

Testimony of
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Before the
**United States House of Representatives Committee on Foreign
Affairs, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and
Trade**

July 31, 2008



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I. Executive Summary

The State Department's efforts to reach out to the Muslim community have resulted in multiple collaborative efforts between the State Department and radical Islamist groups and individuals. Some of these groups and individuals have even been convicted, indicted, or designated unindicted co-conspirators in terrorism cases in the United States, many linked directly to the Muslim Brotherhood or share its fundamentalist ideology. Collaboration between the State Department and Islamists has occurred in a variety of ways including hosting and sponsoring Islamist speakers, meeting with Islamist advisors, attending Islamist events, and funding programs involving Islamist groups and individuals, particularly at U.S. embassies abroad.

The following are a sampling of some of the disturbing, irresponsible and even dangerous examples of State Department collaboration with radical Islamists and Islamist organizations:

- **The Case of Abdulrahman Alamoudi** - The State Department spent \$40,000 from 1992-2001 sending Abdulrahman Alamoudi to speak abroad on behalf of American Muslims,¹ oblivious to Alamoudi's ties to Al Qaeda and Hamas.² From 1994-1999 Alamoudi serves as director for the United Association for Studies and Research (USAR), linked to Hamas.³ In 2004 Alamoudi admitted his involvement with two Al Qaeda linked agents to assassinate then Saudi Prince Abdullah,⁴ and is currently serving a 23 year jail term⁵. In 2005 the U.S. Treasury Department found that Alamoudi raised money for the Al Qaeda-tied Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia (MIRA).⁶
- **The Case of Yahya Hendi** – The State Department spent \$178,144 from 2003-2007 for Hendi to speak on behalf of U.S. across Africa, Europe, and South Asia⁷ Hendi had ties to an Al Qaeda front when he made these trips. The Benevolence International Foundation (BIF), which Hendi had served as a moderator at a 2000 fundraiser, had been designated a financier of terrorism for supporting Al Qaeda

¹ United States Department of State, FOIA Documents, Case ID: 200701416, Dec. 18, 2007.

² "Treasury Designates MiRA for Support to Al Qaida," U.S. Treasury Department Press Release, July 14, 2005, <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/js2632.htm> (accessed May 8, 2006).

³ Articles of Incorporation, United Association for Studies and Research, Secretary of State for the State of Illinois, Sept. 18, 1989. ; Judith Miller, "Israel Says That Prisoner's Tale Links Arabs in US to Terrorism," The New York Times, Feb. 17, 1993, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9F0CEFD133FF934A25751C0A965958260> (accessed April 6, 2008).

⁴ Glenn Frankel, "Exiled Saudi is Dissident to Some, Terrorist to Others," Washington Post, July 7, 2004, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A29641-2004Jul5.html> (accessed July 22, 2008).

⁵ "Abdurahman Alamoudi Sentenced to Jail in Terrorism Financing Case," U.S. Department of Justice Press Release, Oct. 15, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/October/04_crm_698.htm (accessed July 22, 2008).

⁶ "Treasury Designates MiRA for Support to Al Qaida." U.S. Treasury Department Press Release, July 14, 2005, <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/js2632.htm> (accessed May 8, 2006).

⁷ United States Department of State, FOIA Documents, Case ID: 20070224, Dec. 10, 2007.

in 2001.⁸ The Treasury Department has stated that there is “Substantial evidence documents the close relationship between (BIF Executive Director Enaam) Arnaout and Usama bin Laden, dating from the mid-1980s.”⁹

- **The Case of Salam al-Marayati** – On January 28, 2002, the State Department invited Salam al-Marayati, founder and executive director of MPAC to speak at its Open Forum. During his speech, Marayati mentioned the need for dialogue, saying “Rashid Ghannoushi is an example of those who promote this need for dialogue between civilizations, not confrontations.”¹⁰ Ghannoushi was the head of Tunisia’s banned Islamic fundamentalist Al-Nahda Party and was convicted by a Tunisian court of responsibility for a bomb blast that blew the foot off a British tourist.¹¹ Marayati has repeatedly justified the actions of Hizbollah before the Department of State invited him as a speaker. In November 1999, on *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*, Marayati responded to accusations that he supports Hizbollah: “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.”¹²
- **The Holy Land Foundation and USAID** - According to its website, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) “supports long-term and equitable economic growth and advances U.S. foreign policy objectives by supporting: economic growth, agriculture and trade; global health; and, democracy, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance.”¹³ Unfortunately, USAID belatedly discovered it had been providing financial aid to Hamas through the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF), a registered non-profit organization that is now being prosecuted for money laundering to Hamas. Finally, in 2000, Thomas R. Pickering, then-Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, ordered HLF’s registration with USAID terminated, because it was found that the relationship was “contrary to the national interests and foreign policy of

⁸ “Treasury Designates Benevolence International Foundation and Related Entities as Financiers of Terrorism,” U.S. Treasury Department, Nov. 19, 2002, <http://treas.gov/press/releases/po3632.htm> (accessed July 22, 2008).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ “MPAC’s Speech on Moderation at the State Department,” Muslim Public Affairs Committee, Jan. 28, 2002, http://web.archive.org/web/20040507010021/http://www.mpac.org/popa_article_display.aspx?ITEM=178 (accessed July 22, 2008).

¹¹ Michael Binyon, “Britain Shuts Door on Fundamentalists,” *The Times*, Jan. 5, 1996. Note: According to *The London Sunday Telegraph*, Ghannouchi was “rounded up with several thousand other opponents of the Tunisian government following an alleged plot to assassinate the country’s president, Ben Ali, in 1991.” See: Con Coughlin, “Senators fight to keep sheikh out of the US State Department told of Islamic fundamentalist’s alleged links with terrorism,” *Sunday Telegraph (London)*, May 22, 1994.

¹² Salam al-Marayati, “Muslims in America,” *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*, Nov. 24, 1999, Lexis-Nexis.

¹³ “This Is USAID,” USAID, http://www.usaid.gov/about_usaid/ (accessed July 17, 2008).

the United States.”¹⁴ HLF was charged in 2004 with funneling millions of dollars to Hamas.¹⁵

- **The State Department and the Palestinian American Research Center-** The Palestinian American Research Center (PARC) is an organization founded in 1998 which promotes Palestinian studies among students and scholars. PARC receives money and support from public and private sources – among them the State Department and the Department of Education.¹⁶ The Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC) itself receives money from the State Department’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, which it then passes along to “member centers” to carry out their respective missions.¹⁷ PARC fellows have used their positions blame the increase in violence after the second Palestinian *Intifada* solely upon the Israelis, blaming “four [Israeli] countermeasures: polices resulting in civilian casualties and property loss, closure of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, policies targeting Palestinian Authority infrastructure and functioning, and extrajudicial killings,”¹⁸ and there are multiple examples in which PARC fellows condemn Israeli actions in an unbalanced, bigoted manner and promote the idea of one-sided Israeli aggression – particularly the concept of the Palestinian *nakba*, or “catastrophe.”¹⁹
- **The International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP)** - On various occasions over the past ten years, the IVLP has partnered with Islamist organizations in the U.S., such as the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR). In a program arranged by Meridian International Center, a delegation of nine Danes met with CAIR-Chicago representatives at the affiliate’s Chicago office.²⁰ Among the group was CAIR-Chicago’s Executive Director, Ahmed Rehab. The Chicago area, home to the Bridgeview Mosque and the Islamic Association for Palestine (the Hamas-linked CAIR precursor organization), has a substantial Hamas presence, and Rehab and CAIR-Chicago are often among the loudest voices in defense and support of local Hamas operatives and other Islamists. CAIR-Chicago routinely implores its followers to appear in court for hearings and trials of Hamas-linked individuals.²¹

¹⁴ Letter from Thomas R. Pickering to J. Brady Anderson, Aug. 30, 2000,

<http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/42.pdf> (accessed July 24, 2008).

¹⁵ *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, “Superseding Indictment,” (N.D. TX Nov. 30, 2005), http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/75.pdf (accessed July 22, 2008).

¹⁶ PARC mission, <http://parc-us-pal.org/mission.htm> (accessed on July 21, 2008).

¹⁷ “About CAORC,” Council of American Overseas Research Centers, <http://www.caorc.org/about.html> (accessed July 22, 2008).

¹⁸ PARC mission, <http://parc-us-pal.org/mission.htm> (accessed on July 21, 2008).

¹⁹ Note: *Al-Nakba*, “the catastrophe,” is the day in which Israel became a state: May 15th. See: “Allan Researches Cultural Transmission in Lebanese Refugee Camps,” PARC 2003 Fellowship Articles, <http://parc-us-pal.org/fellowships/03-04/main.htm> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²⁰ “CAIR-Chicago Meets with Delegation from Denmark,” CAIR-Chicago Press Release, June 27, 2006, http://chicago.cair.com/ournews.php?file=on_denmark06272006 (accessed July 21, 2008).

²¹ “Please Attend Muhammad Salah Trial Sentencing,” CAIR-Chicago Action Alert, July 9, 2007, http://www.cairchicago.org/actionalerts.php?file=aa_salah_trial07092007 (accessed July 28, 2008).

- **The Citizen Exchange Program (CEP)** – In 2008, a grant from the Citizen Exchange Program was given to the National Peace Foundation (NPF) based in Washington D.C.²² under the subject title of “Understanding Muslim Life in the United States.” The goal of this project was to “improve the understanding of Muslim life in the United States for 24 Muslim scholars and clerics from Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen, who come to the U.S. in two groups for two weeks each.”²³ What was not mentioned is the fact that the NPF has been conducting this project with the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), and has been doing so under the Citizen Exchange Program since 2006.²⁴ It is scheduled to run through 2009.²⁵ ISNA, a Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated organization, was an unindicted coconspirator in last year’s terrorist financing trial against the Holy Land Foundation in 2005.²⁶
- **The Coordinator for Counterterrorism and IIIT** - In March 2006, Henry “Hank” Crumpton, Ambassador-at-Large and Coordinator for Counterterrorism at the State Department from August 2005 until February 2007, was the keynote speaker at a conference co-sponsored by the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) in Alexandria, VA, titled, “Muslims in America: Challenges, Prospects, and Responsibilities.” IIIT is part of a complex corporate web of companies, charities and not-for-profit corporations known as the SAAR Network or the Safa Group, which has been under investigation since 2003. IIIT has been under grand jury investigation, which recently resulted in the indictment of Sami al-Arian – the convicted Palestinian Islamic Jihad operative – for criminal contempt.²⁷ In addition to this, recently declassified FBI documents identify leaders of IIIT and the SAAR Foundation “as being members of the Ikhwan Al-Muslimeen (Muslim Brotherhood),”²⁸ a global Islamist movement that seeks to establish an Islamic Caliphate spanning the entire Muslim world and Islamic (Sharia) law the sole basis of jurisprudence and governance. The documents also note that “all the subsidiary and sponsoring Muslim organizations under the control of the IIIT and the SAAR Foundation are in fact Ikhwan organizations.”²⁹

²² “Contact Us!,” National Peace Foundation, 2008, <http://www.nationalpeace.org/ht/d/sp/i/2953/pid/2953> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²³ “Grants By Theme: Faith and Community: 7 Projects,” Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2008, http://exchanges.state.gov/education/citizens/professionals/themes/faith_community.htm (accessed July 22, 2008).

²⁴ “Faith and Community 2006 Grants,” Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2008, http://exchanges.state.gov/education/citizens/professionals/themes/2006_faith.pdf (accessed July 22, 2008).

²⁵ “Citizen Exchange Project,” Islamic Society of North America, 2008, <http://www.isna.net/Interfaith/pages/Citizen-Exchange.aspx> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²⁶ *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, “List of Unindicted Co-conspirators and/or Joint Venturers,” (N.D. TX May 29, 2007), http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/423.pdf (accessed July 28, 2008).

²⁷ Larry O’Dell, “Jailed prof in terror case faces contempt charges,” *Associated Press*, June 26, 2008, http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20080626/ap_on_re_us/attacks_professor (accessed July 22, 2008).

²⁸ Federal Bureau of Investigation, FOIA Documents, Case ID: 1111944-000, April 29, 2008.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

- **Former Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Karen Hughes and Islamist outreach** - In her role as Undersecretary of State, and since her resignation, Karen Hughes herself met with representatives of Muslim Brotherhood-linked groups, such as the Muslim Students Association (MSA), early in her tenure.³⁰ At about the same time, she also attended the September 2005 ISNA³¹ national conference in Chicago, and held private meetings with organization leaders and delegates,³² including representatives from the MSA.³³ In a token of thanks for her work with ISNA, on June 19, 2008 the Society held a recognition dinner “in honor of Ambassador Karen Hughes’ continuous efforts with the Muslim American community and the Muslim community abroad.”³⁴

It is recommended that the State Department discontinue its cooperation with Islamist groups. Cooperation and collaboration with Islamist organizations and individuals only serve to legitimize fundamentalist Islamist voices as major, or even sole, representatives of the Muslim community in the United States and abroad. Additionally, partnership programs and alliances with Islamist groups increase the likelihood that a strict, Islamist interpretation of Islam, including support for terrorist groups and terrorist violence, will be dispersed and promoted throughout the American Muslim community.

³⁰ Note: Medhi Alhassani, a senior at George Washington University and a Public Affairs Bureau intern, with whom the Undersecretary had met, was the president of the GWU MSA, and was later selected for several other State Dep’t programs designed for “citizen dialogue” by US Muslims with Muslims around the world. See: Condoleezza Rice, “Remarks With Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Karen Hughes at Town Hall for Public Diplomacy,” Washington, D.C., Sept. 8, 2005, <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/52748.htm> (accessed July 28, 2008). ; “Muslim Americans Share Their Experiences With Muslim Communities Around the World,” Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, July 7, 2006, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/pix/usec/pdpa/pd2006/68722.htm> (accessed July 28, 2008).

³¹ Note: ISNA is an unindicted co-conspirator in the Hamas-financing trial against HLF. See: *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, “List of Unindicted Co-conspirators and/or Joint Venturers,” (N.D. TX May 29, 2007), http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/423.pdf (accessed July 28, 2008).

³² Amina El-Bishlawy, “State’s Hughes Thanks North American Muslims for Hurricane Fund; Under secretary attends convention of Islamic Society of North America,” *Washington File*, Sept. 2, 2005, <http://usinfo.state.gov/xarchives/display.html?p=washfile-english&y=2005&m=September&x=20050902191136cpataruk0.5953791&t=xarchives/xarchitem.html> (accessed July 28, 2008). ; Robin Wright, “Hughes Launches 9/11 Anniversary Image Campaign,” *Washington Post*, Sept. 1, 2005, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/08/31/AR2005083102599.html> (accessed July 22, 2008). ; Michael Conlon, “U.S. official decries anti-Muslim hatred,” *Reuters*, Sept. 2, 2005, Lexis-Nexis. ; Tara Burghart, “American Muslims Open Convention,” *Associated Press*, Sept. 2, 2005, Lexis-Nexis.

³³ Amina El-Bishlawy, “State’s Hughes Thanks North American Muslims for Hurricane Fund; Under secretary attends convention of Islamic Society of North America,” *Washington File*, Sept. 2, 2005, <http://usinfo.state.gov/xarchives/display.html?p=washfile-english&y=2005&m=September&x=20050902191136cpataruk0.5953791&t=xarchives/xarchitem.html> (accessed July 28, 2008). ; Manya A. Brachear, “U.S. aide hails Muslim group; Bush diplomat lauds push against terror,” *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 3, 2005, Lexis-Nexis. ; “Briefing En Route Cairo, Egypt, Karen Hughes, Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs,” U.S. Department of State, Sept. 25, 2005, <http://www.state.gov/r/us/2005/54023.htm> (accessed July 22, 2008).

³⁴ “Karen Hughes Recognition Dinner,” Islamic Society of North America, <http://www.isna.net/articles/Interfaith-News/Karen-Hughes.aspx> (accessed July 28, 2008).

II. Introduction

Through a long-standing investigation by the Investigative Project on Terrorism (IPT, a non-profit and non-partisan counter-terrorist public interest organization, www.investigativeproject.org) involving analysis of government documents obtained through public sources, interviews and requests under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), it has become clear that the policies of the State Department that govern grants, outreach, and engagement with Islamic organizations and individuals are deeply flawed. The State Department's policies have legitimized radical groups that otherwise would have been left to de-legitimize themselves until public dissent mandated that they change their policies. This investigation has uncovered various incidents of cooperation and collaboration between the State Department and Islamist organizations and/or officials openly affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood and other fundamentalist Islamic movements. The State Department's pro-Islamist programs, such as the sponsorship of Islamists to speak to Muslim audiences around the world on behalf of the State Department, have literally allowed Islamist groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood to become the State Department's bridge to the Muslim world. This testimony will speak to some of the more troubling manifestations of these counterproductive, short-sighted and irresponsible State Department policies.

The issues discussed below speak to the need for strong new oversight to be exercised over State Department outreach to radical Islamic institutions in the United States and abroad. Whether instances of outreach to and/or cooperation with radical groups are a result of ignorance or anything else, current policies can only be characterized as irresponsible and dangerous. While the State Department's goal of reaching out to Islamic groups is an honorable and worthwhile pursuit, the State Department has conducted outreach to the wrong groups, sending a terrible message to moderate Muslims who are thoroughly disenfranchised by the funding, hosting, and embracing of radical groups that purport to be opposed to terrorism and extremism. Even a cursory examination of public and open sources regarding the Islamist groups the State Department has supported clearly demonstrates the radical origins and policies of these groups. The State Department's failure to conduct basic due diligence before becoming involved with each of these groups is deplorable.

III. The Curious Case of Abdulrahman Alamoudi

Abdulrahman Alamoudi was perhaps the most prominent Muslim in America for more than a decade. He was the founder and head of the American Muslim Council (AMC) and advised government officials – including Presidents Clinton and Bush – and started the Muslim chaplaincy program for the United States military. He was also a frequent partner with the State Department, having been sent abroad on the State Department's dime (totaling more than \$40,000) at least two dozen times from 1992 to 2001 to speak to audiences around the world as America's Muslim face.³⁵ This arrangement all ended in 2004, when Alamoudi pleaded guilty to “three felony offenses: one count of violating the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA) by traveling and engaging in

³⁵ United States Department of State, FOIA Documents, Case ID: 200701416, Dec. 18, 2007.

dealing with Libya; one count of false statements made in his application for naturalization; and a tax offense involving a long-term scheme to conceal from the IRS his financial transactions with Libya and his foreign bank accounts and to omit material information from the tax returns filed by his charities”.³⁶ He also acknowledged that he was involved with two Al Qaeda-linked agents in a colorful plot manufactured by Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi to assassinate then-Saudi Prince Abdullah.³⁷

Long before any of this came to light, Alamoudi got his start in the public sphere as acting president of the Muslim Students Association (MSA) National (1982-1983),³⁸ Founder and President of the American Muslim Foundation (AMF) (1990),³⁹ Regional Representative for the Washington DC-area for the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) (1986-1990),⁴⁰ and Member of the Executive Committee of the Islamic Society of Boston.⁴¹ However, his true rise to prominence came with the founding of his greatest legacy, the American Muslim Council (AMC), in 1990,⁴² the purpose of which, ostensibly, was to lobby politicians on behalf of Muslims in the United States. In addition to its other work, the AMC and AMF, and more specifically, Alamoudi, became involved with the selection of Muslim chaplains for the U.S. military through the American Muslim Armed Forces and Veterans Affairs Council (AMAFVAC), which Alamoudi co-founded in 1991.⁴³

Alamoudi’s work did not end there. Though serving as an Islamic advisor and “roving ‘Goodwill Ambassador’ to the United Nations”⁴⁴ for the Clinton Administration, Alamoudi also had a long history of links to terrorist organizations. From 1994 to 1999 he served as Director for the United Association for Studies and Research (UASR), based in Springfield, Virginia.⁴⁵ UASR has numerous links to Hamas and was co-founded by Hamas leader Mousa Abu Marzook.⁴⁶ Hamas operative Mohammed Salah referred to UASR as “the political command” of Hamas in the United States.⁴⁷

³⁶ U.S. Announces Plea in Terrorism Financing Case,” Department of Justice Press Release, July 30, 2004, <http://www.fbi.gov/dojpressrel/pressrel04/alamoudi073004.htm> (accessed April 7, 2008).

