

**COUNTER
EXTREMISM
PROJECT**

The Muslim Brotherhood on U.S. Campuses



THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD ON U.S. CAMPUSES

Founded in Egypt in 1928, the [Muslim Brotherhood](#) is that country's oldest Islamist organization and one of the world's most powerful, with branches throughout the world¹. The Brotherhood's ultimate goal is to implement *sharia* (Islamic law) under a global caliphate. Unlike ISIS and al-Qaeda, the Brotherhood has officially disavowed violence. Rather, it purports to achieve this societal transformation by taking advantage of existing democratic institutions, such as when the party captured Egypt's presidency in 2012.²

The Brotherhood seeks to win the hearts and minds of Muslims around the world, enabling bloodless coups. Brotherhood founder [Hassan al-Banna](#) wrote: "Our Primary concern is to arouse the spirit, the life of the heart, to awaken the imagination and sentiments. We place less emphasis on concrete ideas ... than on touching the souls of those we encounter."³ Indeed, the Brotherhood's strategy has been to affect the soul. The United States is host to several interconnected organizations that promote Muslim civil rights and education—noble goals on their own—but that were either founded directly by Brotherhood members or promoted Brotherhood priorities, including support for related extremist groups.

U.S. President Donald Trump in 2019 reportedly began considering the designation of the Brotherhood as a foreign terrorist organization.⁴ In 2016, terrorism analyst J.M. Berger said that no major American Muslim organization was affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood.⁵ That was not always the case, however. While the Internet is filled with false accusations and conspiracy theories regarding Brotherhood infiltration at the highest levels of the U.S. government, particularly under the Obama administration, it is nonetheless accurate to note the Brotherhood's involvement in Muslim-Americans' university life dates back to the 1960s.

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3. Hazem Kandil, *Inside The Brotherhood* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 10.
4. David Noriega, "How One Policy Change Could Wipe Out Muslim Civil Liberties," BuzzFeed News, November 16, 2016, <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/davidnoriega/the-muslim-brotherhood-and-muslim-civil-rights-groups#.pwxlvxrYn>; Charlie Savage, Eric Schmitt, and Maggie Haberman, "Trump Pushes to Designate Muslim Brotherhood a Terrorist Group," *New York Times*, April 30, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/30/us/politics/trump-muslim-brotherhood.html>.
5. David Noriega, "How One Policy Change Could Wipe Out Muslim Civil Liberties," BuzzFeed News, November 16, 2016, <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/davidnoriega/the-muslim-brotherhood-and-muslim-civil-rights-groups#.pwxlvxrYn>.

Specifically, members of the Muslim Brotherhood were involved in the creation of the following organizations:

- Muslim American Society (MAS) ⁶
- Muslim Students Association (MSA) ⁷
- Muslim World League (MWL) ⁸
- World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) ⁹
- Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) ¹⁰

While there are no major American-Muslim organizations directly affiliated with the Brotherhood today and the above named groups insist they operate independently, the Brotherhood's involvement in their creation cannot be ignored, particularly given the extent of their ongoing outreach efforts to American youth. Further, the Brotherhood's influence on the direction of these organizations, in the type of events and speakers they recruit, as well as their support networks, remains palpable.

This report examines the Brotherhood's impact on the development of these five organizations and how its influence continues to manifest today.



6. Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, "Muslim Networks and Movements in Western Europe," Pew Research Center, September 15, 2010, 57, <https://www.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2010/09/Muslim-networks-full-report.pdf>.
7. "About," MSA National, accessed February 6, 2020, <https://msanational.squarespace.com/about>; Christopher Holton, "The Muslim Brotherhood's Muslim Students' Association: What Americans Need to Know," Center for Security Policy, April 29, 2018, <https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2018/04/29/the-muslim-brotherhoods-muslim-students-association-what-americans-need-to-know/>.
8. Curriculum Vitae of Dr. Kamal el-Helbawy, Internet Archive, accessed March 3, 2020, <http://web.archive.org/web/20080530133410/http://www.khelbawy.com/about.html>.
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Background Summary

