowing an issue."²⁹⁹ He added:

"This is not to deny that terrorism exists, because it is there. But it should not be given a proportion more than is due."³⁰⁰

B. Dr. Rafil Dhafir

In February 2003, Dr. Rafil A. Dhafir and three others were indicted on a variety of charges related to the charity "Help the Needy," including money laundering and conspiracy to transfer funds to Iraq in violation of the provisions of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act.³⁰¹ In October 2004, commenting on the government's actions against Dhafir, Salam al Marayati said:

"It is a sham. You just hope at the end of a long battle these people can be vindicated because they did nothing wrong."³⁰²

Al Marayati also defended Dhafir in an editorial distributed by United Press International in October 2004, saying that his arrest was wrongly "spun:"

"U.S. Muslim physician [Dhafir] in Syracuse was arrested ... and his indictment was spun as a win in the war on terror. We continue to see the wheels come off as the U.S. government attempts to prosecute these cases and most are reduced to fraud or immigration violations ... but an arrest over tax fraud should not be paraded by U.S. officials as a conclusive element to the war on terror."³⁰³

Dhafir was convicted and sentenced to 22 years in prison in October 2005 for violating sanctions on Iraq.³⁰⁴

C. "Virginia Jihad"

On September 23, 2003, a superseding indictment was filed against 11 members of a "Virginia jihad" network.³⁰⁵ The indictment listed a variety of charges, including conspiracy to levy war

²⁹⁹ Josh Meyer, "Border Arrest Stirs Fear of Terrorist Cells in U.S." *Los Angeles Times*. March 11, 2001. p. A1 (Nov. 2, 2009).

³⁰⁰ Josh Meyer, "Border Arrest Stirs Fear of Terrorist Cells in U.S.," *Los Angeles Times*, March 11, 2001, p. A1.

³⁰¹ *U.S. v. Dhafir* (NDNY) 03-CR-64, "Indictment," Feb. 19, 2003.

³⁰² Renee Gadoua, "Muslim Vote's Impact Weighed," *The Post-Standard*, Oct. 12, 2004.

³⁰³ Salam Al-Marayati, "Outside View: Picking on U.S. Muslims." *United Press International*, Oct. 21, 2004.

³⁰⁴ *U.S. v. Dhafir* (NDNY) 03-CR-64. "Judgment," Nov. 2, 2005.

³⁰⁵ "Defendants Convicted in Northern Virginia 'Jihad' Trial." *U.S. Department of Justice News Release*. March 4, 2004. http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/March/04_crm_139.htm (Accessed August 11, 2008).

against the United States, conspiracy to provide material support to al Qaida, and conspiracy to contribute services to the Taliban.³⁰⁶

MPAC, in its 2003 counterterrorism paper, suggested that the U.S. government had insufficient evidence to bring charges. MPAC stated that, “U.S. District Judge T. Rawles Jones, Jr. cast doubt on the government’s allegations and ordered five of the men released without bond.”³⁰⁷

Evidence showed the “jihad network” worked with Lashkar-e-Taiba,³⁰⁸ a Foreign Terrorist Organization³⁰⁹ believed to be responsible for the terrorist attacks in Mumbai in November 2008. Six members of the cell pled guilty, three more were convicted at trial, and two were acquitted.³¹⁰

D. Abdurahman Alamoudi

The founder and executive director of the American Muslim Council (AMC), Abdurahman Alamoudi was indicted in September 2003 for illegal financial dealings with Libya³¹¹ and, according to court documents, provided financial support to Hamas and Al Qaida.³¹² He pleaded guilty to engaging in prohibited transactions with a foreign country, unlawful procurement of citizenship and impeding administration of the Internal Revenue Service.³¹³ In October 2004 he was sentenced to 23 years in jail.³¹⁴ MPAC claimed the government’s case against Alamoudi was politically motivated:

“MPAC is disturbed by the arrest of Mr. Al-Amoudi ... He was taken into custody for violations of the law that were unrelated to the War on Terror or to any alleged involvement with terrorism.”³¹⁵

MPAC also cautioned against politicizing the case to avoid it becoming part of a campaign to marginalize the Muslim community:

“The targeting of individuals or organizations by law enforcement should not be politicized, and the alleged crimes of one individual should not be allowed to taint an

³⁰⁶ *Id.*

³⁰⁷ “A Review of U.S. Counterterrorism Policy: American Muslim Critique & Recommendations.” *MPAC*. Sept. 2003, p. 48. http://www.mpac.org/bucket_downloads/CTPaper.pdf (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

³⁰⁸ *Id.*

³⁰⁹ “Powell Names Two Groups as Terrorist Organizations.” *U.S. State Department: Washington File*, December 26, 2001. <http://usinfo.org/wf-archive/2001/011226/epf302.htm> (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

³¹⁰ News Release, Paul J. McNulty, U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia, April 26, 2005. See also; Jerry Markon, “Final Defendant in ‘Va. Jihad’ Case Acquitted.” *The Washington Post*, March 9, 2004, p. B5.

³¹¹ *U.S. v. Alamoudi*, (DC VA) 03-1009M, “Indictment,” Oct. 23, 2003.

³¹² *U.S. v. Alamoudi*, (DC VA) 03-1009M, “Supplemental Declaration in Support of Detention,” Oct. 22, 2003.

³¹³ *U.S. v. Alamoudi*, (DC VA) 03-513-A, “Plea Agreement,” July 30, 2004.

³¹⁴ “Abdurahman Alamoudi Sentenced to Jail in Terrorism Financing Case,” *Department of Justice Press Release*, Oct. 15, 2004, available at, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/October/04_crm_698.htm (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

³¹⁵ “MPAC Releases the Following Statement on the Arrest of Abdel-Rahman Al-Amoudi” *MPAC News*, Oct. 6, 2003.

entire community. Biased pundits motivated by personal agendas, with the support of some in the government, have exploited the tragedy of 9-11 to marginalize the voices of American Muslims, and to prevent the emergence of an effective and independent American Muslim leadership. The FBI should be free to pursue investigations based on criminal activity and behavior, and not be pressured from private ideologically motivated ‘terrorism experts’ or television pundits to pursue their political opponents.”³¹⁶

After Alamoudi’s 2004 guilty plea, al Marayati obfuscated the issue, commenting: “Anti-Muslim groups will definitely take this to their own purpose.”³¹⁷

E. Sami Al-Arian

Then a University of South Florida computer science professor, Sami Al-Arian was arrested by federal agents on February 20, 2003 for allegedly serving as North American leader of Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), a U.S. government-designated terrorist organization responsible for the deaths of two Americans and over 100 Israelis.³¹⁸

After his 2003 arrest, MPAC, issued a press release in which MPAC Senior Advisor Maher Hathout echoed the concerns MPAC voiced about Alamoudi’s case:

“Our community is in dire need to understand how these charges [against Al-Arian] are founded on concrete evidence of criminal activity and not guilt by association or political considerations.”³¹⁹

Evidence in his trial showed Al-Arian served on the PIJ governing board and worked feverishly to keep the group from splintering in 1994.³²⁰ A year later, he solicited donations for the PIJ, invoking a double-suicide bombing attack that killed 22 Israelis. The attack, he wrote, shows “what the believing few can do in the face of Arab and Islamic collapse at the heels of the Zionist entity.” He then sought “true support for the jihad effort in Palestine so that operations such as these can continue.”³²¹

³¹⁶ *Id.*

³¹⁷ Mustafa Abd ElHaleem, “US Muslims ‘Furious, Fearful’ After Amoudi’s Admission,” *IslamOnline.net*, Aug. 1, 2004, available at, <http://www.islam-online.net/English/News/2004-08/01/article03.shtml> (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

³¹⁸ “Members of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad Arrested, Charged With Racketeering and Conspiracy to Provide Support to Terrorists,” *United States Department of Justice News Release*, Feb. 20, 2003, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2003/February/03_crm_099.htm (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009).