³⁷ Glenn Frankel, “Exiled Saudi Is Dissident to Some, Terrorist to Others,” *Washington Post*, July 7, 2004, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A29641-2004Jul5.html> (accessed July 28, 2008).

³⁸ Resume of Abdurahman M. Alamoudi, 2.

³⁹ Abdurahman Alamoudi, Guest CV, IslamOnline.net, <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Guestcv.asp?hGuestID=7he3oT> (accessed Aug. 13, 2007).

⁴⁰ Ibid. ; Resume of Abdurahman M. Alamoudi, 1.

⁴¹ Islamic Society of Boston, IRS Form 1023, 1983.

⁴² American Muslim Council, IRS Form 1024, 1990. ; Abdurahman Alamoudi, Guest CV, IslamOnline.net, <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Guestcv.asp?hGuestID=7he3oT> (accessed Aug. 13, 2007).

⁴³ Dr. Michael Waller, United States Senate Judiciary Committee Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Homeland Security, “Terrorist Recruitment and Infiltration in the United States: Prisons and Military as an Operational Base,” 108th Cong., 1st sess., Oct. 14, 2003, http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=960&wit_id=2719, (accessed April 6, 2008).

⁴⁴ Shawn Macomber, “Eyes Wide Shut,” *The American Spectator*, Dec. 17, 2003, Lexis-Nexis.

⁴⁵ United Association for Studies and Research, IRS Form 990, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, and 1998.

⁴⁶ Articles of Incorporation, United Association for Studies and Research, Secretary of State for the State of Illinois, Sept. 18, 1989.

⁴⁷ Judith Miller, “Israel Says That Prisoner’s Tale Links Arabs in US to Terrorism,” *The New York Times*, Feb. 17, 1993,

As the moderate guise that he had so carefully crafted began to fall apart, the pieces of the Alamoudi puzzle began to come together. Alamoudi's résumé indicated that he served simultaneously as an executive assistant to the president of SAAR⁴⁸ and as an officer⁴⁹ of the Success Foundation, a sister organization of the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) in Virginia.⁵⁰ IIRO's Virginia office has contributed to other charities suspected or convicted of financing terror, including contributions to the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF),⁵¹ and the Taibah International Aid Association.⁵² The Bosnian Branch of Taibah International was named a Specially Designated Global Terrorist on May 6, 2004, for financing Al Qaeda.⁵³ Alamoudi served as Vice President of Taibah International in 1999.⁵⁴ German police files also show that Alamoudi had meetings in the fall of 2000 with Mohammed Belfas, an elder from the Islamic community in Hamburg who had ties to many of the 9/11 hijackers and who had shared an apartment with the suspected "20th hijacker," Ramzi bin al Shibh.⁵⁵

The Alamoudi tale also took on an added dimension once the U.S. Treasury Department found that Alamoudi had raised money for the Al Qaeda-tied Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia (MIRA) Foundation in the United Kingdom. Authorities at the Treasury noted that his arrest "was a severe blow to al Qaida, as Alamoudi had a close relationship with al Qaida and had raised money for al Qaida in the United States."⁵⁶

Once thought by many in the highest echelons of government to be the moderate Muslim partner they had long sought, Alamoudi proved in the end to be something very different. While the State Department was not the only part of the U.S. government that failed to see Alamoudi for what he was, these other segments of the government are not the subject of this testimony. Also, the State Department has arguably continued to be the most naïve of all government departments. It would be reasonable to think that after Alamoudi's deceptions had been revealed, the State Department would review its policies concerning its partners in outreach. While there is no evidence that the State Department is partnering with any terrorist operatives like Alamoudi, the department continues to rely on Islamists in all manners of outreach.

<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9F0CEFDf133FF934A25751C0A965958260> (accessed April 6, 2008).

⁴⁸ FOIA Document, Abdurahman M. Alamoudi curriculum vitae.

⁴⁹ Success Foundation IRS Form 990, 1999 and 2000. (showing Alamoudi as secretary)

⁵⁰ Success Foundation IRS Form 990, 2000, line item 80. (showing IRO as related organization)

⁵¹ International Relief Organization, Inc., IRS Form 990, 1996,1997.

⁵² International Relief Organization, Inc., IRS Form 990, 1995,1996.

⁵³ "Treasury Designates Bosnian Charities Funneling Dollars to Al Qaida." U.S. Department of the Treasury press release, May 6, 2004, <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/js1527.htm> (accessed Jan. 24, 2006).

⁵⁴ Taibah International IRS Form 990, 1999.

⁵⁵ Michael Isikoff and Mark Hosenball, "Terror Watch: Who, and What, Does He Know?" *Newsweek*, Oct. 1, 2003, updated Oct. 24, 2007, <http://www.newsweek.com/id/61577> (accessed July 25, 2008).

⁵⁶ "Treasury Designates MIRA for Support to Al Qaida." U.S. Treasury Department Press Release, July 14, 2005 <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/js2632.htm> (accessed May 8, 2006).

IV. Islamist Speakers Sponsored by the State Department

Through a careful review of public source information and documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, the IPT has found that the State Department continues to fund Islamists to speak on behalf of the United States at venues around the world – even after Alamoudi’s 2004 conviction. After reading the accounts of the speakers listed below that the State Department sends abroad to speak on behalf of the United States and/or to further the foreign policy interests of the United States, it becomes clear that the State Department often chooses counterproductive speakers.

A. Yahya Hendi

From the end of 2003 to the beginning of 2007, the State Department spent \$178,144 on events featuring Yahya Hendi abroad, across Africa, Europe, and South Asia.⁵⁷ Hendi is the Muslim chaplain at Georgetown University and at the National Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, the Imam of the Islamic Society of Frederick, a member and the Spokesman of the Islamic Jurisprudence Council of North America, and Director of the Public Education and Assistance Conference (PEACE). Mr. Hendi has managed to build a reputation as a moderate, but his ties to Islamist organizations discredit him as a true moderate.

The conference for which he serves as director, PEACE,⁵⁸ is run by the Muslim American Society (MAS), an organization with strong ties to the Muslim Brotherhood. MAS was founded as the United States chapter of the Muslim Brotherhood, the international Islamist, anti-Western organization whose goal is the “introduction of the Islamic Shari’ah as the basis of controlling the affairs of state and society.”⁵⁹

Hendi also agreed to testify as a character witness on behalf of Sami Al-Arian, a man who has pled guilty to one count of “Conspiracy to make or receive contributions of funds, goods or services to or for the benefit of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ),” a Specially Designated Terrorist.⁶⁰ During that hearing, Hendi refused to characterize the PIJ as a terrorist organization, answering prosecutor Cherie Kringsman question by saying: “I believe [the PIJ] is an organization made by Palestinians... dedicated to ending the occupation of the Palestinian territories.”⁶¹

When pressed a few moments later, Hendi admitted that he knew the PIJ was a designated terrorist organization and that the PIJ had conducted suicide bombings in the

⁵⁷ United States Department of State, FOIA Documents, Case ID: 20070224, Dec. 10, 2007.

⁵⁸ “Biography of Imam Yahya Hendi,” http://www.usembassy.at/en/embassy/photo/hendi_bio.htm (accessed July 28, 2008).

⁵⁹ “The Principles of The Muslim Brotherhood,” The Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan) Official English Website, June 8, 2006, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=4584> (accessed Nov. 20, 2006).

⁶⁰ *U.S. v. Sami al-Arian*, 03-Cr-77, “Clerk’s Minutes,” at 8:30am (M.D. FL Mar. 25, 2003).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

past. When asked by Kringsman “If suicide bombing operations are sanctioned by the Koran,” Hendi simply answered, “Yes.”⁶²

Additionally, Hendi served as a moderator for a Benevolence International Foundation (BIF) fundraiser for Chechnya at the Muslim Community Center in Silver Spring, Maryland in January 2000. The following year, the U.S. Department of Treasury designated BIF as a financier of terrorism for supporting Al Qaeda.⁶³ Yet at the 2000 fundraiser, Hendi made several radical comments implying that the use of violence is sanctioned by Islam to glorify Allah:

“Allah who says in the Qur’an (Arabic). Allah who gave the glad tidings to the Prophet and the companions, they the unbelievers plan and plot against Islam. Allah, too, also plans; and Allah is the best planner.”⁶⁴

At this same event, Hendi continued, that those who are fighting for Allah will get the same reward as those who give money to the fighters in Chechnya through the fundraiser:

“So, brothers and sisters, it’s not about saying the prayer as Muslims, it’s about acting accordingly. It’s not about (microphone rings loudly) ... our brothers and sisters in Chechnya, it’s about giving ourselves for Allah and for His Messenger.”

He continued in his address to tell the story about the Battle of Tabuk telling them that those who stay behind from the battlefield will receive the same reward as those who are doing the actual fighting in the battle:

“Why? We are the ones who are sacrificing ourselves, our persons, why would they get the ujur [reward] that we get? [The Prophet asks them] Why did they stay behind? The Sahaba said, so that they may take care of our homes and to provide us with our needs here in the battlefield. The Prophet said and that puts them and you in the same rank.”

“So, yes, those brothers and sisters have sacrificed themselves, their homes, their wealth for Allah; but those who are gonna give tonight will get the same ujur [reward] insha Allah.”⁶⁵

Additionally, Hendi worked for the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) for a year recruiting for its many chapters, as he himself stated at a roundtable discussion

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ “Treasury Designates Benevolence International Foundation and Related Entities as Financiers of Terrorism,” U.S. Treasury Department, Nov. 19, 2002, <http://treas.gov/press/releases/po3632.htm> (accessed July 28, 2008).

⁶⁴ Audio, Yahya Hendi, “Chechnya Fundraising Dinner” Benevolence International Foundation, Muslim Community Center, Silver Spring, MD, Jan. 22, 2000.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

sponsored by the Center for Strategic and International Studies in 2003.⁶⁶ On December 29, 1996 Yahya Hendi addressed an Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) conference on behalf of CAIR.⁶⁷ IAP has long been a central player in Hamas' US support network while CAIR's future founders controlled IAP. A 2001 INS memo extensively documented IAP's support for Hamas and noted that the "facts strongly suggest" that IAP is "part of Hamas' propaganda apparatus."⁶⁸ Though Hendi downplayed his relationship with CAIR during that same 2003 roundtable conference, he had expressed great support for CAIR during his time with them. In 1997, Hendi praised CAIR for suing Nike because the word "Air" on one line of Nikes seemed to read "Allah," saying the CAIR "forced Nike to submit to the will of Allah and then to the will of the Muslim community."⁶⁹

Founded in 1994, CAIR was incorporated by three leaders of the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) -- Nihad Awad, Omar Ahmad, and Rafeeq Jaber.⁷⁰ Mousa Abu Marzook, the current deputy political chief of Hamas, served on the board of directors of IAP in 1989 and provided the group with \$490,000.⁷¹ IAP, which is now defunct, was a central player in Hamas' U.S. support network while CAIR's future founders controlled IAP. A 2001 INS memo extensively documented IAP's support for Hamas and noted that the "facts strongly suggest" that IAP is "part of Hamas' propaganda apparatus."⁷² CAIR was named an unindicted co-conspirator in the 2007 HLF case, listed among the other entities that were part of the Palestine Committee, which prosecutors say was created by the Muslim Brotherhood in the United States to support Hamas. In response to a CAIR brief aimed at removing its co-conspirator status, federal prosecutors said that "will not prevent its conspiratorial involvement with HLF, and others affiliated with Hamas, from becoming a matter of public record."⁷³

CAIR incorporator and current executive director Nihad Awad has publicly expressed his support for Hamas. At a symposium at Barry University in Florida on March 22, 1994, he said, "I am in support of the Hamas movement."⁷⁴ Again, on CBS' *60 Minutes* in

⁶⁶ Audio, Yahya Hendi, "From Guantanamo Bay to General Boykin," Center for Strategic and International Studies Conference, Washington D.C., Nov. 5, 2003.

⁶⁷ Yahya Hendi "Islamic Association for Palestine Annual Convention" Rosemont, Illinois, December 29, 1996.

⁶⁸ "In the matter of Hasan Faisal Yousef Sabri, Notice of Revocation of petition for Amerasian, Widow, or Special Immigrant," Attachment (Form I-360).

⁶⁹ Yahya Hendi, "Muslims in America: Survival to Success," Islamic Society of Central Florida in Orlando, 1997.

⁷⁰ "Articles of Incorporation, Council on American-Islamic Relations," Sept. 15, 1994.

⁷¹ *Ila Filastin*, Feb. 1989, p. 27. ; "In the matter of Hasan Faisal Yousef Sabri, Notice of Revocation of petition for Amerasian, Widow, or Special Immigrant," Attachment (Form I-360).

⁷² "In the matter of Hasan Faisal Yousef Sabri, Notice of Revocation of petition for Amerasian, Widow, or Special Immigrant," Attachment (Form I-360).

⁷³ *U.S. vs. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, 3:CR240, "Government's Memorandum in Opposition to Council on American-Islamic Relation's Motion for Leave to File a Brief *Amicus Curiae Instante* and *Amicus Brief* in Support of the Unindicted Co-Conspirators' First and Fifth Amendment Rights" (N.D. TX Sept. 4, 2007).

⁷⁴ Video transcript, "Conference on the Middle East – The Road to Peace: The Challenge of the Middle East," Barry University, Miami Shores, FL, Mar. 22, 1994, 2. For video see: <http://www.investigativeproject.org/article/223> (accessed July 28, 2008).

November 1994, when Mike Wallace asked him what he thought “of the military undertakings of Hamas,” Awad responded, “the United Nations Charter grants people who are under occupation [the right] to defend themselves against illegal occupation.”⁷⁵

CAIR has sponsored incendiary events and conferences, which have included calls for violent *jihād* and virulent anti-Semitism. On May 24, 1998, CAIR co-sponsored a rally organized by the IAP at Brooklyn College in New York.⁷⁶ The Brooklyn College event featured Egyptian cleric, Wagdi Ghuneim, who told the audience: “He who equips a warrior of *Jihad* is like the one who makes *Jihad* himself.” Ghuneim also led the gathering in a song with the lyrics: “No to the Jews, descendants of the apes.”⁷⁷

In the aftermath of 9/11, CAIR solicited funds for HLF, which was shut down by the Treasury Department on December 4, 2001⁷⁸ and is currently under indictment by the Department of Justice for a conspiracy to funnel millions of dollars to Hamas.⁷⁹ The appeal, titled “what you can do for the victims of the WTC and Pentagon attacks,” appeared on CAIR’s website for over a month⁸⁰ and urged people to donate to HLF.⁸¹

B. Ahmed Younis

Ahmed Younis was formerly an official with the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC; for information on MPAC, see the below section on “Islamist Outreach in Belgium”). In just seven months in 2006, the State Department spent \$25,000 on events featuring Mr. Younis in Malaysia, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan.⁸² Mr. Younis is listed as the only “grantee” on the FOIA documents relating to these events.⁸³ At an MPAC sponsored event in 2002, Mr. Younis said:

The nature of Islam, unlike the nature of Judaism and Christianity, and I say that with trepidation and in worry of offense and I don’t mean offense but the nature of Islam is one of inclusion, the nature of Christianity and Judaism is one of exclusion as it has come to light today...And I think the problem is that we don’t really have an opportunity to be sitting on our chairs and not doing anything, like unfortunately what we see and what the leadership organizations that we are affiliated with see is the average American Muslim, if not the average Muslim

⁷⁵ “60 Minutes,” CBS, Nov. 13, 1994.

⁷⁶ MSA News, “Subject: IAP: “50 Years of Occupation” - New York Evening Program,” May 23, 1998, <http://www.investigativeproject.org/redirect/IAP-50-Years-of-Occupation-New-York-Evening-Program.pdf> (accessed July 28, 2008).

⁷⁷ Audio, “IAP Rally,” (acquired May 24, 1998).

⁷⁸ “Shutting Down the Terrorist Financial Network,” U.S. Treasury Department, Dec. 4, 2001, <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/po841.htm> (accessed July 22, 2008).

⁷⁹ *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, “Superseding Indictment,” (N.D. TX Nov. 30, 2005), http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/75.pdf (accessed July 22, 2008).

⁸⁰ CAIR website, Sept. 17, 2001, <http://web.archive.org/web/20010917013636/http://cair-net.org> (accessed July 22, 2008). ; CAIR website, Oct. 31, 2001, <http://web.archive.org/web/20011031190542/http://www.cair-net.org/> (accessed July 28, 2008).

⁸¹ CAIR website, <http://web.archive.org/web/20010925192044/http://www.cair-net.org/> (accessed Sept. 3, 2004).

⁸² United States Department of State, FOIA Documents, Case ID: 20070224, Dec. 10, 2007.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

internationally, is adopting the arrogance of the Jew, and the blind faith of a Christian.⁸⁴

MPAC has a terrible track record in regards to fighting extremism and terrorism. Founded in 1988, MPAC has consistently opposed U.S. government efforts to shut down terrorist financiers including the Holy Land Foundation (HLF), the Benevolence International Foundation (BIF), and the Global Relief Foundation (GRF).⁸⁵ MPAC chose to divert attention from the seriousness of the flow of terrorist finances through these organizations by claiming the measures taken against the above organizations “bare [sic] strong signs of politicization” on behalf of the U.S.⁸⁶ Additionally, MPAC has downplayed the terrorist threat. For example, an MPAC paper on counterterrorism policy questioned “..whether alleged terror plots, such as those in Seattle, Buffalo, Portland, and Detroit, actually posed threats as serious as the government initially claimed them to be...”⁸⁷

Even more alarming, MPAC and its leaders have publicly challenged the designation of Hizbollah and Hamas as terrorist organizations. In 2003, an MPAC paper on counterterrorism again attempted to divert attention from terrorism to politics claiming that “The [U.S.’s] preoccupation with [Hamas and Hizbollah] raises the question as to whether targeting Palestinian groups serves true national security interest or is based on political considerations.”⁸⁸

In addition to statements made by the group as a whole, MPAC’s leaders, such as co-founder Maher Hathout, have made extreme statements defending terrorist organizations. At a speech at the National Press Club in 1998, Hathout claimed that “Hizbollah is fighting for freedom, an organized army, limiting its operations against military people, this is a legitimate target against occupation. The whole country keeps condemning Hizbollah; 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, this is an American value-freedom and liberty.”⁸⁹

Additionally, MPAC’s leaders have made radical statements, at conferences at which government officials have been present, concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that echo the sentiments of radical Islamists. On December 15, 2005, Bruce Sherman of the State Department’s Broadcasting Board of Governors spoke at MPAC’s Annual Convention in Long Beach, California. Alina Romanowski, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Office of Professional and Cultural Exchanges Bureau of Educational and

⁸⁴ “Struggle in the Muslim World,” MPAC event, Irvine, California, July 14, 2002.

⁸⁵ “Bin Laden’s Recent Tape on Iraq: Does Iraq Have Linkage to al-Qaeda?” Interview with Aslam Abdullah, February 15, 2003, <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Browse.asp?hGuestID=tG7cB1> (accessed May 23, 2006).

⁸⁶ “A Review of U.S. Counterterrorism Policy: American Muslim Critique & Recommendations,” MPAC, Sept. 2003, http://www.mpac.org/bucket_downloads/CTPaper.pdf (accessed July 12, 2004), p. 55.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Maher Hathout, “Afternoon Newsmakers,” Speech at the National Press Club, Washington D.C., June 18, 1998.

Cultural Affairs, spoke at the same convention. At that convention, one speaker made the radical comment that Iran's problems are all due to the fact that "they are resisting the Zionist occupation of Palestine."⁹⁰ In this instance, the State Department's attendance without speaking out against such statements validates the espousing of radical viewpoints by MPAC's speakers. MPAC's poor record when it comes to speaking out against terrorism disqualifies MPAC's leaders from being good candidates for cooperation with the U.S. government in order to reach out to the Muslim community.

C. Aly Abuzaakouk

Aly Abuzaakouk, the former executive director of the American Muslim Council (AMC), is the former director of publications at the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT, for more information see below section on "The Coordinator for Counterterrorism and IIIT").⁹¹ IIIT is part of a complex corporate web of companies, charities and not-for-profit corporations known as the SAAR Network, or the Safa Group, which has been under investigation since 2003. IIIT has been under grand jury investigation in Northern Virginia, which recently resulted in the indictment of Sami Al-Arian – the convicted Palestinian Islamic Jihad operative – for criminal contempt.⁹² Abuzaakouk was the President of the Board of Directors of the United Association for Studies and Research (UASR).⁹³ Nabil Sadoun, currently on CAIR's board and chair of CAIR-Texas, founded UASR with Mousa Abu Marzook, the Hamas deputy political chief currently based in Damascus. Internal records show the UASR was a founding member of the Muslim Brotherhood's Palestine Committee in America.