Founded by members of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1993, the Muslim American Society (MAS) was designed to be a public face of the Brotherhood in the United States. According to interviews of Brotherhood members by the *Chicago Tribune*, MAS was begun in Illinois to allow Brotherhood members to operate openly in the country. Brotherhood members told the *Tribune* they initially gathered at a Holiday Inn near the Alabama-Tennessee border to debate the merits of operating publicly versus covertly. They agreed they would not call themselves the Brotherhood to allow the new organization to publicly distance itself while promoting the Brotherhood's ideology. The move was reportedly advocated by Mohammed Mahdi Akef, a Brotherhood leader in Egypt who went on to lead the organization internationally.¹¹

The *Tribune* uncovered multiple documents that reportedly showed how MAS should respond to questions on support for terrorism and its relationship with the Brotherhood. MAS called the documents outdated or alleged they do not accurately represent MAS's views.¹² According to MAS's website, the group denies any current affiliation with the Brotherhood but recognizes that Brotherhood members who came to the United States in the 20th century founded many of the country's active Muslim organizations. According to MAS's website, "Many immigrant organizations would likely have had some founders who had some involvement or even membership in the *Ikhwān*," the Arabic abbreviation for the Brotherhood.¹³

MAS's website describes the Brotherhood as an "influential part of post-colonial Muslim history," adding that while the works of Brotherhood thinkers may not be applicable to Muslims in America, they are still worth critical evaluation.¹⁴ According to former MAS Secretary-General Shaker Elsayed, MAS no longer has any connection to the Brotherhood but still believes in the writings of Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna.¹⁵ In 2014, the United Arab Emirates designated MAS a terrorist organization.¹⁶

MAS has a youth wing called MAS Youth (MY), which offers sports, retreats, mentoring, and campus services for Muslims between the ages of 15 and 30.¹⁷ MAS has more than 40 youth chapters across the United States,¹⁸ and also operates chapters on university campuses such as the University of Chicago Urbana-Champaign.¹⁹

11. Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe, and Laurie Cohen, "A rare look at secretive Brotherhood in America," *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 2004, <https://www.chicagotribune.com/investigations/chi-0409190261sep19-story.html>.
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13. "Frequently Asked Questions," Muslim American Society, accessed March 23, 2020, <http://www.muslimamericansociety.org/faq/>.
14. "Frequently Asked Questions," Muslim American Society, accessed March 23, 2020, <http://www.muslimamericansociety.org/faq/>.
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16. "UAE Cabinet approves list of designated terrorist organisations, groups," Emirates News Agency, November 16, 2014, <http://wam.ae/en/details/1395272478814>; Adam Taylor, "Why the U.A.E. is calling 2 American groups terrorists," *Washington Post*, November 17, 2014, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/11/17/why-the-u-a-e-is-calling-2-american-groups-terrorists/>.
17. "Youth Department," Muslim American Society, accessed March 5, 2020, <https://www.muslimamericansociety.org/departments/youth/>.
18. "Youth," MAS Houston, accessed March 5, 2020, <http://www.mashouston.org/DEPARTMENTS/Youth.aspx>.
19. "Muslim American Society, Urbana-Champaign Chapter," University of Illinois Campus Labs, accessed March 23, 2020, <https://illinois.campuslabs.com/engage/organization/masuc>.

Extremist Activities

2003: Former MAS Communications Director Randall Royer is arrested and charged with conspiring with Pakistani terrorist group Lashkar-i-Taibi to carry out terror attacks in Chechnya, Kashmir, and elsewhere. Royer is convicted in 2004 alongside Ibrahim Ahmed Al-Hamdi for belonging to a jihadist network based in Virginia. Royer was employed with MAS in 2002.²⁰

October 2004: Aldurahman M. Alamoudi is sentenced to 276 months in prison for activities with nations and organizations that have ties to terrorism. Alamoudi testifies in 2012 that “Everyone knows that MAS is the Muslim Brotherhood.”²¹

2009: MAS contributes to Viva Palestina, the British aid convoy to the Gaza Strip providing financial assistance to Hamas.²²