³¹⁹ “Ashcroft Indictment,” *MPAC Press Release*, Feb. 20, 2003, available at, http://web.archive.org/web/20050407214821/%20http://www.mpac.org/home_article_display.aspx?ITEM=415 (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009). *See also* “Ashcroft Indictment,” *MPAC Press Release*, Feb. 20, 2003, available at, http://web.archive.org/web/20050407214821/%20http://www.mpac.org/home_article_display.aspx?ITEM=415 (last accessed Nov. 2, 2009) (“Dr. Hathout added that it was disturbing that Attorney General John Ashcroft inserted religious expressions, like Jihad and martyrdom, to a major federal investigation and indictment. Such ambiguous assertions and inflammatory language about religious terms does not help in clarifying the direction of the war on terrorism nor does it reassure Americans of the effectiveness in the government approach in rooting out terrorism”).

³²⁰ Remarks of U.S. District Judge James S. Moody at Al-Arian’s sentencing hearing, May 1, 2006. *US v. Al-Arian*, (MDFL) 1563 03-CR-77.

³²¹ *US v. Al-Arian*, (MDFL) 1563 03-CR-77, Government Exhibit T-516.

In December 2005, however, jurors in Tampa acquitted Al-Arian on eight of the 17 charges against him. MPAC issued a statement expressing their support for Al-Arian, overlooking the remaining charges:

“The acquittal ... proves once again that everyone deserves their day in court, and that such cases should be fairly tried in the court of law not the court of public opinion.”³²²

Facing a retrial on the nine charges on which jurors deadlocked, Al-Arian pleaded guilty on April 14, 2006, to “conspiracy to make or receive contributions of funds, goods or services to or for the benefit of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a Specially Designated Terrorist.”³²³

MPAC defended Al-Arian throughout, claiming that he was being targeted unfairly by law enforcement and special interests groups and that his trial was unfair.

MPAC came to Al-Arian’s defense after he was suspended with pay from the University of South Florida before his indictment.³²⁴ In a September 28, 2001 interview on the “O’Reilly Factor,” Al-Arian was aggressively questioned about his connections to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and some of the radical statements he had made in years past.³²⁵ Despite this, MPAC regarded Al-Arian as a “community activist, who has spearheaded the fight against secret evidence.”³²⁶

At a banquet dinner held on March 12, 2006 in support of Al-Arian, al Marayati defended Al-Arian as a:

“[G]entleman who defied the odds in a system that is unfair and there is no way that you can get a fair trial in view of any of these issues today.”³²⁷

F. Muhammad Salah

Muhammad Salah, Abdelhaleem Al-Ashqar,³²⁸ and Hamas leader Musa Abu Marzook were indicted in August 2004 on charges of racketeering, providing material support or resources to

³²² “Al-Arian Acquitted On Terror Charges,” *MPAC News*, Dec. 6, 2005, available at, <http://app.e2ma.net/app/view:CampaignPublic/id:2785.166114066/rid:59bd651d003d3c091d637cadb46751af>(Quoting al Marayati as saying “We still, as Muslim Americans, we believe in the integrity of our justice system, and we believe in our jurors who really did a marvelous job in the case of ours, and cleared the mess of the accusations against Sami Al-Arian”).

³²³ *US v. Al Arian*, (MDFL) 1563 03-CR-77, “Plea Agreement,” April 14, 2006.

³²⁴ “MPAC Expresses Support for Prof. Sami Al-Arian,” *MPAC Report*, First Quarter 2002, at 4 (“Eltantawi said that Dr. Al-Arian had done nothing wrong and is being punished for the “non-crime of sparking dissent.”)

³²⁵ Adam Emerson, “USF Talked Deal With Al-Arian,” *Tampa Tribune*, Feb. 8, 2007, available at, <http://www.tbo.com/news/metro/MGBDVCKMWXE.html>.

³²⁶ “MPAC Leads Muslims in White House Walkout: Prompts Bush Apology,” *MPAC Report*, Third Quarter 2001, at 1.

³²⁷ Salam Al-Marayati, “Sami Al-Arian Banquet Dinner,” *Islamic Shura Council of Southern California*, Anaheim, California, March 12, 2006.

³²⁸ A professor from Virginia, Al-Ashqar was also a prominent Hamas member. See “Action Memorandum, Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development International Emergency Economic Powers Act.” *From Dale Watson*,

the terrorists and attempting to influence, obstruct, and impede the due administration of justice.³²⁹ Salah, a former car salesman from Chicago, had spent 4½ years in Israeli prison from 1993-1997 for Hamas fundraising. In September 2001, he was named a Specially Designated Terrorist and his assets were frozen.³³⁰ Marzook is believed to live in Syria and has not been tried. Although acquitted on the racketeering and terrorism charges, Salah was sentenced to 21 months in prison and 100 hours of community service and was fined \$25,000 for obstruction and lying under oath in a civil lawsuit about his past financial dealings with Hamas.³³¹

After the February 2007 verdicts,³³² MPAC issued a press release complaining about foreign intelligence used against Salah and Ashqar in their trial:

“While the verdict represents yet another blow to the government's high-profile ‘war on terrorism’ cases, it is also indicative of a troubling trend of foreign intelligence being admissible in domestic cases ... Such events feed a growing perception within the Muslim American community of deliberate targeting against Palestinians and sympathizers of the Palestinian cause, where they are stripped of Constitutional guarantees even in the court of law. Gone unchecked, such a perception hinders the execution of an effective campaign against terrorism and extremism.”³³³

G. Imam Wagdy Ghoneim

Imam Wagdy Ghoneim is a radical Egyptian cleric who has been arrested eight times in Egypt for “opposition activities,”³³⁴ and was denied entrance to Canada after immigration officials determined he was a member of Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.³³⁵ During a 1998 rally in Brooklyn, he led the audience in a song with the lyrics, “No to the Jews, descendants of the apes.”³³⁶ In November 2004, Ghoneim was arrested on immigration violations and held without bond. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) spokeswoman Virginia Kice explained the move was “[b]ased upon Department of Homeland Security concerns that his past speeches and participation in fund-raising activities could be supportive of terrorist organizations.”³³⁷

Assistant Director FBI Counterterrorism Division to Richard Newcomb, Director of the Office of Foreign Assets Control, Department of Treasury, Nov. 5, 2001.

³²⁹ *United States v. Marzook*, (NDIL) 03-CR-978, “Second Superseding Indictment,” Aug. 19, 2004.