Mr. Abuzaakouk has served as an Ambassador for Goodwill for the U.S. State Department. Abuzaakouk's tenure at AMC coincided with Alamoudi's, who founded the organization. This casts the State Department's choice of Mr. Abuzaakouk as a Goodwill Ambassador in an interesting light. In just two months in 2007, the State Department spent \$1600 to send him to Ghana to talk about Islam and American politics.⁹⁴ Mr. Abuzaakouk is listed as the only "grantee" on the FOIA documents relating to this travel arrangement.⁹⁵

D. Hibba Abugideiri

In a two year period from 2004-05, the State Department spent \$49,114 for events featuring Hibba Abugideiri around the world in countries like Italy, Azerbaijan, and Tanzania.⁹⁶ She was the only mentioned "grantee" on related FOIA documents.⁹⁷ Ms.

⁹⁰ Sayed Moustafa Al-Qazwini, Muslim Public Affairs Council Convention, Long Beach, CA, Dec. 15, 2005.

⁹¹ "Aly R. Abuzaakouk, Guest CV," IslamOnline.net, <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Guestcv.asp?hGuestID=OVzzHu> (accessed July 22, 2008).

⁹² Larry O'Dell, "Jailed prof in terror case faces contempt charges," *Associated Press*, June 26, 2008, http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20080626/ap_on_re_us/attacks_professor (accessed July 22, 2008).

⁹³ UASR, Corporate Annual Report, 1997.

⁹⁴ United States Department of State, FOIA Documents, Case ID: 20070224, Dec. 10, 2007.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

Abugideiri served as the former National Secretary for Muslim Youth of North America (MYNA), an organization affiliated with the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA).⁹⁸ ISNA was named by the U.S. Department of Justice as an unindicted co-conspirator in the 2007 Holy Land Foundation terrorist financing case (For more on ISNA, see below section, “Islamist Outreach in Belgium”).⁹⁹ Abugideiri also served as Assistant Editor of the American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, an interdisciplinary journal published in part by IIIT. (see above for more information on IIIT as well as section entitled “The Coordinator for Counterterrorism and IIIT”).¹⁰⁰

E. Zahid H. Bukhari

The State Department spent over \$60,000 from 2004 to 2007 on events around the world featuring Dr. Zahid H. Bukhari.¹⁰¹ From 1990-1995, he served as Secretary General of the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA).¹⁰² Dr. Bukhari was also Chairman of the ICNA Relief/Helping Hand, a not-for-profit relief organization, which operates national and international projects.¹⁰³

The Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) is an Islamist organization which was founded to serve South Asian immigrant Muslims (Pakistani, Indian, and Bangladeshi) living in the United States. Its ideology is that of Jamaat-i-Islami, a historically extremist movement operating for decades in Pakistan and Bangladesh, with a program calling for an Islamist revolution and establishment of an Islamist state in Pakistan.¹⁰⁴

The goal of ICNA on U.S. territory is basically the same as in Pakistan: An introductory pamphlet published and distributed by ICNA declares that its aim is to “achieve the pleasure of Allah through the establishment of the Islamic system in this land.”¹⁰⁵ ICNA further states on its website that it intends “to seek the pleasure of Allah (SWT [God almighty]) through the struggle of Iqamat-ud-Deen (establishment of the Islamic system of life) as spelled out in the Quran and the Sunnah [Qur’an plus hadith, the oral sayings and actions] of Prophet Mohammed (pbuh [peace be upon him]).”¹⁰⁶ The first part of ICNA’s program is “[t]o invite mankind to submit to the Creator by using all means of communications”¹⁰⁷ -- that is, to aggressively proselytize for Islam in the non-Muslim

⁹⁸ Nadifa Abdi, “MYNA Moves,” *Islamic Horizons*, Feb. 1988, p. 16-17.

⁹⁹ *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, “List of Unindicted Co-conspirators and/or Joint Venturers,” (N.D. TX May 29, 2007.)

http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/423.pdf (accessed July 22, 2008).

¹⁰⁰ “Meet Our Faculty & Staff,” Villanova University,

<http://www.villanova.edu/artsci/history/faculty.htm?mail=hibba.abugideiri@villanova.edu> (accessed July 18, 2008).

¹⁰¹ United States Department of State, FOIA Documents, Case ID: 20070224, Dec. 10, 2007.

¹⁰² Philippa Strum and Danielle Tarantolo, eds., *Muslims in the United States*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, June 18, 2003, p. 205.

¹⁰³ “Muslims in the Post 9-11 Era,” Project MAPS, <http://www.projectmaps.com/investigators.htm> (accessed June 15, 2003).

¹⁰⁴ “The Type of Resolution in Sight,” Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, <http://www.jamaat.org/qa/sight.htm>, (accessed July 7, 2004).

¹⁰⁵ ICNA, “Islamic Circle of North America: An Introduction,” Brochure.

¹⁰⁶ “ICNA Introduction,” <http://www.icna.com/ICNA>, (accessed June 30, 2006).

¹⁰⁷ “ICNA Introduction,” <http://www.icna.com/ICNA>, (accessed July 7, 2004).

community of the United States, while also imposing its version of Islam on those who already are Muslims.

ICNA identifies “Dawah: Inviting Mankind to Submit to the Creator” as “*The top priority of ICNA*” [emphasis in original], and lists conversion efforts among “expectations from all members... as follows: Spend a minimum of 4 hours a month on any of the following: Dawah to non Muslim (Dawah Field Trip, Prison dawah Trip, Dawah Response through Mail or Phone).”¹⁰⁸

ICNA has co-sponsored a jihadist event with virulently anti-Semitic rhetoric and has called for a world-wide Islamic revolution. On May 24, 1998, ICNA co-sponsored a rally organized by the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) at Brooklyn College in New York.¹⁰⁹ The Brooklyn College event featured Egyptian cleric, Wagdi Ghuneim who told the audience: “He who equips a warrior of Jihad is like the one who makes Jihad himself.” Ghuneim also led the gathering in a song with the lyrics: “No to the Jews, descendants of the apes.”¹¹⁰

The March 1991 issue of *The Message International* contained the following passage calling for jihad and a world-wide Islamic revolution, written by ICNA’s President, Dr. Muhammad Yunus:

“...the ultimate purpose of Jihad is to establish an Islamic system of government and to establish the truth of Islam in state and society. An endeavor that is not restricted to certain countries but the ultimate goal is to establish Islam all over the world and to bring about a world Islamic revolution, because the message of Islam is for all mankind.”¹¹¹

ICNA’s extremist ties weaken Bukhari’s legitimacy as a moderate voice.

F. Edina Lekovic

In September 2006, the State Department sent MPAC Communications Director Edina Lekovic to Kyrgyzstan to speak about Muslim life in America (for information on MPAC, see the below section on “Islamist Outreach in Belgium”).¹¹²

Lekovic is also the managing editor of *The Minaret*, a magazine that serves as an MPAC outlet published out of the Islamic Center of Southern California. While in school at UCLA, Ms. Lekovic served as the managing editor of *Al-Talib*, the magazine for the

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ MSA News, “Subject: IAP: “50 Years of Occupation” - New York Evening Program,” May 23, 1998, <http://www.investigativeproject.org/redirect/IAP-50-Years-of-Occupation-New-York-Evening-Program.pdf> (accessed July 28, 2008).

¹¹⁰ Audio, “IAP Rally” (acquired May 24, 1998).

¹¹¹ Dr. Muhammad Yunus, “Jihad in Islam.” *The Message International*, March 1991, (writing as President of ICNA)

¹¹² United States Department of State, FOIA Documents, Case ID: 20070224, Dec. 10, 2007.

UCLA chapter of the Muslim Students Association (MSA), and as the editor-in-chief of the *Daily Bruin*, UCLA's student newspaper.¹¹³

In an issue of *Al-Talib* for which Lekovic was listed as a “managing editor,” the editorial stated:

When we hear someone refer to the great Mujahid (someone who struggles in Allah's cause), Osama bin Laden as a “terrorist,” we should 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.¹¹⁴

This endorsement of bin Laden as a “freedom fighter,” was well after it was publicly known that his terrorist network, al Qaeda, was behind the 1998 bombings at US embassies in Africa. Ms. Lekovic has denied that she had anything to do with this issue and that the listing of her name on the issue was a printing error. However, a subsequent investigation discovered a dozen issues of *Al-Talib* for which Ms. Lekovic was either an author, editor, or received “special thanks.” That is quite a lot of printing errors.

This sort of behavior followed Lekovic to her post as managing editor of *The Minaret*. The cover of the May 2002 issue of *The Minaret* shows a snake with the words “Axis of Evil; The United States, Israel, and Arab Governments.”¹¹⁵

In a debate at the Los Angeles Press Club in May of 2006 – just months before the State Department sent her abroad – over the Danish cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammed, Lekovic described the death sentence¹¹⁶ imposed on author Salman Rushdie by Iran's late Ayatollah Khomeini as “misunderstood:”

[T]ake for example the Salman Rushdie case in which there was a *fatwa*, which has been misunderstood as a death sentence, but from a simple Arabic to English translation, simply means a religious opinion; a non binding religious opinion. We are dealing with not a clash of civilizations, but a clash of ignorance, because when people don't understand what words mean they can throw around definitions of their own making and use, and wield those as weapons.”¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Biographies of Participants, MPAC Convention, 2001.

¹¹⁴ “Jihad in America: Maintaining an Islamic Identity in an un-Islamic Environment,” *Al-Talib: The Muslim Newsmagazine* at UCLA, Vol. 9, Iss. 6, July 1999, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ Cover, *The Minaret*, May 2002.

¹¹⁶ Note: Khomeini offered \$2.6 million for any Iranian or \$1 million for any foreigner who would assassinate Rushdie. The fatwa stated: “I inform the proud Muslim people of the world that the author of the Satanic Verses book which is against Islam, the Prophet, and the Koran, and all those involved in its publication who were aware of its content, are **sentenced to death**. I ask all the Muslims to execute them wherever they find them.” [emphasis added]

¹¹⁷ Audio, “Danish Cartoons and Censorship Debate,” Los Angeles Press Club, May 11, 2006.

V. State Department's Islamist Advisors

The State Department has also invited Islamists to speak to its own personnel. For example, on January 28, 2002, the Department of State invited Salam al-Marayati, founder and executive director of MPAC (for information on MPAC, see section, "Islamist Outreach in Belgium"), to speak at its Open Forum. During his speech, Marayati mentioned the need for dialogue, saying "Rashid Ghannouchi is an example of those who promote this need for dialogue between civilizations, not confrontations."¹¹⁸ Who is Rashid Al Ghannouchi? He was the head of Tunisia's banned Islamic fundamentalist Al-Nahda Party and was convicted by a Tunisian court of responsibility for a bomb blast that blew the foot off a British tourist.¹¹⁹

On the day of the devastating terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, Marayati stated on KCRW-FM's "Which Way, LA?" that "we should put the State of Israel on the suspect list":

If we're going to look at suspects, we should look to the groups that benefit the most from these kinds of incidents, and I think we should put the state of Israel on the suspect list because I think this diverts attention from what's happening in the Palestinian territories so that they can go on with their aggression and occupation and apartheid policies.¹²⁰

But there are many statements that Marayati had made previously that the State Department should have known about, and that should have given them pause before inviting him to speak. For example, in November 1999, on *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*, Marayati responded to accusations that he supports Hizbollah. Rather than condemning the terrorist organization, he instead justified Hizbollah's activities:

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.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ "MPAC's Speech on Moderation at the State Department," MPAC, Jan. 28, 2002, http://web.archive.org/web/20040507010021/http://www.mpac.org/popa_article_display.aspx?ITEM=178 (accessed July 22, 2008).

¹¹⁹ Michael Binyon, "Britain Shuts Door on Fundamentalists," *The Times*, January 5, 1996, Lexis-Nexis. Note: According to *The London Sunday Telegraph*, Ghannouchi was "rounded up with several thousand other opponents of the Tunisian government following an alleged plot to assassinate the country's president, Ben Ali, in 1991." See: Con Coughlin, "Senators fight to keep sheikh out of the US State Department told of Islamic fundamentalist's alleged links with terrorism," *Sunday Telegraph (London)*, May 22, 1994, Lexis-Nexis.

¹²⁰ Larry Stammer, "After the Attack: Jewish-Muslim Dialogue Newly Tested," *The Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 22, 2001, Lexis-Nexis.

¹²¹ Salam al-Marayati, "Muslims in America." *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*, November 24, 1999, Lexis-Nexis.

Earlier, in November 1997, Marayati spoke at the University of Pennsylvania, providing comments and responses to questions that clearly indicate his support for terrorist entities. He refused to call Hizbollah a terrorist organization:

Question: You mentioned Hizbollah, do you consider it to be more of a, I guess a national liberation movement or a terrorist group?

Al-Marayati: ... I don't think any group should be judged 100% this or that, I think every group is going to have, um, its claim of liberation and resistance ...there's the part that deals with the military confrontation with Israel and if you look at the numbers though, Hizballah attacks against Israeli civilians are like a fraction of Israeli attacks against the Muslims.¹²²

Clearly, Al-Marayati's political perspective on the Palestinian- Israeli conflict continues to echo that of Islamic extremists across the globe. Just two years ago, Al-Marayati deemed Israel's policies in response to Palestinian violence "genocide," and placed responsibility on the U.S.:

"And when there is a foreign policy failure, such as the genocide in Bosnia, such as the silent genocide in Kashmir, such as the occupation and annihilation of the Iraqi people, such as the silent and loud and boisterous annihilation and ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian people, and the destruction of Lebanon – that's not a foreign policy issue; that's an American issue."¹²³

It remains unclear why the State Department would seek the advice of someone with a history of statements in support of extremists and terrorist organizations.

VI. The Holy Land Foundation and USAID

According to its website, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) "supports long-term and equitable economic growth and advances U.S. foreign policy objectives by supporting: economic growth, agriculture and trade; global health; and, democracy, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance."¹²⁴ Unfortunately, USAID belatedly discovered it had been providing financial aid to Hamas through the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF), a registered non-profit organization that is now being prosecuted for money laundering to Hamas. Finally, in 2000, Thomas R. Pickering, then-Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, ordered HLF's registration with USAID to be terminated, because it was determined that the relationship was "contrary to the national interests and foreign policy of the United States."¹²⁵

¹²² Confidential source.

¹²³ "ISNA 43rd Annual Conference," Session 2A, September 1 - 4, 2006, Rosemont Convention Center, Chicago, IL.

¹²⁴ "This Is USAID," USAID Website, http://www.usaid.gov/about_usaid/ (accessed July 17, 2008).

¹²⁵ Letter from Thomas R. Pickering to J. Brady Anderson, Aug. 30, 2000, <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/42.pdf> (accessed July 24, 2008).

The Holy Land Foundation was charged in 2004 with funneling millions of dollars to Hamas. The first criminal trial ended in a hung jury in 2007, amidst allegations of jury room bullying that may have influenced the trial's outcome.¹²⁶

VII. The State Department and Islamist Events

State Department officials have attended and spoken at many conferences sponsored and held by Islamist organizations. This aspect of State Department outreach can be seen as part of the legacy of Karen Hughes. When Ms. Hughes was appointed as Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, she set the tone to continue a disastrous policy of outreach with Islamist partners.

The State Department has also brought foreign visitors to events held by Islamist organizations. The travel and other financial costs associated with these events have been paid for with taxpayer dollars by the State Department. This is yet another troubling aspect of the State Department's policies governing outreach. Such attendance by State Department officials legitimizes these organizations and their ideology to other parts of the government, the media, the Muslim community, and the country at large. Bringing foreign visitors to such events legitimizes Islamism to the world and sends mixed messages to our allies. The list of these incidents is long. A few prominent examples will be covered below.

A. Attending ISNA, MSA, and MPAC Conferences

During her tenure, Ms. Hughes and her staff held meetings with the very people who should be avoided and denounced for their public, anti-American and pro-terrorist stances; embraced individuals and groups with long histories of support for terrorists; and sought advice from individuals who are on the record as being supportive and friendly with terrorists and terrorist causes.

Hughes herself met with representatives of Muslim campus groups, such as the Muslim Students Association (MSA), early in her tenure.¹²⁷ At about the same time, she also

¹²⁶ Michael Fechter, "Exclusive IPT Investigation Uncovers HLF Jury Room Bullying," *IPT News*, December 10, 2007, <http://www.investigativeproject.org/article/569> (accessed July 26, 2008). Note: Investigative Project on Terrorism (IPT) interviews with three HLF jurors suggest that juror William Neal's stridency may have changed the trial's outcome. Neal even claimed credit for steering jurors away from convictions in a radio interview. The three jurors said it seemed clear that Neal had made up his mind going into the jury room and refused to consider any argument in favor of guilt. He preferred to read the court's instructions rather than look at exhibits in evidence, they said. The jurors said his often snide manner intimidated and bullied those who disagreed with him.

¹²⁷ Note: Medhi Alhassani, a senior at George Washington University and a Public Affairs Bureau intern, with whom the Undersecretary had met, was the president of the GWU MSA, and was later selected for several other State Dep't programs designed for "citizen dialogue" by US Muslims with Muslims around the world. See: Condoleezza Rice, "Remarks With Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Karen Hughes at Town Hall for Public Diplomacy," Washington, D.C., Sept. 8, 2005, <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/52748.htm> (accessed July 28, 2008). ; "Muslim Americans Share Their Experiences With Muslim Communities Around the World," Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S.

attended the September 2005 ISNA national conference in Chicago, and held private meetings with organization leaders and delegates,¹²⁸ including representatives from the MSA.¹²⁹ She was quoted as praising the so-called Muslim organizations' fatwa condemning violence, although the fatwa did not name any terror groups by name.¹³⁰ After the conference, Hughes said, "I found new allies to help me do my job."¹³¹

But the fact that Hughes deems these groups allies is troubling, especially considering the Government's knowledge of these groups' roots in the Muslim Brotherhood.

The Muslim Students Association (MSA) of the United States and Canada was incorporated in January 1963, when members of the Muslim Brotherhood¹³² came together at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign¹³³ with the goal of "spreading

Department of State, July 7, 2006, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/pix/usec/pdpa/pd2006/68722.htm> (accessed July 28, 2008).

¹²⁸ Amina El-Bishlawy, "State's Hughes Thanks North American Muslims for Hurricane Fund; Under secretary attends convention of Islamic Society of North America," *Washington File*, Sept. 2, 2005, <http://usinfo.state.gov/xarchives/display.html?p=washfile-english&y=2005&m=September&x=20050902191136cpataruk0.5953791&t=xarchives/xarchitem.html> (accessed July 28, 2008). ; Robin Wright, "Hughes Launches 9/11 Anniversary Image Campaign," *Washington Post*, Sept. 1, 2005, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/08/31/AR2005083102599.html> (accessed July 22, 2008). ; Michael Conlon, "U.S. official decries anti-Muslim hatred," *Reuters*, Sept. 2, 2005, Lexis-Nexis. ; Tara Burghart, "American Muslims Open Convention," *Associated Press*, Sept. 2, 2005, Lexis-Nexis.

¹²⁹ Amina El-Bishlawy, "State's Hughes Thanks North American Muslims for Hurricane Fund; Under secretary attends convention of Islamic Society of North America," *Washington File*, Sept. 2, 2005, <http://usinfo.state.gov/xarchives/display.html?p=washfile-english&y=2005&m=September&x=20050902191136cpataruk0.5953791&t=xarchives/xarchitem.html> (accessed July 28, 2008). ; Manya A. Brachear, "U.S. aide hails Muslim group; Bush diplomat lauds push against terror," *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 3, 2005, Lexis-Nexis. ; "Briefing En Route Cairo, Egypt, Karen Hughes, Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs," U.S. Department of State, Sept. 25, 2005, <http://www.state.gov/r/us/2005/54023.htm> (accessed July 22, 2008).