April 2013: The mosque belonging to MAS-affiliated Islamic Society of Boston is revealed as an epicenter of extremism. Boston Marathon bombers Dzhokhar and Tamerlan Tsarnaev both attended the mosque. The mosque’s first president, Abdulrahman Alamoudi, was convicted in 2004 in connection with an assassination plot against a Saudi prince. The mosque also attracted other notable extremists, such as convicted al-Qaeda supporters Aafia Siddiqui and Tarek Mehanna.²³

May 2019: A video surfaces online of children at MAS’s Islamic Center in North Philadelphia calling for beheadings and singing a song known by violent Islamists as “the martyrs anthem.” MAS’s national leadership disavow the video and say it had not been properly vetted before it was posted to Facebook.²⁴

20. “Randall Todd Royer and Ibrahim Ahmed Al-Hamdi Sentenced for Participation in Virginia Jihad Network,” U.S. Department of Justice, April 9, 2004, https://www.justice.gov/archive/opa/pr/2004/April/04_crm_225.htm; Stephen Schwartz, “Portrait of a Wahhabi,” Foundation for Defense of Democracies, June 29, 2003, <https://www.fdd.org/analysis/2003/06/29/portrait-of-a-wahhabi/>.
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23. Oren Dorell, “Mosque that Boston suspects attended has radical ties,” *USA Today*, last updated April 25, 2013, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2013/04/23/boston-mosque-radicals/2101411/>.
24. Selah Maya Zighelboim, “Kids Invoke Beheadings in ‘Disturbing’ Video at Muslim American Society,” *Jewish Exponent*, May 7, 2019, <https://www.jewishexponent.com/2019/05/07/muslim-american-society-video/>; Jennifer McDermott, “Muslim society: ‘Disturbing’ video of children wasn’t vetted,” Associated Press, May 5, 2019, https://apnews.com/9f34cb92723c44bf899b960738aa9234?utm_medium=APEastRegion&utm_source=Twitter&utm_campaign=SocialFlow.

Links to Extremist Individuals

Esam Omeish: Omeish is a former president of MAS. In 2004, Omeish publicly mourned Hamas co-founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin during a MAS conference. Yassin was killed in an Israeli airstrike that year.²⁵ Omeish also briefly served as a governor-appointed member of Virginia’s Commission on Immigration in 2007. He resigned a month after his appointment following the public revelation of videos showing him at multiple rallies castigating Israel for its 2006 war against Hezbollah and telling Muslims in Washington, D.C., that “the jihad way is the way to liberate your land.”²⁶ Following the March 2019 terrorist attack on two Christchurch, New Zealand, mosques, Omeish wrote on Facebook that anybody using the terms “Jihadist,” “Islamic violence,” “Islamist extremist,” and “radical Islam” are themselves “Islamophobic and must stop their hate.”²⁷



Ahmad Abousamra: Abousamra is the son of former MAS Boston vice-president Abdul-Badi Abousamra. The younger Abousamra allegedly conspired with Tarek Mehanna to attack a mall in suburban Boston on behalf of al-Qaeda. Mehanna was sentenced to 17 years in prison while Abousamra subsequently fled to Syria. He is wanted by the FBI on terrorism charges.²⁸

Sheikh Faisal Mawlawi: Mawlawi was a Lebanese Sunni cleric and a close associate of Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi. Mawlawi also served as deputy chair of the Qaradawi-led European Council for Fatwa and Research. In April 2004, Mawlawi ruled that mutilating one’s enemies is permitted as a form of reprisal. He also referred to Palestinian suicide bombers as fulfilling a “sacred duty carried out in the form of self-defense....”²⁹ Mawlawi died in 2011.³⁰



Jonathan Brown: Brown is an associate professor at Georgetown University who converted to Islam and has lectured in support of extremist interpretations of Islamic religious texts. In a February 2017 lecture at the International Institute of Islamic Thought, Brown reportedly spoke in favor of slavery in Islam and denied a wife’s right to refuse sex with her husband.³¹ He later denied the allegations.³² Brown has been a regular speaker at MAS events.³³