³³⁰ “Executive Order No. 13224,” *Code of Federal Regulations*, Title 31, Sections 595-597, Sept. 23, 2001.

³³¹ *United States v. Salah*, (NDIL) 03-CR-978-2, “Judgment in a Criminal Case,” July 19, 2007. *See also United States v. Marzook*, (NDIL) 03-CR-978, “Second Superseding Indictment,” Aug. 19, 2004.

³³² Al-Ashqar was sentenced to 11-years in prison for refusing to testify before a grand jury regarding his ties to Hamas in November 2007. *See United States v. Ashqar*, (ND IL) 03-CR-978-3, “Judgment in a Criminal Case,” Nov. 21, 2007.

³³³ “MPAC Expresses Concern Over Foreign Intelligence in American Trials,” *MPAC News*, Feb. 1, 2007.

<http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=473>

³³⁴ Ben Fox, “Arrest of Orange County Mosque Leader a ‘Mistake,’ Supporters Say,” *Associated Press*, Nov. 9, 2004.

³³⁵ Ellen Van Wageningen, “Egyptian Religious Leader Denied Canadian Visa.” *The Ottawa Citizen*, Jan. 10, 1998.

³³⁶ Wagdy Ghoneim. *IAP Brooklyn Celebration*. Brooklyn, New York, May 24, 1998.

³³⁷ “Muslim Leader Agrees to Leave United States.” *Daily Breeze (Torrance, California)*, Dec. 29, 2004. p. A4.

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In December 2004, MPAC met with DHS officials³³⁸ and Congressman Chris Cox (R-CA) of Orange County and Chair of the House Select Committee on Homeland Security to protest Ghoneim's detention.³³⁹ During their meeting with Cox, MPAC representatives criticized an earlier hearing held for Ghoneim, during which the government suggested that he was a national security risk and presented information from websites that mentioned his name. Al Marayati commented on the hearing:

“When ICE attempts to submit testimony that is downloaded articles from anti-Islamic websites, you cannot get a fair trial from biased articles...To use Muslims as scapegoats for political agendas, that is not helping us win the war on terrorism.”³⁴⁰

Additionally, an impromptu town hall meeting with Congressman Cox (R-CA) was arranged by MPAC, where al Marayati and Maher Hathout publicly questioned evidence used by ICE, saying that Ghoneim's case should not be decided by special interest groups:

“MPAC officials questioned the evidence used by ICE to determine whether an individual poses a ‘national security’ threat. While Ghoneim's innocence or guilt should be decided in a court of law and not by public advocacy or special interest groups, his presumption of innocence, right to due process, and all applicable Constitutional standards and norms should be guaranteed.”³⁴¹

Ghoneim eventually volunteered to leave the U.S. in December 2004.³⁴²

H. Ahmadullah Niazi

On February 20, 2009 Ahmadullah Niazi, an Afghani Muslim from Tustin, California was arrested and indicted for perjury during his naturalization application. Among the issues was his claim that “he had never been a member of or in any way associated ... with a terrorist organization.” In fact, a grand jury charged that “he was associated with...al Qaida, HIG [Hizb-i-Islami], and/or the Taliban.”³⁴³ Niazi had contact with his brother-in-law Ahmad Ul-Haq, Osama Bin Laden's security coordinator who has been labeled a Special Designated Global Terrorist by the U.S. government.³⁴⁴ He was also charged with perjury regarding having traveled outside the United States for longer than 24 hours, lying about his entitlement and obtaining naturalization, for having used a United States passport obtained through fraud, and issuing a fraudulent

³³⁸ “MPAC & CAIR-LA Raise Community Concerns to DHS-ICE.” *MPAC News*, Dec. 23, 2004.

³³⁹ “MPAC Facilitates Impromptu Townhall Meeting with Congressman Chris Cox,” *MPAC Press Release*, Dec. 27, 2004.

³⁴⁰ Kimi Yoshino, “Muslims Meet Congressman to Protest Imam's Detention,” *The Los Angeles Times*. Dec. 28, 2004, at B3, available at <http://8.12.42.31/2004/dec/28/local/me-muslim28>.

³⁴¹ “MPAC Facilitates Impromptu Townhall Meeting with Congressman Chris Cox.” *MPAC News*, December 27, 2004.

³⁴² David Reyes, “Islamic Cleric Leaves Country After Lockup,” *The Los Angeles Times*, December 30, 2004. <http://articles.latimes.com/2005/jan/04/local/me-imam4>.

³⁴³ *United States v. Niazi* (CDCA) 09-CR-28 “Indictment.” October 2008.

³⁴⁴ *Id.*

statement to the Department of Homeland Security regarding overseas travel to Pakistan.³⁴⁵ The prosecution of Niazi is currently pending with a trial date set for April of 2010.

MPAC criticized Niazi's arrest complaining about the FBI's tactics of using informants to uncover terror cells and disrupt terror plots. As mentioned earlier in this report, MPAC joined with a statement released by the American Muslim Taskforce on Civil Rights and Elections (AMT)³⁴⁶ urging the Obama Administration to address such tactics as being unhelpful against terrorism:

“We are fully united in asking the Obama administration to address the following issues: 1. Infiltration of mosques and systematic manipulation of Muslim religious affairs, 2. Use of agents provocateurs to trap unsuspecting Muslim youth ... 4. Use of McCarthy-era tactics, most notably dissemination of Islamophobic analysis by federally-funded ‘fusion centers’ to local law enforcement agencies.”³⁴⁷

I. James Cromitie and the Bronx Terror Plot

On May 20th, 2009, James Cromitie³⁴⁸ and three others were arrested and indicted on charges arising from a plot to detonate explosives near a synagogue in the Riverdale section of the Bronx, NY. Prosecutors say the men also wanted to shoot military planes located at the New York Air National Guard Base at Stewart Airport in Newburgh, NY with Stinger missiles.³⁴⁹ The plot was thwarted by an FBI agent operating in the Masjid Al-Ikhlās mosque in Newburgh, NY.³⁵⁰ Although they initially condemned the plotters and congratulated the FBI on its efforts, MPAC came to question the motives and methods of the FBI in this case, even challenging the case's seriousness into question.

In an interview on the FOX News show “Happening Now” on June 9, 2009, al Marayati downplayed the threat that the Bronx cell posed and tied it to the Niazi case saying the FBI was preying on gullible dupes:

“[N]one of these cases that we're talking about now involved al Qaida cells. These were individuals who were either petty criminals or gullible people who were guilty of stupidity. They were not imminent threats to our country, as the FBI has stated. I am committed to protecting our country but I also want to tell the truth to the American

³⁴⁵ *Id.*

³⁴⁶ The AMT is an umbrella organization made up of ten Muslim organizations whose goal is to define “objectives, issues, and strategies that concern the American Muslim community.” MPAC is an observer organization in the AMT See “AMT: About Us – American Muslims in the American Mainstream,” *The American Muslim Taskforce on Civil Rights and Elections*, 2008.

<http://www.americanmuslimvoter.net/images/special/ABOUT%20US%20AMT2008.pdf> .

³⁴⁷ “U.S. Muslim Coalition Reaffirms Opposition to FBI Says,” *The American Muslim Taskforce on Civil Rights and Elections*, April 19, 2009.