¹³⁰ Note: "'The fatwa says that there is no justification in Islam for terrorism. Those are words the entire world needs to hear,' Hughes said." See: Editorial, Muslim Leaders Confront Terrorism, *VOA News*, Sept. 13, 2005, <http://www.voanews.com/uspolicy/archive/2005-09/2005-09-13-voa2.cfm> (accessed July 28, 2008). ; Steven Emerson, "The American Islamic Leaders 'Fatwa' is Bogus," *The Counterterrorism Blog*, July 28, 2005, http://counterterror.typepad.com/the_counterterrorism_blog/2005/07/the_american_is.html (accessed July 22, 2008).

¹³¹ Amina El-Bishlawy, "State's Hughes Thanks North American Muslims for Hurricane Fund; Under secretary attends convention of Islamic Society of North America," *Washington File*, Sept. 2, 2005, <http://usinfo.state.gov/xarchives/display.html?p=washfile-english&y=2005&m=September&x=20050902191136cpataruk0.5953791&t=xarchives/xarchitem.html> (accessed July 28, 2008).

¹³² Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe and Laurie Cohen, "A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America," *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 19, 2004, http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/specials/chi-0409190261sep19_0_5695696.story (accessed July 23, 2008).

¹³³ "MSA National: Serving Islam and Muslims Since 1963," MSA-National Website, <http://www.msanational.org/about/history/> (accessed June 4, 2008).

Islam as students in North America.”¹³⁴ Muslim Brotherhood leaders of the MSA went on to found the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)¹³⁵ in 1981.¹³⁶

ISNA’s close relationship with the Brotherhood appears to have continued far beyond its initial roots. For example, Ahmed Elkadi, who headed the Muslim Brotherhood in the US from 1984 to 1994,¹³⁷ served on ISNA’s Executive Council in 1984.¹³⁸

Newly declassified FBI memos that date back to 1987-1988 further substantiate ISNA’s Muslim Brotherhood connections. These records show that FBI agents investigated a parent organization to ISNA, the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT), during the mid-1980s.

The FBI investigation concluded that the Muslim Brotherhood members who founded U.S.-based groups had risen to “leadership roles within NAIT and its related organizations,”¹³⁹ including ISNA, “which means they are in a position to direct the activities and support of Muslims in the U.S. for the Islamic Revolution.”¹⁴⁰ The FBI memo also said that:

“Within the organizational structure of NAIT, there have been numerous groups and individuals identified as being a part of a covert network of revolutionaries who have clearly indicated there (sic) support for the Islamic Revolution as advocated by the AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI and his government as well as other fanatical Islamic Shiite fundamentalist leaders in the Middle East. This faction of Muslims have declared war on the United States, Israel and any other country they deem as an enemy of Islam. The common bond between these various organizations is both religious and political with the underlying common goal being to further the holy war (Islamic Jihad).”¹⁴¹

¹³⁴ “A Little Taste of History,” MSA-National Website, <http://web.archive.org/web/20060118061004/http://www.msa-national.org/about/history.html> (accessed June 4, 2008).

¹³⁵ John Mintz and Douglas Farah, “In Search of Friends Among the Foes,” *The Washington Post*, Sept. 11, 2004, A1, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12823-2004Sep10.html> (accessed July 24, 2008).

¹³⁶ “Articles of Incorporation, Islamic Society of North America,” Office of the Secretary of State of Indiana, July 14, 1981.

¹³⁷ Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe, and Laurie Cohen, “A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America,” *The Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 19, 2004, http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/specials/chi-0409190261sep19_0_5695696.story (accessed July 24, 2008).

¹³⁸ “ISNA Executive Council,” *Islamic Horizons*, Jan. 1984, p. 2.

¹³⁹ Department of Justice and Federal Bureau of Investigation Documents Regarding the Investigation into the North American Islamic Trust, FOIA Request: 1111944-00, April 29, 2008.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

Thus, it is troubling that on October 18, 2006, Hughes and Under Secretary Nicolas Burns hosted a State Department Iftaar dinner which included “leaders of broad-based organizations,” including leaders of ISNA, MSA, and MPAC, among others.¹⁴²

Furthermore, in late April 2006 Hughes held a conference call with “Muslim leaders” to discuss an audiotape Bin Laden had recently released. These putative leaders included MPAC officials Salam al-Marayati, Maher Hathout, Ahmed Younis,¹⁴³ and Corey Saylor of CAIR.¹⁴⁴ Saylor stated that Bin Laden “sought to exploit legitimate Muslim grievances.”¹⁴⁵ Hughes did not challenge Saylor’s rationalization of the violent attacks against the U.S. by referring to the motivations of blood thirsty terrorists as “legitimate Muslim grievances.” The only way these Muslim grievances could be considered “legitimate” would be if one equated the failure of the U.S. to become a Muslim country as “legitimate.”

In a token of thanks for her work with the organization, on June 19, 2008, ISNA held a recognition dinner “in honor of Ambassador Karen Hughes’ continuous efforts with the Muslim American community and the Muslim community abroad.”¹⁴⁶ Ingrid Mattson expressed “gratitude to the invaluable efforts Ambassador Hughes has put forth to conduct a means of public diplomacy that serves as a connecting bridge to the Muslim community of America and abroad.”¹⁴⁷ Hughes received an “award of appreciation” at the dinner.¹⁴⁸ The event occurred almost exactly one year after ISNA was named an un-indicted co-conspirator in the terrorist financing trial of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF) and five of its officials.¹⁴⁹

But Hughes’ misguided efforts to engage true moderate Muslims was not limited to her relationship-building efforts with these domestic groups. In fact, in September 2005 Hughes flew to the Middle East and held a meeting in Egypt with Muhammad Sayyed Tantawi, the sheikh of Al-Azhar University. Tantawi had called for jihad against US forces in Iraq in 2003¹⁵⁰ and suicide bombings in Israel in 2002.¹⁵¹

¹⁴² “Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs R. Nicholas Burns and Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Karen Hughes At The Annual State Department Iftaar Dinner,” Office of the Spokesman, U.S. Department of State, Oct. 19, 2006.

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2006/74762.htm> (accessed July 22, 2008)

¹⁴³ Dr. Habib Siddiqui, “Understanding OBL through the lenses of the past,” *American Muslim Perspective*, April 24, 2006, http://www.archives2006.ghazali.net/html/understanding_obl.html (accessed July 28, 2008).

¹⁴⁴ “CAIR Reps Attend Reception for Mukhtaran Mai,” CAIR-Net Listserv Email, April 26, 2006.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ “Karen Hughes Recognition Dinner,” Islamic Society of North America, <http://www.isna.net/articles/Interfaith-News/Karen-Hughes.aspx> (accessed July 28, 2008).

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, 3:04-cr-240, “Attachment A,” (N.D. TX Aug. 2007), http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/423.pdf (accessed July 24, 2008).

¹⁵⁰ “Sheikh Tantawi’s Positions on Jihad Against Coalition Forces, Saddam’s Resignation, and The War in Iraq,” MEMRI, April 8, 2003, <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=ia&ID=IA13003> (accessed July 28, 2008).

Beyond this, the State Department sent Foreign Service recruiter Brian Flora to ISNA's 44th Annual Conference, which was held jointly with Muslim Student Association (MSA), on August 31, 2007 in Rosemont, Illinois.¹⁵² The subject of his speech was, "Working for the Federal Government."¹⁵³

It is disturbing that the State Department seems to be recruiting through Islamist venues such as this one, where speakers routinely criticize the U.S. Government and obfuscate the facts surrounding the conviction of terrorists. For example, at the same conference where recruiter Flora spoke, one speaker said:

And we recognize that everything that has been done in the last 6 years, September 11 onwards, in the name of national security has been focused principally on Palestine and Palestinians. That's why my very good friend, and I am honored to call him my good friend, Professor Sami Al-Arian, is in prison, though not a single charge against him was proven in a court of law.¹⁵⁴

Sami Al-Arian, a University of South Florida Computer Science professor, was indicted in February 2003¹⁵⁵, after a ten year investigation, on charges of establishing and operating the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) network in the United States. In December 2005, after a six month trial, Al-Arian was acquitted of eight charges, while the jury deadlocked on the nine other charges,¹⁵⁶ including conspiracy to provide material support to PIJ. On April 14, 2006, after more than a decade of denying any involvement with PIJ, and five months after the conclusion of his jury trial, Sami Al-Arian pled guilty 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." Conditions of his guilty plea included his submission to ICE for deportation proceedings.¹⁵⁷ As part of the plea agreement, Al-Arian admitted that he "performed services for the PIJ in 1995 and thereafter" and that he was "aware that the PIJ achieved its objectives by, among other means, acts of violence."¹⁵⁸ The agreement states that the services Al-Arian performed "included filing for immigration benefits for individuals associated with the PIJ, hiding the identities of individuals associated with the PIJ, and providing assistance for an individual associated with the PIJ in a United States Court proceeding."¹⁵⁹ He was recently indicted for criminal contempt for refusing to testify in grand jury proceedings

¹⁵¹ Leading Egyptian Government Cleric Calls For: 'Martyrdom Attacks that Strike Horror into the Hearts of the Enemies of Allah', MEMRI, April 7, 2002,

<http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP36302> (accessed July 28, 2008)

¹⁵² "Working for the Federal Government," Session 9K, 44th Annual ISNA Convention (held jointly with MSA), Rosemont, IL, Aug. 31 - Sept. 3, 2007.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Agha Saeed, 44th Annual ISNA Convention (held jointly with MSA), Rosemont, IL, Aug. 31, 2007.

¹⁵⁵ John Mintz, "Professor Indicted as Terrorist Leader," *Washington Post*, Feb. 21, 2003, p. A01, Lexis-Nexis.

¹⁵⁶ *U.S. v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, "Verdict Form," (M.D. FL Dec. 6, 2005).

¹⁵⁷ *U.S. v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, "Plea Agreement," 1563 (M.D. FL April 14, 2006).

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

investigating IIIT (for more on IIIT, see below section, “The Coordinator for Counterterrorism and IIIT”).¹⁶⁰

On December 15, 2005, Bruce Sherman of the State Department’s Broadcasting Board of Governors spoke at MPAC’s Annual Convention in Long Beach, California. Alina Romanowski, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Office of Professional and Cultural Exchanges Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, spoke at the same convention. At that convention, one speaker said that Iran’s problems are all due to the fact that “they are resisting the Zionist occupation of Palestine.”¹⁶¹

B. The Coordinator for Counterterrorism and IIIT

In March 2006, Henry “Hank” Crumpton, Ambassador-at-Large and Coordinator for Counterterrorism at the State Department from August 2005 until February 2007, was the keynote speaker at a conference co-sponsored by the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) in Alexandria, VA. The title of the conference was, “Muslims in America: Challenges, Prospects, and Responsibilities.” It is important and troubling to note that one of the other sponsors for the conference was the Institute for Defense Analyses, a non-profit corporation funded by the Department of Defense.¹⁶²

IIIT is part of a complex corporate web of companies, charities and not-for-profit corporations known as the SAAR Network or the Safa Group, which has been under investigation since 2003. IIIT has been under grand jury investigation in Northern Virginia, which recently resulted in the indictment of Sami Al-Arian – the convicted Palestinian Islamic Jihad operative – for criminal contempt.¹⁶³ David Kane, an ICE agent who has investigated the SAAR Network has concluded that while he did not “know for sure why the labyrinth of organizations and charities that comprise the Safa Group was constructed, there does not appear to be any innocent explanation.”¹⁶⁴ Based on what had been discovered about the histories of the individuals who led the various SAAR entities, the agent said, “the most likely reason is to conceal support for terrorism.”¹⁶⁵ Kane asserted that IIIT was used as a front to fund and support terrorist groups such as Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ). In a letter written by Taha Jabar al-Alwani, founding member¹⁶⁶ and president of IIIT,¹⁶⁷ to Sami Al-Arian on November 19, 1991, al-Alwani

¹⁶⁰ *U.S. v. Al Arian*, 08-CR00131, “Indictment,” (E.D. VA June 26, 2008).

¹⁶¹ Sayed Moustafa Al-Qazwini, Muslim Public Affairs Council Convention, Long Beach, CA, Dec. 15, 2005.

¹⁶² “Muslim Leaders, Scholars Confer with US Government Officials on Relations and Responsibilities,” Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy, Mar. 17, 2006, http://www.csidonline.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=180&Itemid=73 (accessed July 21, 2008).

¹⁶³ Larry O’Dell, “Jailed prof in terror case faces contempt charges,” *Associated Press*, June 26, 2008, http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20080626/ap_on_re_us/attacks_professor (accessed July 22, 2008).

¹⁶⁴ Affidavit of SA David Kane in Support of Application for Search Warrants involving 555 Grove Street in Herndon, Virginia and Related Locations, Para. 88, p. 43, (E.D. VA Oct. 2003).

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ IIIT Form 1023 (Application for recognition of Exemption), June 4, 1982. ; IIIT Articles of Incorporation (PA 1980), filed with Pennsylvania Department of State Corporation Bureau, Nov. 6, 1980. Note: Articles of Incorporation show a “Dr. Taha Jaber” (presumably al-Alwani) as an incorporator.

referred to the payment of monies from IIIT to PIJ.¹⁶⁸ The letter further stated that al-Alwani and his colleagues considered Al-Arian, Ramadan Abdullah Shallah (the current secretary-general of PIJ), and other founders and members of PIJ as “indistinguishable” from the IIIT.¹⁶⁹

In addition to this, recently declassified FBI documents identify leaders of IIIT and the SAAR Foundation “as being members of the Ikhwan Al-Muslimeen (Muslim Brotherhood),”¹⁷⁰ a global Islamist movement that seeks to establish an Islamic Caliphate spanning the entire Muslim world and Islamic (Sharia) law the sole basis of jurisprudence and governance. The documents also note that “all the subsidiary and sponsoring Muslim organizations under the control of the IIIT and the SAAR Foundation are in fact Ikhwan organizations.”¹⁷¹

IIIT’s roots go back to a 1977 Islamic conference in Lugano, Switzerland sponsored by the Association of Muslim Social Scientists, AMSS, where attendees discussed the idea to create IIIT.¹⁷² IIIT soon became a significant contributor to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) through the World and Islam Studies Enterprise (WISE).¹⁷³ WISE was the front organization used by Sami Al-Arian, working from his home and office in Tampa Florida, to covertly support the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.¹⁷⁴

IIIT and WISE also are tied together by patterns of participation at the radical Islamic conferences sponsored by the ICP.¹⁷⁵ Numerous questionable persons are directly associated with IIIT. These include Taha Jaber Al Alwani, a founding member¹⁷⁶ who later assumed the IIIT presidency.¹⁷⁷ Al Alwani and Al-Arian, Ramadan Abdullah Shallah and Sheikh Odeh (the spiritual leader and co-founder of PIJ), and Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman (convicted of terrorist plots in 1995) spoke together at conferences of the Islamic Committee for Palestine (ICP).¹⁷⁸ The ICP was founded by Al-Arian and, according to the government, was a fundraising arm of the PIJ.¹⁷⁹ At an ICP fundraising

¹⁶⁷ The CSID Board, Dr. Taha Jabir al Alwani,” Center for the Study of Islam & Democracy, http://www.islam-democracy.org/alwani_bio.asp (accessed Jan. 24, 2006).

¹⁶⁸ Affidavit of SA David Kane in Support of Application for Search Warrants involving 555 Grove Street in Herndon, Virginia and Related Locations, Para. 61, p. 33, (E.D. VA Oct. 2003).

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. ; *U.S. v. Sami Al-Arian*, 03-CR-77, exhibit 325 (M.D. FL 2003).

¹⁷⁰ Federal Bureau of Investigation, FOIA Documents, Case ID: 1111944-000, April 29, 2008.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Lee Steinberg, *The Islamization of Science: Four Muslim Positions Developing an Islamic Modernity*, Cornet Books: New York, 1996, p. 5, <http://www.cis-ca.org/reviews/4-pos.htm> (accessed July 2, 2008).

¹⁷³ Affidavit of SA David Kane in Support of Application for Search Warrants involving 555 Grove Street in Herndon, Virginia and Related Locations, Para. 81, p. 41, (E.D. VA Oct. 2003).

¹⁷⁴ Ibid Paragraph 24, p. 24.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid paragraph 68, p. 38.

¹⁷⁶ “Interview with Sheikh Taha,” *Muslim Democrat*, 4, No. 1, Jan. 2002, p. 4, http://www.islam-democracy.org/documents/pdf/md_january2002.pdf (accessed July 2, 2008).

¹⁷⁷ “The CSID Board, Dr. Taha Jabir al Alwani,” The Center for the Study of Islam & Democracy, http://www.islam-democracy.org/alawani_bio.asp (accessed July 2, 2008).

¹⁷⁸ Affidavit of SA David Kane in Support of Application for Search Warrants involving 555 Grove Street in Herndon, Virginia and Related Locations, Para. 68, p. 38, (E.D. VA Oct. 2003).

¹⁷⁹ *U.S. v. Al-Arian, et al.*, 03-CR-77, “Superseding Indictment,” (M.D. FL Sept. 21, 2004). ; and *U.S. v. Fawaz Damra*, United States Court of Appeals, No. 04-4216, Mar. 15, 2005.

event, the Committee's top fundraiser called ICP "the active arm of the Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine" and said they only called the committee ICP for "security reasons."¹⁸⁰

Al Alwani expressed views in synch with those of PIJ when he signed a fatwa regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. "Jihad is the only way to liberate Palestine; that no person may settle the Jews on the land of Palestine or cede to them any part thereof, or recognize any right therein for them."¹⁸¹ IIIT and WISE also exchanged or mutually hired personnel as well. Bashir Nafi, who worked at IIIT was arrested and deported in 1996 for violating his visa stipulation that WISE would be his employer.¹⁸² Nafi has been identified as a leading member of PIJ.¹⁸³

Tarik Hamdi was an employee of WISE who later became an employee of IIIT.¹⁸⁴ Hamdi took delivery at his residence of a battery in 1998 that was ordered by Al Qaeda logistics specialist Ziyad Khaleel. Later Hamdi personally delivered the battery to Bin Laden in Afghanistan, and prosecutors stated that the battery operated "the phone that bin Laden and others will use to carry out their war against the United States."¹⁸⁵

The irony of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism of the State Department attending a conferences co-sponsored by an organization with many alleged ties to terrorism that has been under active federal investigation is stunning. The State Department must reevaluate its vetting policies.

C. South Asian Journalists brought to CAIR

From September 26 to October 8, 2005, the State Department hosted journalists from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka – taking them on a tour of Chicago, New York City, and Washington, DC. Everywhere the journalists went, the State Department arranged meetings with "academics, researchers, intellectuals and representatives of a cross section of faiths."¹⁸⁶ The tour was intended to "examine the nature of religious diversity in America and the Separation of Church and State principle."¹⁸⁷ Like many of the programs discussed in this testimony, the idea behind it is laudable, but its execution was fatally flawed. One of the organizations that was asked by the State Department to

¹⁸⁰ *U.S. v. Fawaz Damra*, United States Court of Appeals, No. 04-4216, Mar. 15, 2005.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* Paragraph 69, p. 38.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* Paragraph 26, p. 25.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* Paragraph 25, p. 24.

¹⁸⁴ Note: The "Muslim Community Directory of Metropolitan Washington" for 2000 shows Tarik Hamdi as publisher of IIIT publication *Islamiyat Al-Ma'rifah* (which in the past was supposedly linked to IIIT's website). See: Matthew A. Levitt, Senate Subcommittee on International Trade and Finance. *The Role of Charities and NGOs in the Financing of Terrorist Activities*, 107th Cong., 2nd sess., Aug. 1, 2002, http://banking.senate.gov/02_08hr/080102/levitt.htm (accessed July 2, 2008).

¹⁸⁵ *U.S. v. Bin-Laden*, 98 Cr. 1023, "Trial Transcripts," 5287 (S.D. NY May 21, 2001). ; Judith Miller, "A Nation Challenged: The Money Trail," *New York Times*, Mar. 21, 2002, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C03EFDC1138F932A15750C0A9649C8B63> (accessed July 2, 2008).

¹⁸⁶ "Religious Freedom and Pluralism - South Asian Journalists," U.S. State Department, Sept. - Oct. 2007, <http://fpc.state.gov/fpc/58076.htm> (accessed July 21, 2008).

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

host the journalists was the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) in New York City.¹⁸⁸ [See Section III. Islamist Speakers Sponsored by the State Department above for a lengthy description of CAIR.]