25. Tzvi Joffre, “U.S. Islamic leader publishes list of ‘Islamophobic’ terms,” *Jerusalem Post*, March 24, 2019, <https://www.jpost.com/International/US-Islamic-leader-publishes-list-of-Islamophobic-terms-584399>.
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31. Paul Crookston, “Professor Uses Lecture to Defend Islamic Slavery,” *National Review*, February 15, 2017, <https://www.nationalreview.com/corner/jonathan-brown-slavery-lecture-islamic-sharia-protects-slaves/>.
32. Stephen Loiaconi, “Georgetown professor under fire for statements on Islam and rape, slavery,” ABC 7 WJLA, February 21, 2017, <https://wjla.com/news/nation-world/georgetown-professor-under-fire-for-statements-on-islam-and-rape-slavery>.
33. “Jonathan Brown,” MAS-ICNA Convention 2020, accessed March 23, 2020, <https://www.masconvention.org/jonathan-brown.html#/>; “Jonathan Brown | Sharia & Forbidding Evil: Limits and Etiquettes | 15th MAS ICNA Convention,” YouTube video, 19:55, posted January 4, 2017, by “MASICNAConvention,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vMl9xYS8Ls>.

Background Summary

Members of the Muslim Brotherhood established the Muslim Students Association of the U.S. and Canada (MSA or MSA National) in 1963 at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.³⁴ The Saudi charity the Muslim World League (MWL) sponsored the first MSA chapters.³⁵

MSAs spread across American campuses in the 1960s and 1970s. MSAs promoted values associated with the conservative strain of Islam practiced in Saudi Arabia. For example, the organization accepted only male members who did not use alcohol. Women were initially barred from MSAs, while men and women were discouraged from intermingling.³⁶

As MSA grew, it publicly abandoned its affiliation with the Brotherhood. Since 1991, MSA National has shifted its agenda to focus primarily on domestic rather than international issues. According to Edward Curtis IV, author of *Muslims in America: A Short History*, coordination between the Brotherhood and MSA National is “a fantasy of Islamophobes.”³⁷ MSA National makes no mention of the Brotherhood’s involvement in its founding.³⁸ But while MSA National has expunged the Brotherhood from its narrative, MSAs around the country continue to create programming that is sympathetic to Brotherhood ideology. Between 2006 and 2007, the New York Police Department (NYPD) monitored various MSAs in the Eastern United States following the arrest or conviction of 12 former MSA members on terrorism charges.³⁹ Also, in 2010, the University of California, Irvine temporarily suspended its MSA chapter after members disrupted a speech by an Israeli ambassador.⁴⁰

Additionally, several former MSA members have been linked to extremism and MSA chapters across the country have hosted speakers linked to extremist groups and causes. While these facts do not demonstrate causality, they are nonetheless noteworthy.

34. “About,” MSA National, accessed February 6, 2020, <https://msanational.squarespace.com/about>; Christopher Holton, “The Muslim Brotherhood’s Muslim Students’ Association: What Americans Need to Know,” Center for Security Policy, April 29, 2018, <https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2018/04/29/the-muslim-brotherhoods-muslim-students-association-what-americans-need-to-know/>.
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Extremist Activities

October 23, 2002: MSA at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) hosts Islamic activist Amir Abdel Malik Ali of the Islamist group As-Sabiqun. Malik Ali protests the March conviction of Imam Jamil Abdullah al-Amin, formerly known as 1960s radical H. Rap Brown, who was sentenced to life in prison for killing an Atlanta police officer. Organizers from MSA told the student newspaper the event was designed to encourage students to keep an open mind about Amin's innocence. Malik Ali calls Amin a martyr and equates the U.S. War on Terror with a war on Islam.⁴¹ The Southern Poverty Law Center classifies As-Sabiqun as a hate group and classifies Malik Ali as a leading domestic jihadist.⁴² According to the Anti-Defamation League, As-Sabiqun includes the Brotherhood among its ideological influences.⁴³

October 2002: MSA of the University of Michigan hosts Sami al-Arian during the second National Student Conference on the Palestinian Solidarity Movement. Arian speaks on academic freedom and political advocacy. The next year, Arian is arrested on charges of supporting Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ). Arian pleads guilty in 2006 to conspiracy to provide services to PIJ and is deported in February 2015.⁴⁴