<http://www.americanmuslimvoter.net/pView.asp?action=viewPDetails&pageId=11307&pCatName=%20&pGrpName=%20&pT=U.S.%20Muslim%20Coalition%20Reaffirms%20Opposition%20to%20FBI%20Tactics> .

³⁴⁸ Aka Abdul Rahman.

³⁴⁹ *United States v. Cromitie*, (SD NY) 09-CR-558, “Indictment,” June 2, 2009.

³⁵⁰ *Id.*

public that our tax dollars here are not being used to fight al Qaida. We want those tax dollars to be used to fight al Qaida, not to entrap people who are just gullible.”³⁵¹

Maher Hathout also criticized the use of informants. Shortly after the arrests, an article by Robert Dreyfuss appeared in *The Nation* saying that the FBI entrapped hapless “losers” and provoked them into moving forward with their plot.³⁵² Trial preparations in the prosecution are currently underway, with the start date set as June 14, 2010.

J. Daniel Boyd and the North Carolina Cell

On July 27, 2009 Daniel Patrick Boyd,³⁵³ a 39-year old American convert to Islam, and six others³⁵⁴ were indicted in North Carolina for plotting to “advance violent jihad including supporting and participating in terrorist activities abroad and committing acts of murder, kidnapping or maiming persons abroad,” after three years of being under surveillance by the FBI.³⁵⁵ Boyd had trained in Afghanistan from 1989-1992 and fought against the Soviet Union.³⁵⁶ He was also charged with making false statements to law enforcement about a failed trip to Israel in 2007.³⁵⁷

MPAC responded to the arrests not by expressing relief that they came before any violence, but by insinuating the FBI improperly investigated the case:

“MPAC is monitoring the situation and working to ensure that future policy-making on domestic terrorism balance national security with civil liberties. The arrests come at a time when questions have been raised about the use of FBI informants in mosques and tense relations law enforcement and local communities. Improper surveillance and questionable charges are not just contrary to American political values; they are bad counterterrorism policies.”³⁵⁸

Although the investigation and trial preparations remain underway, a trial date for the case has not yet been set.

³⁵¹ Salam Al-Marayati, “FBI Director Defends Use of Informants in U.S. Mosques” *FOX News Happening Now*, June 9, 2009.

³⁵² Robert Dreyfuss, “FBI Blows It: Supposed Terror Plot Against NY Synagogues is Bogus,” *The Nation*, May 23, 2009, available at,

http://www.alternet.org/world/140209/fbi_blow_s_it:_supposed_terror_plot_against_ny_synagogues_is_bogus.

³⁵³ Boyd was also known as Saifullah or “Sword of God.”

³⁵⁴ They were: Hysen Sherifi, Anes Subasic, Zakariya Boyd, Dylan Boyd, Jude Kenan Mohammad, Mohammad Omar Aly Hassan, and Ziyad Yaghi. Both Zakariya and Dylan are Daniel Boyd’s sons.

³⁵⁵ *United States v. Boyd*, (EDNC) 09-CR-216,” Indictment,” July 22, 2009; “Seven Charged with Terrorism Violations in North Carolina,” *U.S. Department of Justice* (09-725), July 27, 2009, available at

<http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2009/July/09-nsd-725.html>.

³⁵⁶ *Id.*

³⁵⁷ *Id.*

³⁵⁸ “MPAC Monitoring North Carolina Arrests,” *MPAC News*, July 29, 2009, available at <http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=864>.

Appendix A: MPAC Ties to the ICSC

Dr. Maher Hathout, MPAC's Senior Advisor and co-founder was ICSC Chairman from 1986-1993³⁵⁹ and again in 2005,³⁶⁰ Spokesman from 1993 to the present,³⁶¹ and a Board Member from 2006³⁶²-2007.³⁶³

Salam Al-Marayati was an ICSC Spokesman in 1987³⁶⁴ before co-founding MPAC and acting as its Executive Director, a position he still occupies.

Dr. Aslam Abdullah has been a member of the ICSC from 1989³⁶⁵ and served as a Spokesman in 2003³⁶⁶

Dr. Mohamed Fathi Osman, was a member of the Muslim Political Action Committee³⁶⁷ in 1988 and served as an ICSC Advisor and Scholar in Residence from 1987-1995.³⁶⁸

Dr. Hassan Hathout was the ICSC Outreach Director and also served as an Advisor to MPAC.³⁶⁹

Abdulhamid Youness MPAC's first National Director from 1988³⁷⁰-1994,³⁷¹ served as ICSC's Chairman in 1997.³⁷² Youness also served as the Muslim Political Action Committee's Chairman in 1988.³⁷³

Dr. Gasser Hathout was an ICSC Board Member,³⁷⁴ he served as MPAC's Research Director,³⁷⁵ Chairman 1995³⁷⁶-1996,³⁷⁷ and Board Member from 2001³⁷⁸-2004³⁷⁹ and 2007.³⁸⁰

³⁵⁹ Dr. Maher M. Hathout, "Muslim Wavelength," copyright 2001

<http://web.archive.org/web/19981212015744/http://mpac.org/>.

³⁶⁰ Islamic Center of Southern California. IRS Form 990. 2005.

³⁶¹ Dr. Maher M. Hathout, "Muslim Wavelength," copyright 2001

<http://web.archive.org/web/19981212015744/http://mpac.org/>.

³⁶² Islamic Center of Southern California. IRS Form 990. 2006.

³⁶³ Islamic Center of Southern California. IRS Form 990. 2007.

³⁶⁴ John Dart, "Southern California File," *Los Angeles Times*, May 16, 1987, p. B5.

³⁶⁵ Joan Whitely, "The Long Shadow of 9/11: Taking Crossfire," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, September 3, 2006.

http://www.reviewjournal.com/lvrj_home/2006/Sep-03-Sun-2006/news/9083831.html.

³⁶⁶ Harrison Sheppard, "L.A. Area on Alert for Terror Attack," *The Daily News of Los Angeles*, March 18, 2003, p. N1.

³⁶⁷ Fathi Osman, "U.S. Policy in the Persian Gulf," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 1988, p. B6.

³⁶⁸ "Conference Speakers: Prof. Mohamed Fathi Osman," *University of Southern California Institute for Advanced Catholic Studies*, May 5-7, 2003. <http://www.usc.edu/programs/iacs/programs/conferences/bv/speakers/osman>.

³⁶⁹ Sandra Sobieraj, "Clinton Makes Overtures to Iranians," *Associated Press Online*, January 29, 1998.

³⁷⁰ Eric Malnic, "Muslims Protest Invasion of Mosque by Israel Police," *Los Angeles Times*, January 23, 1988, p. B10.

³⁷¹ MPAC 990, 1994.

³⁷² Islamic Center of Southern California. Form 990. 1997.

³⁷³ Eric Malnic, "Muslims Protest Invasion of Mosque by Israel Police," *Los Angeles Times*, January 23, 1988, p. B10.

³⁷⁴ "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," *MPAC Convention: The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims*, Sequoia Conference Center, December 29, 2001.