Using CAIR to convey the values of religious diversity and the separation of church and state would be laughable if it was not so counterproductive. An event at the National Press Club in Washington, DC on February 16, 2006 is instructive regarding CAIR's thoughts on the separation of church and state. At the event, then-CAIR Chairman Parvez Ahmed, in the midst of the Danish Cartoons controversy, called for the U.S. government and those around the world to adopt "blasphemy laws." Ahmed said:

I think the next steps would be to broaden the scope of anti-hate laws and even contemplate about passing blasphemy laws, because blasphemy with such sacred icons, like the Prophet Mohammad, like the Quran, or the cross, or other religious symbols...So governments, legislatures, international bodies...must contemplate about what are the ways in which an anti-blasphemy law can be passed that can protect the right to exercise freedom of religion.¹⁸⁹

Are these the values we want foreign journalists taking back to their countries?

VIII. The International Visitor Leadership Program and the Role of Meridian International

Any program that hosts a future president of France and might have engendered a positive impression of the United States is worth maintaining. Such a program exists: the International Visitors Leadership Program (IVLP). It brought Nicolas Sarkozy to the U.S., well before he became President of France.¹⁹⁰ The only problem is that the program has drawn in another element, such as a radical Dutch Islamist who said matter-of-factly that "we Muslims are in the process of taking over Europe from the inside."¹⁹¹

The 50-year-old IVLP has engendered a great deal of good will for America around the world. President Sarkozy is one of 46 "Chiefs of State and Current Heads of Government that are International Visitor Leadership Program Alumni."¹⁹² The estimated federal commitment to the IVLP is \$78 million,¹⁹³ much of which is granted to third-party

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Parvez Ahmed, "Religious and Political Perspectives on the Cartoon Controversy," National Press Club, Feb. 16, 2006.

¹⁹⁰ Note: Sarkozy participated in the program in 1985. See: "Program Alumni," Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State, <http://exchanges.state.gov/education/ivp/alumni.htm> (accessed July 18, 2008).

¹⁹¹ Note: The Dutch individual described took part in the program in 2003. See: Program Report of Daniel Paseiro, "International Visitor Program Report: 'Diversity and Identity in the U.S.': A Single Country Project for the Netherlands," Oct. 8, 2003.

¹⁹² "Program Alumni," Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State, <http://exchanges.state.gov/education/ivp/alumni.htm> (accessed July 18, 2008).

¹⁹³ Carmen Morero, Chief: Community Relations Branch of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. State Department, Telephone Interview, July 17, 2008.

“Program Agencies” in the form of State Department issued contracts.¹⁹⁴ While the State Department does indeed have some say in the day-to-day operations of individual groups, “private programming agencies...are responsible for most of the details.”¹⁹⁵ Simply put, while the State Department foots the bill and handles the nomination and selection of participants,¹⁹⁶ program agencies have relative autonomy in planning program stops and events.¹⁹⁷ One such agency, which has shown particularly questionable discretion with the use of federal funds, is the Meridian International Center.¹⁹⁸

Understandably, after 9/11, the focus of the program has changed in order to match the times – concentrating a great deal of effort into bringing Muslims from abroad to the U.S. to interact with the Islamic community and others in the U.S. Even though in some cases the program has scored some successes in achieving these goals, other occasions have been counterproductive. The State Department does not always seem to be making informed decisions about who it invites to the U.S. and, by way of its contracted program agencies, who it chooses to represent America. This fact has been made readily apparent from the willingness of program officials to partner with Muslim Brotherhood affiliated organization in the U.S. and to invite individuals who unapologetically adhere to a virulent anti-American and/or anti-Semitic viewpoint.

CAIR (for more on CAIR, see section VI, part C) has been involved in the International Visitors Leadership Program. On at least six separate occasions since 2002, the State Department, through its contracted program officials, has chosen to coordinate with CAIR – bringing foreign guests of State for a meet and greet with one of the foremost Islamist organizations in the U.S. It is notable that of the six programs, at least four were arranged and coordinated by the Meridian International Center.¹⁹⁹

The various meetings with CAIR by the Department of State’s sponsored guests have been both at CAIR’s national office in Washington, D.C. and at various regional offices. The aforementioned meetings are by no means exhaustive, but rather a sampling of coordination between CAIR and the State Department as part of the IVLP. Meetings took place with IVLP delegations on the following days:

¹⁹⁴ Becca Durbin, “Tips on Providing International Visitor Leadership Programs for People with Disabilities,” Mobility International USA, <http://www.miusa.org/ncde/stories/dubin> (accessed July 17, 2008).

¹⁹⁵ “The International Visitors Leadership Program,” The World Affairs Council of St. Louis, http://www.wac-stl.org/l_ivs.php (accessed July 21, 2008).

¹⁹⁶ “Program Overview,” Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State, <http://exchanges.state.gov/education/ivp/overview.htm> (accessed July 21, 2008).

¹⁹⁷ Note: Program Agencies arrange professional appointments for the visitors in New York City and Washington, DC. They also work with approximately 100 volunteer-based groups around the country that are part of the National Council for International Visitors (NCIV); these councils organize programs in their local communities.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Note: The programs arranged by Meridian International Center were for delegations from Uzbekistan, the Near East and North Africa, Denmark, and Kyrgyzstan. The meetings with CAIR were on Sept. 27, 2002, June 27, 2006, Sept. 6, 2006, and Jan. 31, 2007, respectively.

September 27, 2002: In a program arranged by Meridian International Center, a delegation of Uzbek dignitaries met with CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad at CAIR's Washington office.²⁰⁰ An ex-official of IAP, Awad, along with fellow IAP officials Omar Ahmad and Ibrahim Hooper, founded CAIR in 1994.²⁰¹ Besides his direct connection by way of IAP, Awad also attended a secret three-day summit in Philadelphia attended by people the FBI considered Hamas members or supporters,²⁰² and is on record publicly declaring his "support of the Hamas movement," during a March 1994 symposium at Barry University.²⁰³ It does not appear that this is Awad's one and only experience working with IVLP, as he claims on his personal blog to be a "regular participant."²⁰⁴

April 20, 2006: As stated in a CAIR-Ohio Press Release, staff of the "Cincinnati office of CAIR-Ohio hosted a group of 11 visitors in the United States as part of the State Department International Visitor Leadership Program. The Muslim and Christian visitors are all community leaders from Arab countries..."²⁰⁵ It is not noted which program agency organized this visit.

June 27, 2006: In a program arranged by Meridian International Center, a delegation of nine Danes met with CAIR-Chicago representatives at the affiliate's Chicago office.²⁰⁶ Among the group was CAIR-Chicago's Executive Director, Ahmed Rehab. The Chicago area, home to the Bridgeview Mosque and the Islamic Association for Palestine (the Hamas-linked CAIR precursor organization), has a substantial Hamas presence, and Rehab and CAIR-Chicago are often among the loudest voices in defense and support of local Hamas operatives and other Islamists. CAIR-Chicago routinely implores its followers to appear in court for hearings and trials of Hamas-linked individuals. In one such case, that of Mohammed Salah, the defendant was sentenced to 21 months in prison and fined \$25,000²⁰⁷ for lying under oath in a civil trial in which Salah and his co-defendants (including the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) and other Hamas-fronts) were found liable for \$156 million in a case brought by the parents of an American teenager slain by Hamas operatives in the West Bank.²⁰⁸ Rehab and CAIR-Chicago were quick to

²⁰⁰ "Islam in America: A Freedom Support Grant Project for Uzbekistan," Program Overview, International Visitor Program, Meridian International, Sept. 21 - Oct. 12, 2002.

²⁰¹ "Articles of Incorporation, Council on American-Islamic Relations," Sept. 15, 1994.

²⁰² *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, 3:04-cr-240, "Testimony of Lara Burns," (N.D. TX Aug. 2, 2007).

²⁰³ "Conference on the Middle East – The Road to Peace: The Challenge of the Middle East," Barry University, Miami Shores, FL, Mar. 22, 1994.

²⁰⁴ "Biography of Nihad Awad," Nihad Awad Personal Blog, Oct. 16, 2006, <http://nihadawad.blogspot.com/> (accessed July 21, 2008).

²⁰⁵ "CAIR-OH Hosts State Department Visitors," CAIR-Ohio Press Release, April 21, 2006, <http://www.cair.com/default.asp?Page=articleView&id=2113&theType=NR> (accessed July 21, 2008).

²⁰⁶ "CAIR-Chicago Meets with Delegation from Denmark," CAIR-Chicago Press Release, June 27, 2006, http://chicago.cair.com/ournews.php?file=on_denmark06272006 (accessed July 21, 2008).

²⁰⁷ "21 Months For Man Once Accused Of Funding Hamas; Muhammad Salah Was Convicted Of Lying In Civil Suit," CBS News, July 11, 2007, <http://cbs2chicago.com/topstories/Muhammad.Salah.medical.2.338259.html> (accessed July 21, 2008).

²⁰⁸ "Jury awards \$156M to family of teen in slain in West Bank," Associated Press, Dec. 9, 2004, http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2004-12-09-slaying-suit_x.htm (accessed July 21, 2008).

come to the defense of Salah – calling the case against Salah nothing more than “political persecution” – and encouraged followers to “attend [the trial] to show...support.”²⁰⁹ Rehab lists Muslim Brotherhood founder and ideologue Hassan al-Banna as a “Contemporary Muslim Intellectuals who influence(s)” him.²¹⁰

September 6, 2006: In its fourth meeting with a delegation of the IVLP during 2006, CAIR-Chicago representatives met with a group of mosque and youth leaders from Kyrgyzstan.²¹¹ The program event took place at CAIR’s Chicago office and was arranged by Meridian International Center.²¹²

January 31, 2007: The CAIR National office in Washington hosted a group of “13 delegates from 10 countries in the Near East and Northern Africa” to “discuss human rights, advocacy and awareness.” The event was arranged by the Meridian International Center, and it is unclear which CAIR leaders were in attendance.²¹³

June 29, 2007: A second Kyrgyz delegation met with yet another CAIR chapter in June of 2007 – this time at CAIR’s New York office.²¹⁴

During September 2003, a group of seven Muslims from the Netherlands were chosen by the U.S. Embassy in The Hague to tour America from coast to coast. The majority of group members stayed for the full three week duration, while two others departed at the conclusion of two weeks.²¹⁵ The goal of the trip, according to officials at the Embassy, was to expose the delegation to “Diversity in America” through a number of cultural, social and educational events.²¹⁶ The program was arranged by none other than the Meridian International Center.²¹⁷

It is clear that some members of the delegation had no interest at all in experiencing the United States or learning about American society. Some members of the Dutch delegation overtly displayed the utmost contempt for America and its institutions from the very beginning of their tour. Arriving in the U.S. with the idea that they were visiting the enemy, they showed no attempt to conceal their anti-American sentiment with anyone they encountered on the trip, making statements like “the world’s most corrupt country is

²⁰⁹ “Please Attend as Final Witnesses Testify in The Muhammad Salah Trial,” CAIR-Chicago, Jan. 2, 2007, http://www.cairchicago.org/oldsite/actionalerts.php?file=aa_salah_trial01022007 (accessed July 28, 2008).

²¹⁰ “Links” Ahmed Rehab Personal Website, formerly at <http://arehab.tripod.com/ahmed/>, 1998-99, copy available at: <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/154.pdf> (accessed July 24, 2008).

²¹¹ “CAIR-Chicago Meets with Delegation from Kyrgyzstan,” CAIR-Chicago Press Release, Sept. 6, 2006, http://chicago.cair.com/ournews.php?file=on_kyrgystan09062006 (accessed July 18, 2008).

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ “CAIR Hosts State Department International Visitors,” CAIR Press Release, Feb. 1, 2007, <http://www.cair.com/ArticleDetails.aspx?mid1=777&&ArticleID=16647&&name=n&&currPage=42> (accessed July 21, 2008).

²¹⁴ “CAIR-NY Hosts Kyrgyz Delegation,” CAIR Press Release, June 29, 2007.

²¹⁵ Program Report of Daniel Paseiro, “International Visitor Program Report: ‘Diversity and Identity in the U.S.’: A Single Country Project for the Netherlands,” Oct. 8, 2003.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

the U.S.” and “American history is one of the nastiest of all times.”²¹⁸ Such statements were not contained to informal discussions or internal group dialogues. In one meeting with a congressional staffer (and in the Member’s own office), one of the delegates “uttered the word ‘bullshit’” after hearing the response to a question.²¹⁹ This continuous disrespect led their State Department-assigned escort, Daniel Paseiro, to complain to his superiors about the group’s behavior.²²⁰

Mr. Paseiro, who had escorted groups from the IVLP for more than 21 years, was shocked to hear additional negative comments from some group members about Holland and Jews. In one noted example, when Mr. Paseiro explained to some in the group that there are only about 15 million Jews in the world, one of them, Famile Arslan, replied, “Even that number is still too many.” The repeated attacks and utter lack of respect began to add up for Mr. Paseiro, leading him to note in his program report:

I am neither a sycophant nor a zombie with ice in my veins, individuals with those skills probably charge a lot more than \$180 a day, and when the gratuitously savage attacks on both my country and myself became too much, I responded as well as I could under the circumstances.²²¹

Unfortunately, even with his long record of service to the IVLP, State’s response to Mr. Paseiro’s complaint about the group was shockingly off the mark and accusatory, calling upon the group’s guide to be “more diplomatic” with the guests.²²²

There is no doubting the merits of the International Visitor Leadership Program on paper; it is a longstanding U.S. program that has allowed for bridge-building with many current and future leaders around the world. It is in the strategic interest of this country to maintain this program. However, how the program is administered in a real-world setting is a completely different story. A key to the future success of the IVLP rests in increased oversight by the State Department. The lack of discretion used by contracted partners, such as Meridian International Center, has shown time and again that when it comes to taxpayer dollars and U.S. interests, the buck cannot be passed along. The Department of State must ensure that the true intentions of the program’s founders are served by today’s IVLP and that the appropriate guests and hosts are chosen.

IX. Citizen Exchange Program

The Citizen Exchange Program (CEP) is run by the U.S. State Department’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA).²²³ Part of its focus is on giving “grants to U.S.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ “Citizen Exchanges.” Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2008, <http://exchanges.state.gov/education/citizens/index.htm> (accessed July 22, 2008).

nonprofit organizations to carry out exchange programs that support the professional development of foreign participants,” which “engage with foreign leaders in critical professions, to demonstrate respect for foreign cultures, and to promote mutual understanding between the people of the United States and other countries.”²²⁴

In 2008, a grant from the CEP was given to the National Peace Foundation (NPF) based in Washington D.C.²²⁵ under the subject title of “Understanding Muslim Life in the United States.” The goal of this project was to “improve the understanding of Muslim life in the United States for 24 Muslim scholars and clerics from Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen, who come to the U.S. in two groups for two weeks each.”²²⁶ Some themes to be addressed are interfaith dialogue²²⁷ and addressing stereotypes.²²⁸ What was not mentioned is the fact that the NPF has conducted this project with the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), and has been doing so under the Citizen Exchange Program since 2006.²²⁹ It is scheduled to run through 2009.²³⁰

ISNA, a Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated organization, was an unindicted coconspirator in last year’s terrorist financing trial against the Holy Land Foundation (For more on ISNA, refer to “Islamist Outreach in Belgium.”).

It is troubling that ISNA was publicly announced as a sponsor in 2006²³¹ but not attributed in 2008,²³² except on ISNA’s own website.²³³ Moreover, while the program ostensibly is “to promote mutual understanding” between the U.S. and participating countries, program participants have met with Islamic extremists in the U.S. and abroad, while having open access to U.S. government officials.

The NPF and ISNA through the CEP hosted the first American study tour as part of the Citizen Exchange program, entitled, “Islam in America: New Dimensions in Activism,

²²⁴ “Citizen Exchanges: Professionals.” Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2008, <http://exchanges.state.gov/education/citizens/professional.htm> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²²⁵ “Contact Us!,” *National Peace Foundation*, 2008, <http://www.nationalpeace.org/ht/d/sp/i/2953/pid/2953> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²²⁶ “Grants By Theme: Faith and Community: 7 Projects,” Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2008, http://exchanges.state.gov/education/citizens/professionals/themes/faith_community.htm (accessed July 22, 2008).

²²⁷ “Citizen Exchange Project,” The Islamic Society of North America, 2008, <http://www.isna.net/Interfaith/pages/Citizen-Exchange.aspx> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ “Faith and Community 2006 Grants,” Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2008, http://exchanges.state.gov/education/citizens/professionals/themes/2006_faith.pdf (accessed July 22, 2008).

²³⁰ “Citizen Exchange Project,” The Islamic Society of North America, 2008, <http://www.isna.net/Interfaith/pages/Citizen-Exchange.aspx> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²³¹ “Faith and Community 2006 Grants.” Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2008, http://exchanges.state.gov/education/citizens/professionals/themes/2006_faith.pdf (accessed July 22, 2008).

²³² “Contact Us!,” *National Peace Foundation*, 2008, <http://www.nationalpeace.org/ht/d/sp/i/2953/pid/2953> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²³³ “Citizen Exchange Project,” Islamic Society of North America, 2008, <http://www.isna.net/Interfaith/pages/Citizen-Exchange.aspx> (accessed July 22, 2008).

Pluralism, and Thought.”²³⁴ The group traveled in and around Washington D.C., Chicago, Indianapolis, and Louisville, Kentucky during July of 2007 meeting with Muslim representatives and government officials. In Indiana they met with Lt. Governor Becky Skillman, and Alina Romanowski, State Department Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Professional and Cultural Exchanges. They also met State Department representatives from the ECA, County and Regional policy offices, and the Press and Diplomacy offices.²³⁵ The tour concluded in Washington D.C. with a dinner hosted by the ISNA Office for Interfaith and Community Alliances (IOICA) with U.S. Representative Keith Ellison (D-MN) as the keynote, with a member of the ECA in attendance.²³⁶

In Chicago, on June 17th, 2007, the delegation was hosted by the Mosque Foundation of Bridgeview, Illinois. Among the Foundations representatives were Dr. Muhammad Zaher Sahloul, Sheikh Jamal Said, and Sheikh Kifah Mustapha discussed below.²³⁷

The Mosque Foundation (MF) has reportedly been a known center of Hamas and other radical activity. Although the MF was founded by Palestinian immigrants, it came under the control of the Saudi backed North American Islamic Trust (NAIT), a subsidiary of ISNA and immediately adhered to a more extreme Islamic ideology.²³⁸ In a seminal article in 2004, the *Chicago Tribune* stated that MF leaders have “condemned Western culture, praised Palestinian suicide bombers and encouraged members to view society in stark terms.”²³⁹ Many of them have ties to the Muslim Brotherhood,²⁴⁰ and have questioned whether Osama Bin Laden was behind the 9/11 terrorist attacks, as MF President and former ISNA official²⁴¹ Ossama Jammal did in November 2001.²⁴²

The MF was visited in the mid-1980s by Sheikh Abdullah Azzam, Osama Bin Laden’s mentor, as part of an effort to recruit support for the *mujahideen* against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Reportedly, at least three mosque members enlisted in this effort.²⁴³ One Bridgeview Mosque worshipper, Nabil Al-Marabh, had contacts with two of the 9/11

²³⁴ Hassaan Sohail, “Citizen Exchange.” *Islamic Horizons*. Sept. – Oct. 2007, p. 12.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ “International Citizen Exchange Program Visits the Mosque,” *Mosque Foundation*, Sept. 5, 2007, <http://www.mosquefoundation.org/Articles/tabid/103/ArticleType/ArticleView/ArticleID/23/PageID/13/Default.aspx> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²³⁸ Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah and others, “Hard-liners won battle for Bridgeview mosque,” *The Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 8, 2004, www.chicagotribune.com/news/specials/chi-0402080265feb08,1,7392742.story (accessed July 22, 2008).

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Program for ISNA Convention Aug. 30 – Sept. 2, 2002.

²⁴² Roxane Assaf, “Portrait of a City: Chicago-Area Muslims and Arab Americans Face Backlash, Expressions of Solidarity,” *Washington Report of Middle East Affairs*, Nov. 2001, <http://www.wrmea.com/archives/november01/0111050.html> (accessed July 24, 2008).