Omar Ricci was a member of the ICSC since 1976, Ricci was a mentor in their youth program.³⁸¹ He has served in many capacities for MPAC as Chairman of the Board in 2002³⁸² and the spring of 2006,³⁸³ Vice Chairman in 2005³⁸⁴ and the fall of 2006,³⁸⁵ and as a Board Member from 2000³⁸⁶-2001,³⁸⁷ 2003³⁸⁸-2004,³⁸⁹ and 2006³⁹⁰-2009.³⁹¹ Ricci has been a Board Member of the MPAC Foundation from 2007³⁹²-2008.³⁹³

Ramsey Hakim, an MPAC Board Member during 1999,³⁹⁴ 2002³⁹⁵-2003,³⁹⁶ 2005³⁹⁷-2009³⁹⁸ and also served as MPAC's Chairman of the Board 2000³⁹⁹-2001⁴⁰⁰ and Vice Chairman in 2004,⁴⁰¹

³⁷⁵ "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," *MPAC Convention: The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims*, Sequoia Conference Center, December 29, 2001.

³⁷⁶ MPAC 990, 1995.

³⁷⁷ MPAC 990, 1996.

³⁷⁸ "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," in "The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims," *MPAC Convention 2001*, Sequoia California, December 29, 2001.

³⁷⁹ "MPAC Board of Directors" in "Voices of Courage and Conscience – Honoring Alec Baldwin," *MPAC 13th Annual Media Awards*, Los Angeles, California, August 21, 2004, p. 2.

³⁸⁰ MPAC 990, 2007.

³⁸¹ "MPAC Board Members," MPAC 6th Annual Convention: Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future, December 16, 2006, Long Beach Convention Center, p. 24.

³⁸² "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Second Quarter 2002, p. 10.

³⁸³ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Spring 2006, p. 8

³⁸⁴ "MPAC Board of Directors" in "Examining Our Role in America," *MPAC 5th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 17, 2005, p. 5.

³⁸⁵ MPAC 990, 2006.

³⁸⁶ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Fourth Quarter 2000, p. 6

³⁸⁷ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Second Quarter 2001, p. 10.

³⁸⁸ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Fall 2003, p. 8, and "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Spring 2003, p. 8.

³⁸⁹ "MPAC Board of Directors" in "Voices of Courage and Conscience – Honoring Alec Baldwin," *MPAC 13th Annual Media Awards*, Los Angeles, California, August 21, 2004, p. 2.

³⁹⁰ "MPAC Board of Directors," *MPAC Report*, Fall 2006, p. 8 and "MPAC Board of Directors" in "Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future," *MPAC 6th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 16, 2006, p. 5.

³⁹¹ "MPAC Board of Directors," Muslim Public Affairs Council, 2009. <http://www.mpac.org/about/staff-board/>

³⁹² "MPAC Foundation Board of Directors" in "Islam: A Call for Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness," *MPAC 7th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 15, 2007, p. 25.

³⁹³ "MPAC Foundation Board of Directors" *MPAC Annual Report*, 2008, p. 18

³⁹⁴ "MPAC Board Biographies," *MPAC Annual Report*, 2008, p. 16 and "Background on Speakers: Dr. Ramsey Hakim" in "Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future," *MPAC 6th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 16, 2006, p. 15.

³⁹⁵ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Second Quarter 2002, p. 10.

³⁹⁶ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Fall 2003, p. 8, and "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Spring 2003, p. 8.

³⁹⁷ "MPAC Board of Directors" in "Examining Our Role in America," *MPAC 5th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 17, 2005, p. 5.

³⁹⁸ "MPAC Board of Directors," Muslim Public Affairs Council, 2009. <http://www.mpac.org/about/staff-board/>

³⁹⁹ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Fourth Quarter 2000, p. 6; "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," in "The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims," *MPAC Convention 2001*, Sequoia California, December 29, 2001; and "MPAC Board Biographies," *MPAC Annual Report*, 2008, p. 16.

⁴⁰⁰ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Second Quarter 2001, p. 10.

⁴⁰¹ "MPAC Board of Directors" in "Voices of Courage and Conscience – Honoring Alec Baldwin," *MPAC 13th Annual Media Awards*, Los Angeles, California, August 21, 2004, p. 2.

was ICSC's Chairman in 2004,⁴⁰² Vice Chairman in 1998,⁴⁰³ and Board Member in 2004-2005.⁴⁰⁴

Hassan Zenni was ICSC's Vice Chairman in 2004⁴⁰⁵ and 2006⁴⁰⁶-2007⁴⁰⁷ and a Board Member in 2005.⁴⁰⁸ Zenni served as MPAC treasurer in 2000,⁴⁰⁹ Board Member in 2001⁴¹⁰ and 2006⁴¹¹-2009,⁴¹² Vice Chairman in 2002,⁴¹³ and Chairman of the Board in 2003.⁴¹⁴ He also served as the MPAC Foundation's Secretary from 1999⁴¹⁵-2003,⁴¹⁶ Chairman from 2004⁴¹⁷ – 2006,⁴¹⁸ and Treasurer from 2007⁴¹⁹-2009.⁴²⁰

Hedab El Tarifi is an ICSC member⁴²¹ and a Board Member from 2006⁴²²-2007.⁴²³ She also served as MPAC's Treasurer from 2001⁴²⁴-2006,⁴²⁵ Chairman of the Board in 2006⁴²⁶-2007,⁴²⁷

⁴⁰² "Law Enforcement & Muslim Leaders To Hold Joint Press Conference Tomorrow," *MPAC News*, October 13, 2004.

⁴⁰³ Islamic Center of Southern California. IRS Form 990. 1998.

⁴⁰⁴ Islamic Center of Southern California. IRS Form 990. 2004.

⁴⁰⁵ Islamic Center of Southern California. IRS Form 990. 2004.

⁴⁰⁶ Islamic Center of Southern California. IRS Form 990. 2006.

⁴⁰⁷ Islamic Center of Southern California. IRS Form 990. 2007; Laila Al-Marayati, "Kinder U.S.A. Annual Iftar and Fundraising for the Children in Palestine," *Kinder U.S.A.*, La Mirada, California, October 7, 2007.

⁴⁰⁸ Islamic Center of Southern California. IRS Form 990. 2005.

⁴⁰⁹ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Fourth Quarter 2000, p. 6.

⁴¹⁰ "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," in "The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims," *MPAC Convention 2001*, Sequoia California, December 29, 2001.

⁴¹¹ "MPAC Board of Directors," *MPAC Report*, Fall 2006, p. 8 and "MPAC Board of Directors" in "Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future," *MPAC 6th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 16, 2006, p. 5.

⁴¹² "MPAC Board of Directors," Muslim Public Affairs Council, 2009. <http://www.mpac.org/about/staff-board/>

⁴¹³ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Second Quarter 2002, p. 10.

⁴¹⁴ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Fall 2003, p. 8, and "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Spring 2003, p. 8.

⁴¹⁵ MPAC Foundation 990, 1999.

⁴¹⁶ MPAC Foundation 990, 2003.

⁴¹⁷ MPAC Foundation 990, 2004.

⁴¹⁸ "MPAC Foundation Board of Directors" in "Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future," *MPAC 6th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 16, 2006, p. 5.

⁴¹⁹ MPAC Foundation 990, 2007.

⁴²⁰ "MPAC Foundation Board of Directors," 2009. <http://www.mpac.org/about/staff-board/>

⁴²¹ "MPAC Board Members," MPAC 6th Annual Convention: Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future, December 16, 2006, p. 22.