²⁴³ Joel Mowbray, “Reign of the Radicals: One man fights to take back his mosque from Islamists,” *The Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 27, 2006, <http://www.opinionjournal.com/taste/?id=110007880> (accessed July 24, 2008).

hijackers: ringleader Mohammed Atta and Marwan Al-Shehhi. Police referred to al-Marabh as a senior Al-Qaeda operative in Toronto, Canada.²⁴⁴

The current Imam of the MF is Sheikh Jamal Said, a Palestinian from the West Bank who claims that as a child the Muslim Brotherhood inspired him.²⁴⁵ Said, whose salary is partly paid by Saudi Arabia,²⁴⁶ brought a conservative school of Islamic thought to the mosque, preaching that America was a land of disbelievers and that Muslims should not celebrate Valentine's Day and Thanksgiving because those were not Islamic holidays.²⁴⁷

During the 1990s Said also served as the Treasurer for the Al-Aqsa Educational fund run by Abdelhalim al-Ashqar to support Hamas.²⁴⁸ One of Said's mosque leaders Muhammad Salah, was arrested in Israel in 1993 for distributing money to Hamas. In a statement to Israeli authorities that was later recanted, Salah said that Said had recruited him into the Muslim Brotherhood and subsequently Hamas.²⁴⁹

An effective fundraiser, Said has transformed the Bridgeview Mosque into a multimillion-dollar operation.²⁵⁰ At one event, Said raised \$50,000 for Sami Al-Arian, the former Professor at the University of South Florida and North American leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.²⁵¹ Most of the money was funneled to Muslim charities, some of which has been subsequently sent to terrorist related entities overseas.

The MF has donated money to the Global Relief Foundation (GRF),²⁵² shut down on October 18, 2002 due to its funding of terrorism,²⁵³ the Benevolence International Foundation (BIF),²⁵⁴ shut down by Executive Order 13224 as a financier of terrorism,²⁵⁵

²⁴⁴ Tom Godfrey, "Al-Marabh 'The Real Thing' Suspect A Senior Al-Qaida Planner: Police," *The Toronto Sun*, Jan. 13, 2002, Lexis-Nexis.

²⁴⁵ Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah and others, "Hard-liners won battle for Bridgeview mosque," *The Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 8, 2004, www.chicagotribune.com/news/specials/chi-0402080265feb08,1,7392742.story (accessed July 22, 2008).

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ David Heinzmann and Laurie Cohen, "Muslims view indictments as pieces in political game; The charging of 3 Islamic men in connection with terrorism financing draws an angry response in Bridgeview," *The Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 21, 2004, Lexis-Nexis.

²⁴⁹ Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah and others, "Hard-liners won battle for Bridgeview mosque," *The Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 8, 2004, www.chicagotribune.com/news/specials/chi-0402080265feb08,1,7392742.story (accessed July 22, 2008).

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Global Relief Foundation, Inc. IRS Form 990, List of Donors, 1999, 2000.

²⁵³ U.S. Treasury Office of Public Affairs. "Treasury Department Statement Regarding the Designation of the Global Relief Foundation." Oct. 18, 2002, <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/po3553.htm> (accessed July 24, 2008).

²⁵⁴ Benevolence International Foundation IRS Form 990 List of Donors, 2000.

²⁵⁵ U.S. Treasury Office of Public Affairs. "Treasury Designates Benevolence International Foundation and Related Entities as Financiers of Terrorism," Nov. 19, 2002, <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/po3632.htm> (accessed July 24, 2008).

and the Holy Land Foundation (HLF).²⁵⁶ Between 1991 and 2001, the mosque gave almost \$400,000 to GRF, BIF, and the Holy Land Foundation.²⁵⁷ Donations were also given to the Islamic American Relief Agency (IARA),²⁵⁸ later designated a terrorist organization by the Treasury Department.²⁵⁹ The organization is currently under indictment²⁶⁰ and awaiting trial scheduled for November, 2008.²⁶¹

Despite the closure of these charities, the MF hired Sheikh Kifah Mustapha, who had run the Chicago-area HLF office and was an Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP) board member, as its new Imam.²⁶² IAP, which is now defunct, was a central player in Hamas' U.S. support network while CAIR's future founders controlled IAP. A 2001 INS memo extensively documented IAP's support for Hamas and noted that the "facts strongly suggest" that IAP is "part of Hamas' propaganda apparatus."²⁶³

Dr. Mohammed Zaher Sahloul has served as the Vice-President for the MF, Vice Chair of the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago (CIOGC) and as a board member of CAIR-Chicago in 2005.²⁶⁴ The CIOGC, which now includes almost 50 formal Muslim organizations, institutions, mosques, schools, and associations, has co-sponsored rallies with the IAP,²⁶⁵ and has played a central role in the planning or organizing of ISNA conventions.²⁶⁶

In November 2007, the Exchange Program took representatives from the United States overseas to the Middle East beginning in Egypt. Leading the delegation was Mohamed Magid, Vice President of ISNA²⁶⁷ and imam of the All Dulles Area Muslim Society

²⁵⁶ Joel Mowbray, "Reign of the Radicals: One man fights to take back his mosque from Islamists," *The Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 27, 2006, <http://www.opinionjournal.com/taste/?id=110007880> (accessed July 24, 2008).

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Deborah Horan and Laurie Cohen, "Bank closes mosque account; Donations to charity in terror case cited," *The Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 11, 2005, Lexis-Nexis.

²⁵⁹ "Treasury Designates Global Network, Senior Officials of IARA for Supporting bin Laden, Others," U.S. Treasury Department. Oct. 13, 2004, <http://www.treasury.gov/press/releases/js2025.htm> (accessed Nov. 8, 2007).

²⁶⁰ *U.S. v. IARA*, 07-cr-87, "Superseding Indictment" (W.D. MO Jan. 16, 2008).

²⁶¹ Mark Morris, "Ex-lawmaker pleads not guilty in money-laundering case," *The Kansas City Star*. Jan. 29, 2008, Lexis-Nexis.

²⁶² Joel Mowbray, "Reign of the Radicals: One man fights to take back his mosque from Islamists," *The Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 27, 2006, <http://www.opinionjournal.com/taste/?id=110007880> (accessed July 24, 2008).

²⁶³ "In the matter of Hasan Faisal Yousef Sabri, Notice of Revocation of petition for Amerasian, Widow, or Special Immigrant," Attachment (Form I-360).

²⁶⁴ "Dr. Zaher Sahloul Profile," Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago Website, 2007, <http://www.ciogc.org/shuraDetailPI.html?profileId=22> (July 24, 2008).

²⁶⁵ Note: One such rally was held on October 20, 2000, entitled "Rally in Support of Palestinians." See: "Grand rally for Palestine in Chicago this Friday," Electronic Announcement, MSANEWS, Islamic Association for Palestine. October 17, 2000.

²⁶⁶ "About the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago," Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago, Jan. 27, 2003 <http://web.archive.org/web/20030127063107/http://www.ciogc.org/> (accessed July 24, 2008).

²⁶⁷ "People to People," *Islamic Horizons*. Mar. - April 2008, p. 9.

(ADAMS) Center, a Northern Virginia-based mosque. In 2005, the Freedom House Center for Religious Freedom issued a report on Saudi literature found in American mosques, including the Magid's ADAMS Center.²⁶⁸ The report found that the ADAMS Center was one of many mosques with literature that espouses extremism and spreads a destructive ideology. In 2004 Magid spoke at an event hosted by Georgetown University where he was asked a question regarding what the motivation behind the Sudan conflict. Magid replied that a lot of the concern regarding Sudan is an exaggeration and a result of the United Nations adding zeros on the number of deaths:

“There is no United Nations resolution by the war of the North and the South. Darfur issue: the United Nations representative in Khartoum said there is not 50,000 died, although I said life matters, if one person is too many for me, they said about 5,000 people died. I think somebody just made a mistake and put a zero there, no problem. But what happened in this issue here, that things escalated and people called it genocide. There is a fight, many people have been displaced, people lost their homes and they need help but at the same time I want to say there is some kind of exaggeration of the some of the problems.”²⁶⁹

Magid is listed as an adviser to the Sterling Charitable Gift Fund,²⁷⁰ which was raided as part of the SAAR network (see “The Coordinator for Counterterrorism and IIIT” for more information on the SARR network).²⁷¹ According to a government affidavit, the Sterling Charitable Gift Fund was used as a conduit for money laundering and support for terrorist organizations.²⁷²

In Egypt the delegation met with Dr. Taha Jabar al-Alwani, Director of IIIT (see “The Coordinator for Counterterrorism and IIIT” for more information on IIIT).²⁷³ Al-Alwani had served as a trustee of Safa Trust²⁷⁴ and was President of at least five SAAR network organizations.²⁷⁵ He also founded and is active with the Council of the Muslim World League (MWL), an organization established in 1962 by the Saudi royal family to promote

²⁶⁸ “Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,” Freedom House Center for Religious Freedom, 2005, www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special_report/45.pdf (accessed July 24, 2008).

²⁶⁹ Video, Mohamed Magid, “War and Violence: Islam’s Perspective,” Georgetown University, Oct. 6, 2004. [Obtained from MeccaCentric]

²⁷⁰ “Program Circular of the Charitable Gift Fund,” Sterling Management Group, Inc., http://web.archive.org/web/20041208001456/http://sterlingmgmt.com/Program%20Circular_Chariatable%20Gift%20Fund.doc (accessed July 24, 2008).

²⁷¹ *In the Matter of Searches Involving 555 Grove Street, Herndon, Virginia, and Related Locations*, No. 02-114-MG, “Redacted Affidavit in Support of Application for Search Warrant,” (E.D. VA Oct. 2003).

²⁷² *Ibid*, para. 115-116.

²⁷³ Jay T. Rock, “Reflections on a Short Tour in Egypt,” *Interfaith Relations*, Presbyterian Church (USA), Nov. 5-15, 2007, <http://www.pcusa.org/interfaith/egyptreport.htm> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²⁷⁴ Safa Trust, Inc., Articles of Incorporation (Washington, D.C. 1986) (filed with D.C. Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs).

²⁷⁵ Affidavit of SA David Kane in Support of Application for Search Warrants involving 555 Grove Street in Herndon, Virginia and Related Locations, Attachment D, “Officers and Directors and Their Related Businesses and Organizations,” (E.D. VA Oct. 2003).

Islamic unity and the propagation of Wahhabism.²⁷⁶ As a founder of the IIIT,²⁷⁷ Al-Alwani established a branch in the United States,²⁷⁸ which had connections to radical Islamic organizations. As stated previously, IIIT actively participated in conferences sponsored by the ICP²⁷⁹ and was under grand jury investigation for criminal contempt.²⁸⁰ Al-Alwani was named as an unindicted co-conspirator in the case against Sami Al-Arian who pled guilty to conspiracy to aid the terrorist organization, Palestinian Islamic Jihad.²⁸¹

The delegation also met with Abul-Ela Maadi, the head and co-founder of the Egyptian Al-Wasat (New Central) Party.²⁸² Founded in 1996, the al-Wasat Party is a Muslim Brotherhood splinter group that supports the implementation of Sharia law in Egypt.²⁸³

In 2008 another CEP trip sponsored by ISNA and NPF traveled to Egypt. Some of the programs involved meetings with the web based organization IslamOnline (founded by Muslim Brotherhood spiritual leader Yusuf al-Qaradawi) and Sheikh Ali Gomaa, the Grand Mufti of Egypt,²⁸⁴ where they received lectures on Sharia and Islamic law.²⁸⁵ In July 2003 in an interview with the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Haqq*, Sheikh Gomaa (Gum'a) expressed his support for suicide attacks and the killing of foreigners:

Question: "And what is the ruling regarding the martyrdom [i.e. suicide] operations? ... "

Sheikh Gum'a: "The one who carries out Fedaii [martyrdom] operations against the Zionists and blows himself up is, without a doubt, a Shahid because he is defending his homeland against the occupying enemy who is supported by superpowers such as the U.S. and Britain."²⁸⁶

²⁷⁶ "Bio of Taha Jabir al Alwani," Center for Islam and Democracy, 2003, http://www.islam-democracy.org/alalwani_bio.asp (accessed July 22, 2008).

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ "Interview with Sheikh Taha," *Muslim Democrat* 4, no. 1 (Jan. 2002), http://www.Islamdemocracy.org/documents/pdf/md_january2002.pdf (accessed Jan. 24, 2006).

²⁷⁹ Affidavit of SA David Kane in Support of Application for Search Warrants involving 555 Grove Street in Herndon, Virginia and Related Locations, Para. 68, p. 38, (E.D. VA Oct. 2003).

²⁸⁰ Larry O'Dell, "Jailed prof in terror case faces contempt charges," *Associated Press*, June 26, 2008, http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20080626/ap_on_re_us/attacks_professor (accessed July 22, 2008).

²⁸¹ *U.S. v. Sami Amin Al-Arian*, 8:03-cr-77, "PLEA AGREEMENT" 1, (M.D. FL Feb. 28th, 2006). ; *U.S. v. Al-Arian, et al.*, 03-CR-77, "Superseding Indictment," (M.D. FL Sept. 21, 2004).

²⁸² Jay T. Rock, "Reflections on a Short Tour in Egypt." *Interfaith Relations*. Presbyterian Church (USA), Nov. 5 -15, 2007, <http://www.pcusa.org/interfaith/egyptreport.htm> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²⁸³ Anthony Shadid, "Putting God at the Center: Mixing Politics and Religion.," *The Washington Post*, Aug. 8, 2005, p. C1, Lexis-Nexis.

²⁸⁴ "Citizen Exchange Interview: Interview with Sahar Taman, Project Leader," Islamic Society of North America, Nov. 2007, <http://www.isna.net/Interfaith/pages/Citizen-Exchange-Interview.aspx> (accessed July 22, 2008). Note: The program met Sheikh Ali Gomaa's representative in 2007.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ "The New Egyptian Mufti - Dr. Sheikh 'Ali Gum'a: Opinions About Jihad, Supporting Suicide Bombings, and Forbidding Muslims in the U.S. Military From Fighting Other Muslims," *MEMRI Special Dispatch Series* no. 580. Oct. 1, 2003, <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP58003> (accessed July 22, 2003).

As demonstrated above the CEP sponsors a number of institutions and individuals, who have connections to and advocated for Islamic extremism and terrorism. The State Department should not be granting access to its officials or funding these groups and their programs.

X. The State Department and the Palestinian American Research Center

The Palestinian American Research Center (PARC) is an organization founded in 1998 which promotes Palestinian studies among students and scholars. It was established as an institutional infrastructure to provide funding for fellowships, logistical support, a network of academic contacts and access to local resources. Its stated goals are to: “increase the range, quantity and quality of scholarship about Palestinian affairs...increasing access to research opportunities...strengthen linkages among Palestinian, American, and foreign scholars and educational, cultural and research institutions.”²⁸⁷ PARC receives money and support from public and private sources – among them the State Department and the Department of Education.²⁸⁸ Some of this government funding is in the form of sub-grants issued to PARC under the auspices of the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC) grant.²⁸⁹ The CAORC itself receives money from the State Department’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, which it then passes along to “member centers” to carry out their respective missions.²⁹⁰ PARC is listed as one of CAORC’s “Member Centers.”²⁹¹

A summary of funding to PARC through government sub-grants from CAORC over the past five fiscal years is as follows:²⁹²

FY 2008 - \$100,000
FY 2007 - \$60,000
FY 2006 - \$60,000
FY 2005 - \$60,000
FY 2004 - \$60,000

The fact that PARC receives any government funding whatsoever, never mind between \$60,000 and \$100,000 per year, is disturbing considering the radical, divisive positions of many of its leaders and the unbalanced views espoused by fellows of the organization. Those serving in the ranks of PARC’s leadership include university professors Rashid Khalidi of Columbia University and Charles Butterworth of the University of

²⁸⁷ PARC mission, <http://parc-us-pal.org/mission.htm> (accessed on July 21, 2008).

²⁸⁸ PARC mission, <http://parc-us-pal.org/mission.htm> (accessed on July 21, 2008).

²⁸⁹ Congressional source.

²⁹⁰ “About CAORC,” Council of American Overseas Research Centers, <http://www.caorc.org/about.html> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²⁹¹ “American Overseas Research Centers,” Council of American Overseas Research Centers, <http://www.caorc.org/centers/> (accessed July 22, 2008).

²⁹² Ibid.

Maryland.²⁹³ Both professors have shown their true colors time and again by way of their radical associations and Islamist apologia. This is quite telling as to the agenda of PARC and should raise questions among U.S. taxpayers as to where their dollars are going.

Before coming to the U.S. and assuming his current role at Columbia, Rashid Khalidi was a spokesman for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) – then headed by Yasser Arafat.²⁹⁴ He served on the PLO “guidance committee” at the 1991 Palestinian/Israel Madrid Conference²⁹⁵ and is on record praising the late-Arafat²⁹⁶ and his second-in-command, PLO terrorist mastermind Abu Iyad (a.k.a. Salah Khalaf).²⁹⁷ Iyad is said to have been behind the plots to assassinate King Hussein of Jordan and to attack Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympics in Munich (“Black September”).²⁹⁸

Aside from his clearly troubling connections and sympathetic stance toward violent terrorists, Khalidi also maintains his own extreme views. In an article penned for the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Khalidi places the responsibility of conflict in the Middle East solely on Israel’s shoulders. To him, violence will continue so long as Israel refuses to relinquish its status as a Jewish State by allowing a full “right of return” for Palestinians. According to Khalidi, such an action would “ensure a final resolution of an issue which will always haunt Israel if it is not finally laid to rest in a mutually satisfactory manner.”²⁹⁹

Similar to Khalidi, Dr. Charles Butterworth is also highly esteemed within academia; however, his whitewashing of Islamists and connections to terrorist leaders paints a very different picture. In January 2002, after President Bush delivered his first State of the Union address and denounced designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTO) Hamas, the Islamic Jihad and Hizbollah, Butterworth responded by saying that “[h]e is clearly taking the Israeli position.” The Bush administration, said Butterworth, is “very happy with the positions of the Israeli government” led by Ariel Sharon, “and that’s why we let the Israelis do what they are doing.”³⁰⁰

Closer to home, Butterworth proved that his support for Islamists went beyond mere words, collaborating with and defending fellow professor and convicted Palestinian

²⁹³ PARC IRS Form 990, 2001.

²⁹⁴ Helena Cobban, “Diplomats urge Reagan Planners to Include PLO in Mideast Options,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, Jan. 6, 1981, Lexis-Nexis.

²⁹⁵ Asaf Romirowsky and Jonathan Calt Harris, “Arafat Minion as Professor,” *The Washington Times*, July 8, 2004, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2004/jul/08/20040708-083635-4366r> (accessed July 16, 2008).

²⁹⁶ Rashid Khalidi, *Under Siege: P.L.O. Decision Making during the 1982 War*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1986, p. vii.

²⁹⁷ Rashid Khalidi, “Remembrance: Abu Iyad,” *Middle East Report*, No. 169 (Mar. - Apr. 1991), p. 4, JSTOR.

²⁹⁸ “Encyclopedia of the Palestinians: Biography of Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad)” Nov. 12, 2000, <http://www.palestineremembered.com/Jaffa/Jaffa/Story166.html> (accessed July 8, 2008).

²⁹⁹ Rashid Khalidi, “Observations on the Right of Return,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2, (Winter 1992), p. 40, JSTOR.

³⁰⁰ Patrick Andjar, “Mideast Left Out of Spotlight in Bush’s First of the Union Speech,” *Agence France Presse*, Jan. 30, 2002, Lexis-Nexis.