⁴²² Islamic Center of Southern California. IRS Form 990. 2006.

⁴²³ Islamic Center of Southern California. IRS Form 990. 2007.

⁴²⁴ "MPAC Board Biographies," *MPAC Annual Report*, 2008, p. 16 and "Background on Speakers: Hedab El-Tarifi" in "Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future," *MPAC 6th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 16, 2006, p. 15.

⁴²⁵ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Spring 2006, p. 8 and "Background on Speakers: Hedab El-Tarifi" in "Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future," *MPAC 6th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 16, 2006, p. 15.

⁴²⁶ "MPAC Board of Directors," *MPAC Report*, Fall 2006, p. 8; "MPAC Board of Directors" in "Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future," *MPAC 6th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 16, 2006, p. 5; and "Background on Speakers: Hedab El-Tarifi" in "Reform, Renewal and Relevance:

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and Vice Chairman of the Board from 2008⁴²⁸-2009.⁴²⁹ For the MPAC Foundation, El Tarifi served as Treasurer from 2002⁴³⁰-2003,⁴³¹ Representative to MPAC from 2008⁴³²-2009,⁴³³ and Board Member in 2007⁴³⁴-2008.⁴³⁵

Colonel Doug Burpee served as Vice Chairman for ICSC in 1997⁴³⁶ and was a Board Member at various times.⁴³⁷ For MPAC Burpee acted as a Board Member in Spring 2006⁴³⁸ and Treasurer from Fall 2006⁴³⁹-2008.⁴⁴⁰

Paul Hoegel was on ICSC's Board in 1998⁴⁴¹ and served as the MPAC Foundation's Chief Financial Officer in 1998.⁴⁴²

Tarik Trad: A member of ICSC since 1975,⁴⁴³ Trad was also an ICSC youth group member and Sunday school teacher at the center.⁴⁴⁴ For MPAC he was Vice Chairman in 1997,⁴⁴⁵ Secretary from 1998⁴⁴⁶-2003⁴⁴⁷ and a Board Member since 1994⁴⁴⁸ while for the MPAC Foundation Trad served as Secretary from 2004⁴⁴⁹-2007.⁴⁵⁰

Understanding Islam for the Future," *MPAC 6th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 16, 2006, p. 15.

⁴²⁷ MPAC 990, 2007.

⁴²⁸ "MPAC Board of Directors" *MPAC Annual Report*, 2008, p. 18.

⁴²⁹ "MPAC Board of Directors," Muslim Public Affairs Council, 2009. <http://www.mpac.org/about/staff-board/>

⁴³⁰ MPAC Foundation 990, 2002.

⁴³¹ MPAC Foundation 990, 2003.

⁴³² "About MPAC: MPAC Foundation Board of Directors," <http://www.mpac.org/about/staff-board/>.

⁴³³ "MPAC Foundation Board of Directors," 2009. <http://www.mpac.org/about/staff-board/>.

⁴³⁴ "MPAC Foundation Board of Directors" in "Islam: A Call for Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness," *MPAC 7th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 15, 2007, p. 25.

⁴³⁵ "MPAC Foundation Board of Directors" *MPAC Annual Report*, 2008, p. 18.

⁴³⁶ Islamic Center of Southern California. Form 990. 1997.

⁴³⁷ Islamic Center of Southern California. Form 990. 2000; "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC 6th Annual Convention: Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future*, December 16, 2006, p. 23.

⁴³⁸ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Spring 2006, p. 8.

⁴³⁹ "MPAC Board of Directors," *MPAC Report*, Fall 2006, p. 8 and "MPAC Board of Directors" in "Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future," *MPAC 6th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 16, 2006, p. 5.

⁴⁴⁰ "MPAC Board of Directors" *MPAC Annual Report*, 2008, p. 18.

⁴⁴¹ Islamic Center of Southern California. IRS Form 990. 1998.

⁴⁴² State of California Secretary of State, statement by Domestic Nonprofit Corporation, MPAC Foundation, March 30, 1998.

⁴⁴³ "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," *MPAC Convention: The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims*, Sequoia Conference Center, December 29, 2001.

⁴⁴⁴ "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," *MPAC Convention: The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims*, Sequoia Conference Center, December 29, 2001.

⁴⁴⁵ MPAC 990, 1997.

⁴⁴⁶ "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," in "The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims," *MPAC Convention 2001*, Sequoia California, December 29, 2001.

⁴⁴⁷ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Fall 2003, p. 8, and "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Spring 2003, p. 8.

⁴⁴⁸ "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," in "The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims," *MPAC Convention 2001*, Sequoia California, December 29, 2001.

⁴⁴⁹ Muslim Public Affairs Foundation. IRS Form 990, 2004.

⁴⁵⁰ Muslim Public Affairs Foundation. IRS Form 990, 2007.

Appendix B: MPAC and *The Minaret*

Salam Al-Marayati, MPAC Executive Director and co-founder, was a *Minaret* Editorial Board Member from 1996⁴⁵¹ to 2000.⁴⁵²

Dr. Maher Hathout, MPAC's Senior Advisor and co-founder, was *The Minaret's* Advisor from 1985⁴⁵³-1992,⁴⁵⁴ President 1993⁴⁵⁵-1997,⁴⁵⁶ and Editorial Board Member 1993⁴⁵⁷-2000.⁴⁵⁸

Edina Lekovic, MPAC's Communications Director from 2005⁴⁵⁹ to the present⁴⁶⁰ was *The Minaret's* Managing Editor from 2000⁴⁶¹-2004.⁴⁶²

Dr. Aslam Abdullah, an MPAC Board Member 1995⁴⁶³-1997 and 2002,⁴⁶⁴ MPAC's Vice Chairman 1998⁴⁶⁵-2001⁴⁶⁶ and the MPAC Foundation's Secretary in 1998⁴⁶⁷ was *The Minaret's* Editor-in-Chief from 1989⁴⁶⁸ to the magazine's closure in 2004.⁴⁶⁹ He also was an Editorial Board Member from 1993⁴⁷⁰ to 2000.⁴⁷¹

Dr. Laila Al-Marayati, an MPAC Board Member from 2002⁴⁷²-2007⁴⁷³ was *The Minaret's* Health and Science Editor from 1985⁴⁷⁴-1987⁴⁷⁵ and continued as a Contributing Editor from 1988⁴⁷⁶-1991.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁵¹ "Board Members," *The Minaret* Vol. 18 No. 6, June 1996, p. 6.

⁴⁵² "Editorial Board Members," *The Minaret* Vol. 22 Issue 1, February 2000, p. 7.

⁴⁵³ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 6 No. 4, July/August 1985, p. 3.

⁴⁵⁴ "Family Values," *The Minaret* Vol. 14 No. 6, November/December 1992 p. 4.

⁴⁵⁵ "India: Democracy on Trial," *The Minaret* Vol. 15 Issue 1, January/February 1993, p. 4

⁴⁵⁶ "Board Members," *The Minaret* Vol. 19 No. 1, January 1997, p. 6.

⁴⁵⁷ "India: Democracy on Trial," *The Minaret* Vol. 15 Issue 1, January/February 1993, p. 4

⁴⁵⁸ "Editorial Board Members," *The Minaret* Vol. 22 Issue 1, February 2000, p. 7.

⁴⁵⁹ "MPAC Foundation Board of Directors," in "Examining Our Role in America," *MPAC 5th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 17, 2005, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁰ "Staff," Muslim Public Affairs Council, 2009. <http://www.mpac.org/about/staff-board/>

⁴⁶¹ "The Minaret" *The Minaret* Vol. 22 Number 5, June 2000, p. 7.

⁴⁶² "The Minaret" *The Minaret* Vol. 26 No. 8, September 2004, p. 8.

⁴⁶³ John Dart, "Bringing Islam Into Mainstream; Glendale: Muslim Activist Salam Al-Marayati Strives to Draw Followers Into American Political Life," *Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 1995, p. B1.

⁴⁶⁴ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Second Quarter 2002, p. 10.

⁴⁶⁵ MPAC 990, 1998.

⁴⁶⁶ "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," in "The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims," *MPAC Convention 2001*, Sequoia California, December 29, 2001.

⁴⁶⁷ MPAC Foundation 990, 1998.

⁴⁶⁸ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 10 No. 3, Summer 1989, p. 5.

⁴⁶⁹ "The Minaret" *The Minaret* Vol. 26 No. 8, September 2004, p. 8.

⁴⁷⁰ "Editorial Board Members," *The Minaret* Vol. 15 Issue 1, January/February 1993, p. 4.

⁴⁷¹ "Editorial Board Members," *The Minaret* Vol. 22 Issue 1, February 2000, p. 7.

⁴⁷² "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Second Quarter 2002, p. 10.

⁴⁷³ MPAC 990, 2007.

⁴⁷⁴ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 6 No. 6, November/December 1985, p. 3.

⁴⁷⁵ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 8 No. 1, Winter 1987, p. 3.

⁴⁷⁶ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 9 No. 3, Summer 1988, p. 3.

⁴⁷⁷ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 11 No. 1, Winter 1991, p. 4.

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Dr. Hassan Hathout, an MPAC Advisor⁴⁷⁸ was a *Minaret* Editorial Board Member from 1993⁴⁷⁹ to 2000.⁴⁸⁰

Dr. Gasser Hathout, MPAC's Research Director,⁴⁸¹ Chairman 1995⁴⁸²-1996,⁴⁸³ and Board Member from 2001⁴⁸⁴-2004⁴⁸⁵ and 2007⁴⁸⁶ was a Contributing Writer and Columnist to *The Minaret* from 1985⁴⁸⁷-1988⁴⁸⁸ and then a Contributing Editor from 1989⁴⁸⁹-1993.⁴⁹⁰

Dr. Fathi Osman, one of Muslim Political Affairs Committee original members⁴⁹¹ was a *Minaret* Advisor from 1986⁴⁹² to 1992⁴⁹³ and then served as a Editorial Board Member from 1993⁴⁹⁴ to 2000.⁴⁹⁵

Sireen Sawaf, MPAC's Hate Crimes Prevention Coordinator from 2003-2005⁴⁹⁶ and Southern California Relations Director 2006⁴⁹⁷ was *The Minaret's* Advertising Manager in 2002⁴⁹⁸-2003.⁴⁹⁹

Grace Tapia MPAC's Administrative Assistant from 2005⁵⁰⁰ to the present⁵⁰¹ acted as *The Minaret's* Subscriptions Manager from 2001⁵⁰² to 2004.⁵⁰³

⁴⁷⁸ Sandra Sobieraj, "Clinton Makes Overtures to Iranians," *Associated Press Online*, January 29, 1998.

⁴⁷⁹ "India: Democracy on Trial," *The Minaret* Vol. 15 Issue 1, January/February 1993, p. 4.

⁴⁸⁰ "Editorial Board Members," *The Minaret* Vol. 22 Issue 1, February 2000, p. 7.

⁴⁸¹ "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," *MPAC Convention: The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims*, Sequoia Conference Center, December 29, 2001.

⁴⁸² MPAC 990, 1995.

⁴⁸³ MPAC 990, 1996.

⁴⁸⁴ "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," in "The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims," *MPAC Convention 2001*, Sequoia California, December 29, 2001.

⁴⁸⁵ "MPAC Board of Directors" in "Voices of Courage and Conscience – Honoring Alec Baldwin," *MPAC 13th Annual Media Awards*, Los Angeles, California, August 21, 2004, p. 2.

⁴⁸⁶ MPAC 990, 2007.

⁴⁸⁷ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 6 No. 4, July/August 1985, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁸ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 9 No. 3, Summer 1988, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁹ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 10 No. 3, Summer 1989, p. 5.

⁴⁹⁰ "Family Values," *The Minaret* Vol. 15 No. 3, May/June 1993, p. 4.

⁴⁹¹ Fathi Osman, "U.S. Policy in the Persian Gulf," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 1988, p. B6

⁴⁹² "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 7 No. 2, March/April 1986, p. 3.

⁴⁹³ "Family Values," *The Minaret* Vol. 14 No. 6, November/December 1992 p. 4.

⁴⁹⁴ "India: Democracy on Trial," *The Minaret* Vol. 15 Issue 1, January/February 1993, p. 4

⁴⁹⁵ "Editorial Board Members," *The Minaret* Vol. 22 Issue 1, February 2000, p. 7.

⁴⁹⁶ "MPAC Foundation Board of Directors," in "Examining Our Role in America," *MPAC 5th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 17, 2005, p. 3.

⁴⁹⁷ "MPAC Staff" in "Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future," *MPAC 6th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 16, 2006.

⁴⁹⁸ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 24 Issue 7, July/August 2002, p. 7.

⁴⁹⁹ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 25 Issue 9, October 2003, p. 9.

⁵⁰⁰ "About MPAC Staff: Grace Tapia" in "Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future," *MPAC 6th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 16, 2006, p. 27.

⁵⁰¹ "Staff," Muslim Public Affairs Council, 2009. <http://www.mpac.org/about/staff-board/>.

⁵⁰² "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 23 Issue 3, March 2001, p. 7.

⁵⁰³ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 26 Issue 8, September 2004, p. 8.

Tarik Trad was MPAC's Vice Chairman 1997,⁵⁰⁴ Secretary 1998⁵⁰⁵-2003⁵⁰⁶, MPAC Board Member since 1994⁵⁰⁷ and Secretary for the MPAC Foundation 2004⁵⁰⁸-2007.⁵⁰⁹ For *The Minaret*, Trad was involved with the magazine's art beginning in 1988,⁵¹⁰ and served as a Cartoonist,⁵¹¹ Art Assistant,⁵¹² and Art Consultant through 2004.⁵¹³

Shahed Amanullah, head of MPAC-San Francisco, founded in 1993, and Bay Area Director 1993⁵¹⁴-2001,[Source] and MPAC's Webmaster in 1996⁵¹⁵-1997⁵¹⁶ did *The Minaret's* Layout and Design from 1991⁵¹⁷ to 1993.⁵¹⁸

Sayeed Khan, head of MPAC-Chicago founded in 1994,⁵¹⁹ acted as Business Manager from 1990⁵²⁰ to 1992.⁵²¹

⁵⁰⁴ MPAC 990, 1997.