Islamic Jihad (PIJ) leader, Sami Al-Arian.³⁰¹ Al-Arian’s long history of extremism is well documented (see section VI, part A). In a 1988 speech made before a Muslim group in Cleveland, Al-Arian shouted, “[t]he Koran is our constitution! Jihad is our path! Victory to Islam! Death to Israel and victory to Islam! Revolution! Revolution until victory! Rolling, rolling to Jerusalem!”³⁰² And, in separate speeches made in 1991, Al-Arian called Jews “monkeys and pigs”³⁰³ and bellowed, “[l]et us damn America! Let us damn Israel! Let us damn their allies until death!”³⁰⁴

Nonetheless, Butterworth has been a staunch Al-Arian advocate. On numerous occasions he has come out in support of his friend and colleague, ignoring the facts about his leadership role with the PIJ. After Al-Arian was fired by the University of South Florida (USF), Butterworth wrote to the President of USF in his defense, noting that he was “shocked and dismayed” at the decision because “[t]he reasons given in justification of Professor Al-Arian’s dismissal simply do not withstand scrutiny and thus lead people like myself, who value academic freedom and have dedicated our lives to the academy, to think poorly of USF and of your leadership.”³⁰⁵

In a more recent case, Butterworth once again came to bat for Al-Arian – this time in favor of him being granted bond. In support of Al-Arian, Butterworth stated: “In all of my dealings with Mr. Al-Arian, I have found him to be utterly trustworthy and reliable.”³⁰⁶

The one-sided views espoused by fellows of the organization are also equally telling about the agenda of PARC. Not even one of the fellows’ articles posted on the website condemns Palestinians for resorting to terrorism and extremism. In contrast, however, there are multiple examples in which PARC fellows condemn Israeli action and promote the idea of one-sided Israeli aggression – particularly the concept of the Palestinian *nakba*, or “catastrophe.”³⁰⁷ In one such example, Diana Allan, a PARC fellow, used

³⁰¹ Note: Charles Butterworth has been a staunch Al-Arian advocate. He wrote: “As one of a number of academics who attended WISE sponsored events and who knows Sami al-Arian as well as other members of the WISE community very well, I am appalled at his arrest. Nothing that I know of Sami al-Arian and none of my experiences with WISE justify the allegations made against him or that organization. What is most galling is that al-Arian has now been arrested on the basis of claims that have never been accorded any credence heretofore.” See: Email from Charles Butterworth (cebworth@gvpt.umd.edu) to Charlie Brown (brown@mail.h-net.msu.edu), “Dr. Basheer Nafi and Islamic Jihad,” Feb. 23, 2003 01:46 pm, <http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=H-Mideast-Politics&month=0302&week=d&msg=tXsWLXyF/U8UyHLZZZpk1g&user=&pw> (accessed Mar. 4, 2005).

³⁰² In the Matter of Mazen A. Al-Najjar, USDOJ EOIR, “Video 711, Service Notice of Filing Videotape Excerpts,” Dec. 22, 1988.

³⁰³ “Sami Al-Arian, In His Words,” *St. Petersburg Times*, Feb. 21, 2003, http://www.sptimes.com/2003/02/21/TampaBay/Sami_Al_Arian_in_his.shtml (accessed July 23, 2008).

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁵ “Letters of Support: Charles Butterworth,” http://web.archive.org/web/20030118042102/http://membersites.namezero.com/tbcjp.yahoo.com/academic/freespeech3/los_butterworth.html (accessed Mar. 4, 2005).

³⁰⁶ *U.S. v. Sami Al-Arian*, 1:08cr131, “Letter in Support of Sami Al-Arian to Judge Leonie Brinkema,” (E.D. VA July 4, 2008), <http://investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/143.pdf> (accessed July 23, 2008).

³⁰⁷ Note: *Al-Nakba*, “the catastrophe,” is the day in which Israel became a state: May 15th.

PARC money to create “an archive of filmed, oral testimonies about al-Nakba (the 1948 catastrophe) with first generation refugees living in camps in Lebanon.”³⁰⁸

In another example, PARC fellow, Wendy Pearlman, used the platform of her PARC-funded dissertation, to pin the increase in violence after the second Palestinian *Intifada* solely upon the Israelis, blaming “four [Israeli] countermeasures: policies resulting in civilian casualties and property loss, closure of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, policies targeting Palestinian Authority infrastructure and functioning, and extrajudicial killings.”³⁰⁹

Beyond this, some PARC fellows have even taken on the topic of suicide bombings, providing a defense of Palestinian terrorists, disguised as academic objectivity. One fellow, Lori Allen, seems to write off as “normal” the “resistance to occupation and sacrificing for that struggle.”³¹⁰

Though a mere sampling of the attitudes, view, and activities of its board members and fellows, it is clear from the cases of Rashid Khalidi, Charles Butterworth, and the selected fellows above that PARC is not the type of organization that is in America’s interest to fund with taxpayer dollars.

XI. Mosques of America Calendar

Just this year, the State Department was selling a 2009 “Mosques of America” calendar in honor of Ramadan, the Muslim holy month. It was billed as “perfect for Muslim outreach efforts, as well as office and event giveaways.” While there is nothing wrong with celebrating diversity, this government program violates the concept of the separation of church and state. Aside from the fact that it was made to commemorate a religious holiday, the State Department does not do this for churches, synagogues, or temples.³¹¹

³⁰⁸ “Allan Researches Cultural Transmission in Lebanese Refugee Camps,” PARC 2003 Fellowship Articles, <http://parc-us-pal.org/fellowships/03-04/main.htm> (accessed July 22, 2008).

³⁰⁹ PARC Newsletter, Spring 2005, p. 15, <http://parc-us-pal.org/newsletters/Spring05.pdf> (accessed July 23, 2008).

³¹⁰ Lori Allen, “There Are Many Reasons Why: Suicide Bombers and Martyrs in Palestine,” http://64.233.169.104/search?q=cache:IbkQEWwWWUMJ:www.cidcm.umd.edu/parc/Resources/Palestinian_Studies_Today/studies_papers/allen_merip.html+allen+merip+suicide+bombers&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=5&gl=us (accessed July 22, 2008).

³¹¹ “2009 Mosques of America Wall Calendar: Limited Edition for Ramadan,” Global Publishing Solutions, U.S. State Department, http://209.85.215.104/search?q=cache:H_xbUgu-Nb0J:gps.state.gov/features/publications%3Fgo%3Dview%26id%3D50+%22mosques+of+America+wall+calendar%22&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=3&gl=us (accessed July 21, 2008). ; See also: “State Dept. promotes ‘Mosques in America’,” *WorldNetDaily*, July 18, 2008, <http://www.worldnetdaily.com/index.php?fa=PAGE.view&pageId=69914> (accessed July 23, 2008).

XII. Funding International Islamist Dialogue

On February 25, 2006, the U.S. Consulate in Pakistan (through the State Department) organized a workshop and thirteen-part videoconference program in collaboration with the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA).³¹² The videoconference participants were Muslims in the United States and Pakistan. The goal of the workshop was “promoting awareness among the youth about Islam.”³¹³

The State Department should not be associated with any programs that promote Da’wah (propagation of Islam) or, for that matter, the promotion of any religious beliefs. The Islamic Society of North America, as explained previously, is an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood, and has defended Hamas.

Some statements made at the workshop were sexist and intolerant of other religions and secular society. As a partner with ISNA, the State Department provides legitimacy to these positions. Some of the topics discussed at the workshop include promoting the proselytizing of Islam and how to incorporate Islamic teachings into schools.

For example, in one segment of the video chat that discussed clothing, Pulam Muhamood, a teacher at a school in Karachi, emphasizes the importance of instilling the idea in young girls that women are to cover “the whole body except face, hands, and feet.”³¹⁴

In a section on gender issues, one of the speakers promoted separation of Muslim and non-Muslim students. He believes that Muslim students should only interact with other Muslims or the Muslim culture will be unable to perpetuate itself. This type of language breeds intolerance between and among religions.³¹⁵ Another speaker says that girls need to know that Islam totally forbids them from talking with boys.³¹⁶

While discussing the culture of the Quran, one of the panelist promoted the use of the Quran in school to supplement teachings on physics, chemistry and other subjects. Another panelist spoke about starting the day with words from the Quran to revive the children’s interest in the book.³¹⁷

In the section on teaching tolerance, one of the speakers endorsed preaching Islam to non-Muslims: “We should convince them [non-Muslims], preach them about Islam. If they accept it by themselves, good.”³¹⁸

³¹² ISNA Videoconference Transcripts.

³¹³ “Workshop for Islamiyat teachers held,” Daily Times, Feb. 26, 2006, http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2006%5C02%5C26%5Cstory_26-2-2006_pg7_12 (accessed July 22, 2008).

³¹⁴ “Passing on Islam,” Conference, Feb. 25, 2006, Videoconference from Lahore, Pakistan, part 3.

³¹⁵ Ibid, program 12.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid, program 5.

³¹⁸ Ibid, program 7.

The point here is not to condemn the promotion of Islam within religious schools. The problem is that the United States Department of State should not be providing funds and collaborating on projects that preach the promotion of any religion, as such activities may be in violation of the Establishment Clause of the U.S. Constitution.

XIII. American Embassies Seeking Problematic Partners: Rome, Belgium, and Denmark

The IPT has discovered a troubling pattern in our embassies abroad, particularly in Europe. Ambassadors are engaging in programs intended to serve the goals of public diplomacy that are only serving to legitimize and promote Islamists in Europe and in the United States foreign policy establishment. Three prominent examples in Italy, Belgium, and Denmark are explored here.

A. Our Man in Rome and Tariq Ramadan

In May 2006, Tariq Ramadan – the notorious European-based Islamist – spoke at a conference in Rome with Ronald P. Spogli, the U.S. Ambassador to Italy. In fact, the conference was sponsored by the American embassy in Rome.

Tariq Ramadan, a Swiss citizen, has degrees in philosophy, religion, and Islamic studies, having obtained this last degree from Al Azhar Islamic University in Cairo.³¹⁹ Tariq's father, Said Ramadan, founded the Islamic Geneva Center in 1961, which is currently headed by Tariq's brother Hani.³²⁰ The center became "a launching pad" for Muslim Brotherhood expansion.

Tariq's father was a well known Islamist and his grandfather was Hassan al Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood.³²¹ Tariq's genealogy played a crucial role in his fame as a religious scholar and community leader. His books and videotapes are widely distributed and he is a popular authority on Islam with the European and Arab media. In the mid-1990s, Tariq Ramadan was banned from entering France for suspected links with Algerian extremists, but the ban was lifted shortly thereafter.³²²

In 2003, Ramadan drew criticism for a televised debate with current French President Nicolas Sarkozy. Sarkozy challenged Ramadan for an opinion about whether adulteress Muslim women should be stoned to death, as Islamic law dictates. Rather than condemn

³¹⁹ "Tariq Ramadan," Penguin Books, <http://www.penguin.co.uk/nf/Author/AuthorPage/0,,1000071815,00.html> (accessed July 18, 2008).

³²⁰ Andrew Hussey, "NS Profile - Tariq Ramadan," *New Statesman*, June 21, 2004, <http://www.newstatesman.com/200406210020> (accessed Aug. 20, 2007).

³²¹ Nicholas Le Quesne, "Trying to Bridge A Great Divide," *Time*, http://www.time.com/time/innovators/spirituality/profile_ramadan.html (accessed July 18, 2008).

³²² Olivier Guitta, "Tariq Ramadan is not a victim," *American Thinker*, Dec. 22, 2004, http://www.americanthinker.com/2004/12/tariq_ramadan_is_not_a_victim.html (accessed July 18, 2008).

the practice, Ramadan advocated a moratorium in order to “open a debate and to show that there is a great deal of disagreement between the scholars.”³²³

The Department of Homeland Security revoked Ramadan’s visa in July 2004, preventing him from taking a teaching position at Notre Dame University in South Bend, Indiana.³²⁴ Ramadan once made a financial contribution to a French charity linked to Hamas, the charity “Comite de Bienfaisance et de Secours aux Palestiniens” (CBSP), which was blacklisted by the US Department of the Treasury in 2003.³²⁵ Another attempt by Mr. Ramadan to obtain a visa to the United States was denied on September 24, 2006.³²⁶ In December 2007, a federal judge ruled that Mr. Ramadan’s financial contributions to organizations that may have supported terrorism constituted a “facially legitimate and bona fide reason” to exclude him from the United States.³²⁷

In October 2005, Ramadan began teaching at St. Antony’s College at the University of Oxford on a Visiting Fellowship.³²⁸ He was also invited in 2005 by the British government to join the Home Office Working Group on Tackling Extremism.³²⁹

In a lengthy article in the *New Republic*, liberal professor Paul Berman detailed the criticism of Ramadan's views and the criticism they foster. More than half a dozen French writers have published books on Ramadan’s ideas, some finding him a resourceful speaker who adapts his lectures to the attending audience. He also has often been accused of being an Islamist, anti-Semitic, and sexist. He has drawn severe criticism from numerous Western public figures, ranging from scholars and journalists to political, religious, and community leaders.³³⁰

Some of those critics “suspect that clandestinely Ramadan, too, entertains the larger pop-eyed more-than-theological project: a world dominated by Islam, with his Muslim counterculture serving as the future empire’s fifth column within Europe, under the ultimate control of the Muslim Brotherhood,” Berman wrote.³³¹

³²³ “Pulling Up the Welcome Mat,” WebChat, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Sept. 9, 2004, <http://chronicle.com/colloquy/live/2004/09/ramadan/> (accessed July 18, 2008).

³²⁴ Tariq Ramadan, “A Closed Door,” Tariq Ramadan Personal Website, Sept. 25, 2006, [http://www.tariqramadan.com/article.php3?id_article=788\(=en](http://www.tariqramadan.com/article.php3?id_article=788(=en) (accessed July 18, 2008).

³²⁵ “Why Tariq Ramadan lost,” *The Washington Times*, Oct. 11, 2006, <http://www.washtimes.com/news/2006/oct/10/20061010-090344-6384r/> (accessed July 24, 2008).

³²⁶ Tariq Ramadan, “A Closed Door,” Tariq Ramadan Personal Website, Sept. 25, 2006, [http://www.tariqramadan.com/article.php3?id_article=788\(=en](http://www.tariqramadan.com/article.php3?id_article=788(=en) (accessed July 18, 2008).

³²⁷ Tatyana Gershkovich, “Judge Upholds American Exclusion of Islamic Scholar,” *New York Sun*, Dec. 21, 2007, <http://www.nysun.com/new-york/judge-upholds-american-exclusion-of-islamic/68474/> (accessed July 24, 2008).

³²⁸ “Biography,” Tariq Ramadan Personal Website, Aug. 22, 2004, <http://www.tariqramadan.com/spip.php?article11> (accessed July 18, 2008).

³²⁹ Vickram Dodd, “Blair backs banned Muslim scholar,” *The Guardian*, Aug. 31, 2005, <http://politics.guardian.co.uk/terrorism/story/0,15935,1559554,00.html> (accessed July 18, 2008).

³³⁰ Paul Berman, “Who’s Afraid of Tariq Ramadan,” *The New Republic*, June 4, 2007, <http://www.tnr.com/politics/story.html?id=fd52e6a4-efc5-42fd-983b-1282a16ac8dd> (accessed July 24, 2008).

³³¹ Ibid.

According to an article in the *New York Sun* about Mr. Ramadan's participation at the American embassy-sponsored conference, Mark Smith, the cultural affairs officer at the embassy said, "Mr. Ramadan was invited by the Centro [Centro Studi Americani in Rome].... The embassy is not providing any funding or other support for Mr. Ramadan's participation in the conference."³³² It is true that the Centro Studi Americani organized the conference and invited the speakers, and Mr. Ramadan did not receive any funding directly from the American embassy to speak, but the embassy did pay for the event and thus was providing support and a platform for Mr. Ramadan. Thus, this is yet another example of the State Department working with counterproductive partners.

B. Islamist Outreach in Belgium

In his written testimony for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Tom C. Korologos, the former American Ambassador to Belgium, who left in 2007, spoke proudly of "a new approach to U.S. engagement of Muslims in Europe that we have tested successfully in Brussels."³³³

Ambassador Korologos continued:

It is an example of the new public diplomacy – based on dialogue, not monologue – designed to supplement the extensive U.S. financial, intelligence, law enforcement, defense, private diplomatic, and other initiatives directed at Islamist extremism in Europe. It is also a model for generating not just a conference or two, but an entire movement of mainstream Muslims across Europe to ease Muslim alienation and combat extremism.³³⁴

The goals outlined here by the ambassador are commendable, but it seems curious that in an effort to counter Islamist extremism, his public diplomacy has been co-opted by Islamists in the United States and Europe. Programs sponsored by the embassy are being run by the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), and the Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organizations (FEMYSO, detailed below).

The website for the U.S. Embassy in Belgium's public diplomacy program for Muslims notes that, "The Islamic Society of North America, the largest Muslim organization in the U.S., will develop and fund a series of exchange programs for Belgian students, teachers and imams."³³⁵ In November 2005, the American embassy in Copenhagen co-sponsored and funded a conference with ISNA's help. According to the embassy's public diplomacy website, "ISNA played a major part in facilitating the planning of the conference from the US side and was represented by the Secretary General, Dr. Sayyid

³³² Rachel Ehrenfeld, "When in Rome..." *New York Sun*, April 19, 2006, <http://www.nysun.com/opinion/when-in-rome/31210/> (accessed July 18, 2008).

³³³ Tom C. Korologos, United States Ambassador to Belgium, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Subcommittee on European Affairs. *Islamist Extremism in Europe*, 109th Cong., 2nd sess., April 5, 2006.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ "Follow-on Initiatives," Muslim Dialogue, Muslim Communities in the U.S. and Belgium, <http://www.muslimdialogue.be/> (accessed July 18, 2008).

M. Syeed.”³³⁶ At the conference, an official from FEMYSO, Michael Privot, gave a speech about a joint project between them and the Muslim Students Association of the United States and Canada (MSA).³³⁷

A representative from CAIR, Arsalan Iftikhar, was also present at the conference. He was quoted in an U.S. Newswire story: “We were honored to be a part of such a ground-breaking dialogue and hope this conference can serve as a prototype for similar gatherings in Europe and North America.”³³⁸ CAIR is a partner in the embassy’s public diplomacy program. CAIR is addressed in detail earlier in this testimony in the section about the State Department and Islamist events.

Sayyid Syeed is one North America’s original Muslim Brotherhood operatives. Syeed was the president of MSA-national from 1980 to 1983. In that capacity, he was one of the founders of ISNA in 1981. From 1984 to 1994, Syeed was the director of academic outreach at the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT, see above section, “The Coordinator for Counterterrorism and IIIT, for information on IIIT). In 1988, he also became the secretary-general of the International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations (IIFSO) and held that position for two years. After he left IIIT, he returned to ISNA and became its secretary-general.³³⁹

In 1981,³⁴⁰ American-based members of the Muslim Brotherhood founded the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA).³⁴¹ ISNA’s close relationship with the Brotherhood appears to have continued far beyond its initial roots. For example, Ahmed Elkadi, who headed the Muslim Brotherhood in the US from 1984 to 1994³⁴² served on ISNA’s Executive Council in 1984.³⁴³ Elkadi was also chairman of the ISNA affiliated Islamic Coordinating Committee established in September 1991 at the 28th annual ISNA

³³⁶ “Muslim Dialogue Conference,” Muslim Dialogue: Muslim Communities in the U.S. and Belgium, http://www.muslimdialogue.be/muslim_Dialogue_Conference.htm (accessed July 18, 2008).

³³⁷ “Photo MDC21,” Conference Photo Gallery, Muslim Dialogue: Muslim Communities in the U.S. and Belgium, <http://www.muslimdialogue.be/gallery/index.htm> (accessed July 18, 2008). Note: Privot collaborated with MPAC’s Salam al-Marayati (See discussion in section IV, State Department’s Islamist Advisors for more) on an article about their participation with Ambassador Korologos’ program, entitled, “A Muslim Declaration of Independence,” Nov. 25, 2005, *The Providence Journal*, <http://www.mpac.org/article.php?id=5> (accessed July 28, 2008).

³³⁸ “CAIR Participates in Dialogue with European Muslims; U.S. - Sponsored Gathering Focused on Muslims in the West,” *U.S. Newswire*, Nov. 18, 2005, Lexis-Nexis.

³³⁹ M.M. Ali, “Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Syeed,” *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, April 30 1998, <http://www.wrmea.com/backissues/0498/9804035.html> (accessed July 24, 2008).

³⁴⁰ “Articles of Incorporation, Islamic Society of North America,” Office of the Secretary of State of Indiana, July 14, 1981.

³⁴¹ John Mintz and Douglas Farah, “In Search of Friends Among the Foes,” *The Washington Post*, Sept. 11, 2004, A1, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12823-2004Sep10.html> (accessed July 24, 2008).

³⁴² Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe, and Laurie Cohen, “A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America,” *The Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 19, 2004, C1, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/specials/chi-0409190261sep19.0.5695696.story> (accessed July 24, 2008).

³⁴³ “ISNA Executive Council,” *Islamic Horizons*, Jan. 1984, p. 2.

conference in Dayton, Ohio.³⁴⁴ ISNA honored Elkadi with its Community Service Award in 2001.³⁴⁵ Similarly, Jamal Badawi – a founder of the Muslim American Society (along with Elkadi),³⁴⁶ the primary Brotherhood organization in the US³⁴⁷ – serves on ISNA’s Majlis Ash-Shura.³⁴⁸ ISNA also presented Badawi with its Community Service Award in 2000.³⁴⁹ MAS’ current Secretary General Shaker Elsayed was formerly ISNA’s Educational Director.³⁵⁰

ISNA’s magazine, *Islamic Horizons*, glorifies Muslim Brotherhood luminaries. For example, Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna adorns the cover of the March/April 1999 issue of *Islamic Horizons*. The caption reads “Hassan al-Banna—A Martyr of Our Times.”³⁵¹ *Islamic Horizons* often publishes articles and opinion pieces by key Brotherhood figures such as Yusuf al-Qaradawi and Hassan al-Turabi.³⁵² In an interview published in the March/April 2001 edition of *Islamic Horizons*, al-Turabi stated, “I do not think that it is only a dream, but there is a possibility not only for America to be Islamized, but also in fact to develop as the role model of Islam.”³⁵³ Al-Turabi was the head of the National Islamic Front, which the US Government has condemned for supporting terrorism, launching a genocidal war in southern Sudan, and for continued human rights violations.³⁵⁴ Al-Turabi also gave Osama bin Laden sanctuary in Sudan.³⁵⁵ ISNA’s online store sells works by prominent Brotherhood figures, including Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, and Yusuf al-Qaradawi.³⁵⁶

³⁴⁴ Ahmed Elkadi, Chairman of the Islamic Coordinating Council, “Open Letter to Muslims in North America,” *Islamic Horizons*, Spring 1992, p. 14.

³⁴⁵ “IDF Announces Recipients of the 2004 Community Service Award,” ISNA Listserv Newsletter, Oct. 1, 2004 ; ISNA, “Another Successful Convention,” *Your Money at Work, 2001 Year in Review*, 2001, p. 3.

³⁴⁶ “Articles of Incorporation, Muslim American Society,” Office of the Secretary of State of Illinois, June 11, 1993.

³⁴⁷ Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe, and Laurie Cohen, “A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America,” *The Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 19, 2004, C1, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/specials/chi-0409190261sep19.0.5695696.story> (accessed July 24, 2008).

³⁴⁸ “ISNA Board of Directors,” ISNA, <http://www.isna.net/ISNAHQ/pages/Dr-Jamal-A-Badawi.aspx> (accessed July 24, 2008).

³⁴⁹ “IDF Announces Recipients of the 2004 Community Service Award,” ISNA Listserv Newsletter, Oct. 1, 2004 ; ISNA, “Another Successful Convention,” *Your Money at Work, 2001 Year in Review*, 2001, p. 3.

³⁵⁰ Betsy Barlow, “Much Remains to Be Done,” *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, Vol. 24, no. 1, June 1995, p. 82, <http://www.wrmea.com/backissues/0695/9506076.htm> (accessed July 24, 2008). ; Kevin Mayhood, “Muslim Leader Says Backlash Was Severe,” *The Columbus Dispatch*, May 6, 1995, 3C, Lexis-Nexis.

³⁵¹ “Hassan al-Banna – A Martyr of Our Times,” *Islamic Horizons*, Mar. - April 1999, front cover.

³⁵² Jim Landers, “Muslim Extremists Justify Violence on Way to Restoring Divine Law,” *The Dallas Morning News*, Nov.3, 2001, Washington Dateline, Lexis-Nexis.

³⁵³ Esa Syeed, “Advantage: Muslim America,” *Islamic Horizons*, Mar. - April 2001, pp. 46-47.

³⁵⁴ Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. *Relating to the Activities of the National Islamic Liberation Front Government in Sudan*, 106th Cong., 1st sess., June 15, 1999, S.Res.109, http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getpage.cgi?dbname=1999_record&page=H4241&position=all (accessed Feb. 14, 2007).

³⁵⁵ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, *9-11 Commission Report*, Sept. 20, 2004, p. 57, http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report_Ch2.pdf (accessed June 22, 2006).

³⁵⁶ “Islamic Books, Audio, Video, Software, & Gifts,” ISNA Website, formerly at <http://www.isna.net>, 2005, copy available at: <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/155.pdf> (accessed July 24, 2008).

In June 2007, as federal prosecutors were preparing for the July trial of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF), a charitable organization accused of funneling money to Hamas, the government submitted its trial brief summarizing the evidence against the defendants, as well as releasing a list of “Unindicted Co-conspirators and/or Joint Venturers.”³⁵⁷ In tandem, these actions illustrate how Hamas operatives and front groups - known collectively as the Palestinian Committee of the Muslim Brotherhood - have operated in the United States. Both documents are highly revealing, and, for the first time ever, officially link the Islamic Society of North America and several ideological partner organizations³⁵⁸ to the American branches of Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.

In testimony to Congress in 2006, former Ambassador Korologos, boasted of ISNA’s contribution, stating:

The Islamic Society of North America, the largest Muslim organization in the United States, announced a package of internships, scholarships and exchanges for Belgian imams and Muslim leaders, teachers and students to come to the United States to engage further with the U.S. Muslim community.³⁵⁹

This effectively enabled a Muslim Brotherhood affiliated organization to use the U.S. Embassy in Brussels as a platform to legitimize a program that may serve to school Belgian Muslims in Islamist ideology.

Brussels-based FEMYSO was founded in 1996. On its website, it claims to be

a wide network of 37 member organisations, bringing together youth from over 40 countries. It is now a well-known European INGO (is this supposed to be INGO? Is it an International-NGO). Over the last 4 years it has become the de facto voice of Muslim Youth in Europe and is regularly consulted on issues pertaining to Muslims in Europe and has developed useful links with the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, the United Nations and a host of other relevant organisations at the European level.³⁶⁰

Interestingly, FEMYSO’s homepage still condemns the targeted assassination in 2004 of Ahmed Yassin, the former spiritual leader of Hamas, condemning it as “an act of state terrorism.”³⁶¹ Ibrahim El Zayat, FEMYSO’s former president, was investigated by

³⁵⁷ *U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, 3:04-cr-240, “Attachment A,” (N.D. TX Aug. 2007), http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/423.pdf (accessed July 24, 2008).

³⁵⁸ Note: Other organizations and individuals named in these documents have shared numerous events, joint projects and committees with ISNA over the last decade.

³⁵⁹ Tom C. Korologos, United States Ambassador to Belgium, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Subcommittee on European Affairs. *Islamist Extremism in Europe*, 109th Cong., 2nd sess., April 5, 2006.

³⁶⁰ “About Us,” FEMYSO, <http://www.femyso.net/about.html> (accessed July 21, 2008).

³⁶¹ “Israel killed Sheikh Ahmed Yassin,” FEMYSO, <http://www.femyso.net/yassin.html> (accessed July 21, 2008).

Germany for financial irregularities and possible support of al Qaeda.³⁶² An official website of the Muslim Brotherhood identified El Zayat as a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, but El Zayat denied it.³⁶³ El Zayat was under investigation on Egypt for illegal activities related to his Brotherhood ties.

Under “Useful Websites,” the embassy’s public diplomacy website lists the websites for ISNA, CAIR, the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), and MSA.

MPAC was founded in 1988 as a non-profit social welfare organization with 501 (c) (4) tax status.³⁶⁴ Since its inception, MPAC has often appeared to attempt to distract the public from issues pertaining to terrorism and Islamism, mainly by obfuscating the facts concerning terrorist attacks and government actions against terrorists and their financiers. For example, on the day of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, in reference to possible perpetrators, MPAC Executive Director and co-founder Salam al-Marayati commented that “we should put the state of Israel on the suspect list.”³⁶⁵ MPAC has consistently opposed U.S. government efforts to shut down terrorist financiers by arguing that authorities “have not proven their allegations” against organizations such as the Holy Land Foundation (HLF), Benevolence International Foundation (BIF), and Global Relief Foundation (GRF)³⁶⁶ and alleging that measures taken against these organizations due to terrorism ties alleged by the U.S. government “bare [sic] strong signs of politicization.”³⁶⁷ MPAC called the March 2002 SAAR raids in Northern Virginia “fishing expeditions”³⁶⁸ inspired by the “foreign-interest lobbies in the United States.”³⁶⁹

Considering what MPAC has on its website, it seems curious that an American Embassy should link to it. A 2003 MPAC paper on counterterrorism on the MPAC website accuses the U.S. of hiding its true political intentions: “The [U.S.’s] preoccupation with these groups raises the question as to whether targeting Palestinian groups serves true national

³⁶² Ian Johnson, “Islamic group’s ties reveal Europe’s challenge,” *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 29, 2005, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB113582317237133576-search.html?KEYWORDS=How+Islamic+Group%27s+Ties+Reveal+Europe%27s+Challenge+---+A+Conduit+to+Mainstream%2C+Muslim+Lobbyist+Also+Has+Some+Fundamentalist&COLLECTION=wsjie/6month> (accessed July 25, 2008).

³⁶³ “Ibrahim El-Zayat says he is not member of the MB,” Muslim Brotherhood, Feb. 19, 2007, <http://www.muslimbrotherhood.co.uk/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=6372> (accessed July 21, 2008).

³⁶⁴ Salam Al-Marayati, Senate Judiciary Committee. *An Assessment of Tools Needed to Fight the Financing of Terrorists*, 107th Cong., 2nd sess., Nov. 20, 2002, http://www.mpac.org/popa_article_display.aspx?ITEM=281 (accessed July 12, 2004).

³⁶⁵ Larry Stammer, “Jewish-Muslim Dialogue Newly Tested,” *The Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 22, 2001, <http://articles.latimes.com/2001/sep/22/local/me-48579> (accessed July 25, 2008).

³⁶⁶ “A Review of U.S. Counterterrorism Policy: American Muslim Critique & Recommendations,” MPAC, Sept. 2003, p. 59, http://www.mpac.org/bucket_downloads/CTPaper.pdf (accessed May 24, 2006).

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ “MPAC’s Case Statement on March 20th Raids,” MPAC Press Release, Mar. 27, 2002, http://web.archive.org/web/20040507010150/http://www.mpac.org/popa_article_display.aspx?ITEM=162 (accessed July 25, 2008).

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

security interests or is based on political considerations.”³⁷⁰ The same paper adds: “Many nations remain highly skeptical of US terrorist designations. This is reflected in the reluctance of nearly all other nations, including US allies in Europe and elsewhere, to designate groups such as Hizbullah and Hamas as terrorist organizations...To qualify as an FTO...is essentially a political exercise...”³⁷¹

The Muslim Students Association (MSA) of the United States and Canada was incorporated in January 1963, when members of the Muslim Brotherhood³⁷² came together at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign with the goal of “spreading Islam as students in North America.”³⁷³ On its website, MSA-National describes itself as “a non-profit, 501(c) (4), tax-exempt organization that finances itself mainly by fundraising activities.”³⁷⁴ Explaining the role MSA leadership played in governing the Muslim Brotherhood in North America in the 1960s and early 1970s, Naman said, “I mean the most important resolution the Group might have taken was who was going to be a member of the MSA’s executive committee.”³⁷⁵

At the 7th annual MSA West Conference held at the University of Southern California in January 2005, a former MSA UCLA member, Ahmed Shama stated, “We want to restore Islam to the leadership of society... We are trying to establish that system of government, of Islamic governance, and to the helm of life in all walks of life. In short, we want to make the word of Allah (swt) supreme in every single aspect of life... The end goal of everything that we’re talking about is the reestablishment of the Islamic form of government...”³⁷⁶

Are CAIR, ISNA, MPAC, MSA, and FEMYSO the partners we want to seek out to fight extremism? If it was not so damaging to U.S. foreign policy and strategic interests, it would be impressive that Ambassador Korologos managed to bring in almost every significant Islamist organization from the United States and FEMYSO, Europe’s most significant student Islamist organization, under one roof in Brussels. This was, of course, at the expense of non-Islamist Muslim organizations, such as the American Islamic Conference, the Islamic Supreme Council of North America, and the American Islamic Forum for Democracy. If there is one positive to this story, it is that despite the controversy surrounding his appointment (which is obviously outside the scope of this

³⁷⁰ “A Review of U.S. Counterterrorism Policy: American Muslim Critique & Recommendations,” MPAC, Sept. 2003, p. 62, http://www.mpac.org/bucket_downloads/CTPaper.pdf (accessed July 12, 2004).

³⁷¹ Ibid., p. 27.

³⁷² Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe, and Laurie Cohen, “A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America,” *The Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 19, 2004, C1, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/specials/chi-0409190261sep19,0,5695696.story> (accessed July 24, 2008).

³⁷³ “A Little Taste of History,” MSA-National, <http://web.archive.org/web/20060118061004/http://www.msa-national.org/about/history.html> (accessed May 14, 2007).

³⁷⁴ “Frequently Asked Questions About MSA of the US & Canada,” MSA-National, <http://www.msanational.org/about/faq/> (accessed July 25, 2008).

³⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

³⁷⁶ Ahmad Shama, “Global Islamic Movements,” Speech, Striving for Revival: Student Activism for Global Reformation: 7th Annual MSA West Conference, University of Southern California, Jan. 14 - 17, 2005.

hearing), the current Ambassador, Sam Fox, does not appear to be continuing his predecessor's counterproductive policies.

C. Iftar in Copenhagen

In 2007, a series of Iftar dinners were held by U.S. ambassadors in countries with substantial Muslim populations to commemorate the end of the Islamic holy month of Ramadan. A request under Freedom of Information Act for the guest lists of these dinners has not yet been fulfilled by the State Department, but some information is known about one of these dinners. It was held at the residence of James P. Cain, the American ambassador to Denmark.³⁷⁷ The guest list included Safia Aoude³⁷⁸ – a well-known Islamist that was embroiled in a scandal earlier this year for linking to Holocaust-denier David Irving's website from her blog,³⁷⁹ Abdul Wahid Pedersen³⁸⁰ – a proponent of polygamy,³⁸¹ and Mohammed Albarazi³⁸² – a member of the delegation of Danish Muslims who toured the Middle East showing the Danish political cartoons that sparked violence, riots, and protests around the world. Albarazi told the world on *Al-Jazeera*, in the midst of the hysteria surrounding the Danish Cartoons Crisis, that the Danes were going to burn the Quran.³⁸³ Following that false statement, the Danish embassy in Damascus was attacked.³⁸⁴

Aoude bragged about the dinner on her blog and posted pictures from the event. She also included a link to the website of David Irving in the context of her comments about the differing views on the Holocaust. In 1998, a British court found that Irving was “an active Holocaust denier; that he is anti-Semitic and racist and that he associates with right-wing extremists who promote neo-Nazism.”³⁸⁵ Aoude was candidate for the Conservative Party in the Copenhagen district Oesterbro and was forced to leave the party over the Irving web-link controversy.³⁸⁶

It is notable that no one from the most prominent non-Islamist Muslim organization in Denmark, Democratic Muslims, led by Danish parliamentarian Naser Khader, was invited to the event. This organization was founded to provide a voice for Muslims in

³⁷⁷ Naser Khader, “Something's Rotten in Denmark,” The Hudson Institute, Feb. 4, 2008, http://www.futureofmuslimworld.com/research/pubID.79/pub_detail.asp (accessed July 22, 2008).

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Lars Hedegaard and Helle Merete Brix, “Zyklon B and the Conservatives,” *Sappho*, Mar. 18, 2007, <http://www.sappho.dk/Den%20loebende/zyklonbenglish.html> (accessed July 22, 2008).

³⁸⁰ Confidential source.

³⁸¹ “Kendt imam accepterer flerkoneri,” *Jyllands-Posten*, May 23, 2007, <http://jp.dk/indland/article948408.ece> (accessed July 22, 2008).

³⁸² Naser Khader, “Something's Rotten in Denmark,” The Hudson Institute, Feb. 4, 2008, http://www.futureofmuslimworld.com/research/pubID.79/pub_detail.asp (accessed July 22, 2008).

³⁸³ M.T., “The lies of Al Jazeera and Al Arabia,” History News Network, Feb. 8, 2006, <http://hnn.us/readcomment.php?id=78033&bheaders=1> (accessed July 29, 2008).

³⁸⁴ Syrian protesters set fire to embassies,” Associated Press, Feb. 4, 2006, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2006/feb/04/religion.syria> (accessed July 29, 2008).

³⁸⁵ “Holocaust Denial on Trial, Trial Judgment: Electronic Edition, by Charles Gray,” Emory University, <http://www.holocaustdenialontrial.org/trial/judgement/13.71.1> (accessed July 28, 2008).

³⁸⁶ Naser Khader, “Something's Rotten in Denmark,” The Hudson Institute, Feb. 4, 2008, http://www.futureofmuslimworld.com/research/pubID.79/pub_detail.asp (accessed July 22, 2008).

Denmark that reject the divisive and intolerant messages promoted by Islamists in Denmark associated with the Muslim Brotherhood, Hizb ut-Tahrir, and other extremist organizations and movements.³⁸⁷

On October 20, 2007, an analyst at the IPT followed up on this story and called the U.S. Embassy to Denmark in Copenhagen. Tom Leary, the head of the Press Office at the embassy, claimed that moderate Muslims were also invited to the dinner, but refused to provide the guest list when asked.³⁸⁸ Mr. Leary confirmed that Safia Aoude, Abdul Wahid Pederson, and Mohammed Albazari were in attendance.³⁸⁹ He also later said that they had invited the entire board of Aoude's organization, Muslims in Dialogue,³⁹⁰ as he believed they had a strong voice in the Muslim community in Denmark on issues of integration.³⁹¹ Of Aoude, Pederson, and Albarazi, he said that he did not want to get into the debate on their records and said, "I don't consider them to be extremists," but quickly added that he does not agree with most of what they say.³⁹² Mr. Leary repeatedly said that they "invited a cross section of the Muslim community in Denmark, including secular Muslims and observant Muslims."³⁹³ At that point in the conversation, the IPT analyst said that Mr. Leary's assertion would be stronger if he were to provide the names of such secular or moderate Muslims, but he declined to do so.³⁹⁴

Along with the examples in Belgium and Italy, the Denmark case demonstrates a clear pattern of U.S. embassies abroad choosing Islamic extremists and individuals with extremist ties to represent the face of Islam.

XIV. Conclusion

The State Department has embraced Islamist organizations and leaders through its flawed policies on outreach and its choosing of partners. Each State Department meeting, conference call and "dialogue" event, increases the stature of these groups and their officials among their membership and beyond.

In a panel sponsored by the Hudson Institute focusing on the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe, Mr. Khader, the aforementioned founder of Democratic Muslims, made an astute point that effectively sums up the entire problem with the State Department's policies. He explained: the fight against extremism and for democracy is weakened when "the United States ambassador in Denmark, James P. Cain...invite[s]... several Danish members of

³⁸⁷ "Demokratiske Muslimer," <http://www.demokratiskemuslimer.dk/> (accessed July 22, 2008).

³⁸⁸ Telephone Interview with Tom Leary, Oct. 20, 2007.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ "Muslimer i Dialog og DM-Aid deltog i Vandløbet," Muslimer I Dialog, <http://www.m-i-d.dk/default.asp?side=artikler&id=129> (accessed July 22, 2008).

³⁹¹ Telephone Interview with Tom Leary, Oct. 20, 2007.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

the Brotherhood to the ambassador's residence" including "a well-known denier of Holocaust...an Islamist."³⁹⁵

"Do I think that we shouldn't have any dialogue with these people?" Khader continued. "No. We can listen to what they have to say, but some...seem to think that dialogue means to lie flat on your stomach for their own democratic ideas."³⁹⁶ In much the same way, it is essential for the State Department to keep its ear to the ground at all times, while refusing to fund or further the goals of Islamists.

At the end of the conversation between the IPT analyst and Mr. Leary of the American Embassy in Copenhagen discussed above, the press officer said, "Reaching out to Muslims is an important part of the work we do here and we are going to keep doing it." This is, of course, not the issue. No one is suggesting that the State Department end outreach to Muslims all around the world. The question is: why should the State Department spend U.S. taxpayer dollars to work with Islamists who actively oppose the foreign policy goals of the United States and subscribe to a supremacist, oppressive ideology? The fundamental question boils down to: Is the State Department using the Islamists to advance its agenda, or are the Islamists using the State Department to advance their own?

³⁹⁵ Naser Khader, Panel IV: "The Islamic Movement in The New World: The Brotherhood in Europe," The Hudson Institute, Oct. 16, 2007, www.hudson.org/files/documents/MB%20Transcript%204a.pdf (accessed July 25, 2008).

³⁹⁶ Ibid.