⁵⁰⁵ "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," in "The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims," *MPAC Convention 2001*, Sequoia California, December 29, 2001.

⁵⁰⁶ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Fall 2003, p. 8, and "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Spring 2003, p. 8.

⁵⁰⁷ "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," in "The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims," *MPAC Convention 2001*, Sequoia California, December 29, 2001.

⁵⁰⁸ MPAC Foundation 990, 2004.

⁵⁰⁹ MPAC Foundation 990, 2007.

⁵¹⁰ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 9 No. 3, Summer 1988, p. 3.

⁵¹¹ "Family Values," *The Minaret* Vol. 14 No. 6, November/December 1992 p. 4.

⁵¹² "Mandela Free at Last!" *The Minaret* Vol. 12 No. 1, Winter 1990, p. 4.

⁵¹³ "Election '90: A Muslim Perspective," *The Minaret* Vol. 12 No. 4, Fall 1990, p. 5.

⁵¹⁴ "Muslim Public Affairs Council – Local Chapters" Updated September 26, 1996.

<http://web.archive.org/web/19961111123227/www.mpac.org/local.htm>.

⁵¹⁵ "MPACnet," 1996, <http://web.archive.org/web/19961111123042/http://www.mpac.org/>

⁵¹⁶ "Muslim Public Affairs Council – Contact Us," 1997,

<http://web.archive.org/web/19971221151712/http://mpac.org/>.

⁵¹⁷ "Will There Be Peace in the Middle East?" *The Minaret* Vol. 13 No. 6, November/December 1991, p. 4.

⁵¹⁸ "Family Values," *The Minaret* Vol. 15 No. 3, May/June 1993, p. 4.

⁵¹⁹ "Muslim Public Affairs Council – Local Chapters" Updated September 26, 1996.

<http://web.archive.org/web/19961111123227/www.mpac.org/local.htm>.

⁵²⁰ "The Minaret," *The Minaret* Vol. 12 No. 4, Fall 1990, p. 5.

⁵²¹ "Family Values," *The Minaret* Vol. 14 No. 6, November/December 1992 p. 4.

Appendix C: MPAC and Multimedia Vera International

Dr. Aslam Abdullah, was MVI Secretary from 1998⁵²²-2004.⁵²³

Dr. Maher Hathout was MVI President from 1993⁵²⁴-2005.⁵²⁵

Salam Al-Marayati, was an MVI Board Member from 1998⁵²⁶-1999.⁵²⁷

Ahmed Younis, was an MVI Board Member from 1998⁵²⁸-1999.⁵²⁹

Ramsey Hakim, an MPAC Board Member (1999,⁵³⁰ 2002⁵³¹-2003,⁵³² 2005⁵³³-2009⁵³⁴), MPAC's Chairman 2000⁵³⁵-2001⁵³⁶ and Vice Chairman in 2004,⁵³⁷ was an MVI Board Member from 1998⁵³⁸-1999.⁵³⁹

Ahmed Abdulmajeed, MVI Vice President 1998⁵⁴⁰-2000.⁵⁴¹

Hassan Kilani, MVI Treasurer 1998⁵⁴²-2000.⁵⁴³

Ahktor Emon, MVI Board Member, 1998⁵⁴⁴-1999.⁵⁴⁵

⁵²² Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1998.

⁵²³ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2004.

⁵²⁴ Dr. Maher Hathout, "Foreword," in Dr. Fathi Osman, *Sharia in Contemporary Society: The Dynamics of Change in the Islamic Law*, Los Angeles: Multimedia Vera International, 1994, p. ii.

⁵²⁵ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2005.

⁵²⁶ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1998.

⁵²⁷ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1999.

⁵²⁸ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1998.

⁵²⁹ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1999.

⁵³⁰ "MPAC Board Biographies," *MPAC Annual Report*, 2008, p. 16 and "Background on Speakers: Dr. Ramsey Hakim" in "Reform, Renewal and Relevance: Understanding Islam for the Future," *MPAC 6th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 16, 2006, p. 15.

⁵³¹ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Second Quarter 2002, p. 10.

⁵³² "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Fall 2003, p. 8, and "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Spring 2003, p. 8.

⁵³³ "MPAC Board of Directors" in "Examining Our Role in America," *MPAC 5th Annual Convention*, Long Beach, California, December 17, 2005, p. 5.

⁵³⁴ "MPAC Board of Directors," Muslim Public Affairs Council, 2009. <http://www.mpac.org/about/staff-board/>

⁵³⁵ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Fourth Quarter 2000, p. 6; "Biographies of Participants MPAC Convention, 2001," in "The Rising Voice of Moderate Muslims," *MPAC Convention 2001*, Sequoia California, December 29, 2001; and "MPAC Board Biographies," *MPAC Annual Report*, 2008, p. 16

⁵³⁶ "MPAC Board Members," *MPAC Report*, Second Quarter 2001, p. 10.

⁵³⁷ "MPAC Board of Directors" in "Voices of Courage and Conscience – Honoring Alec Baldwin," *MPAC 13th Annual Media Awards*, Los Angeles, California, August 21, 2004, p. 2.

⁵³⁸ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1998.

⁵³⁹ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1999.

⁵⁴⁰ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1998.

⁵⁴¹ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2000.

⁵⁴² Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1998.

⁵⁴³ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2000.

⁵⁴⁴ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1998.

Amira Al-Saraf, MVI Board Member 1998⁵⁴⁶-1999.⁵⁴⁷

Ahmed Abel Nabi/Ahmed M. Abdelnaby, MVI Financial Officer 1998⁵⁴⁸-1999,⁵⁴⁹ Doctor of Jurisprudence 2000.⁵⁵⁰

Samir Youness/Younis, MVI Board Member 2000⁵⁵¹-2005.⁵⁵²

Dr. Naguib Hussein MVI Board Member 2000.⁵⁵³

Dr. Khalida Samad, MVI Board Member 2000⁵⁵⁴, 2002⁵⁵⁵-2005.⁵⁵⁶

Sadik Allie, MVI Board Member 2000.⁵⁵⁷

Ashraf Habbak, MVI Board Member 2000⁵⁵⁸, 2002⁵⁵⁹-2005.⁵⁶⁰

Magdy Eletreby, MVI Board Member 2000.⁵⁶¹

Dr. Anayat Elmakawi, MVI Board Member 2000.⁵⁶²

Dr. Ragaa Hathout, MVI Financial Officer 2003⁵⁶³-2005.⁵⁶⁴

Sadik Alloo, MVI Board Member 2003⁵⁶⁵-2005.⁵⁶⁶

Dr. Abdelmageed El Biali, MVI Board Member 2003⁵⁶⁷-2004.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁴⁵ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1999.

⁵⁴⁶ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1998.

⁵⁴⁷ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1999.

⁵⁴⁸ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1998.

⁵⁴⁹ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 1999.

⁵⁵⁰ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2000.

⁵⁵¹ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2000.

⁵⁵² Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2005.

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⁵⁶⁰ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2005.

⁵⁶¹ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2000.

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⁵⁶³ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2003.

⁵⁶⁴ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2005.

⁵⁶⁵ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2003.

⁵⁶⁶ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2005.

⁵⁶⁷ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2003.

⁵⁶⁸ Multimedia Vera International, Form 990, 2004.