February 10, 2006: MSA of San Francisco State University hosts a lecture by Islamic activist Amir Abdel Malik Ali of As-Sabiqun, who praises the Muslims who died protesting a Danish cartoon of Islam's prophet Mohammad.⁴⁵

May 9, 2007: The MSA-affiliated Muslim Student Union of the University of California, Irvine (UCI) hosts As-Sabiqun founder Imam Abdul Alim Musa on campus. Alim Musa, who also founded the Islamic Institute of Counter-Zionist American Psychological Warfare, accuses Jews and Jewish bankers of running the American slave trade.⁴⁶

May 13, 2010: The MSA-affiliated Muslim Student Union (MSU) of UCI hosts Islamic activist Amir Abdel Malik Ali of As-Sabiqun. Malik Ali proclaims his support for both Hezbollah and Hamas.⁴⁷ During his speech, Malik Ali equates Jews with Nazis and warns Muslim students against associating with them.⁴⁸ Malik Ali returned to UCI in 2012, blaming Zionists for the financial crisis and referring to University of California President Mark Yudof as a "Zionist Jew" who "supports the apartheid state of Israel."⁴⁹ The university temporarily suspends the MSU later that year after it disrupts a speech by an Israeli ambassador.⁵⁰

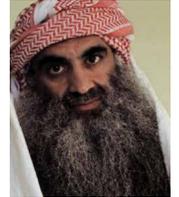
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Links to Extremist Individuals



Anwar al-Awlaki: Awlaki was a U.S.-Yemeni dual citizen, cleric, propagandist, and terrorist operative for al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).⁵¹ On September 30, 2011, Awlaki was targeted and killed in Yemen in the first U.S. drone strike to deliberately target a U.S. citizen.⁵² Awlaki was president of the Colorado State University MSA in the early 1990s and chaplain of the George Washington University MSA in 2001.⁵³

Khalid Sheikh Mohammed (KSM): KSM is the self-professed mastermind of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks. He claims to have planned or helped to plan 30 other terrorist attacks or plots.⁵⁴ KSM is incarcerated at the U.S. naval facility at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, where he awaits trial.⁵⁵ KSM was a member of the MSA at North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University in the 1980s.⁵⁶



Jesse Curtis Morton: Morton reportedly tried to recruit MSA members during a visit to Stony Brook University in 2006.⁵⁷ The visit and its messaging raised concerns within the NYPD, which resulted in the agency looking into the activities of several MSAs in the Eastern United States.⁵⁸

Ramzi Yousef: Yousef, a Pakistani citizen, is a convicted terrorist and the nephew of notorious 9/11 mastermind KSM.⁵⁹ Yousef subsequently worked alongside KSM to plot the 1994 Philippine Airlines Flight 434 bombing, as well as the attempted 1995 “Bojinka plot”—a three-phase attempt to destroy 12 U.S. commercial airplanes in 48 hours.⁶⁰ He was later arrested in Pakistan and extradited to the United States where he was sentenced to life in prison plus 240 years.⁶¹ Yousef was reportedly the co-founder of the MSA at Rutgers University.⁶²



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62. Jane El Horr and Sana Saeed, “Campus Radicals: A New Muslim Student Group Tries to Rouse the Moderates,” *Wall Street Journal*, June 20, 2008, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB121391832473590285>.

Aafia Siddiqui: Siddiqui, a U.S.-educated Pakistani neuroscientist, allegedly belonged to an al-Qaeda cell in Pakistan. She is currently serving an 86-year sentence at a U.S. federal prison in Texas for the attempted murder and assault of U.S. federal agents, employees, and nationals during a 2008 interrogation in Afghanistan.⁶³ While studying in Massachusetts in the 1990s, Siddiqui volunteered with the MSA to fundraise for the Al-Kifah Refugee Center, which was later revealed to be a charitable front for al-Qaeda with links to the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. Siddiqui began to encourage other students to travel abroad to take up arms on behalf of Bosnian Muslims. She took shooting lessons at a local gun club and encouraged other MSA members to join her. Other students recalled Siddiqui criticizing the United States and the FBI during at the gun club.⁶⁴



Abdulrahman Alamoudi: An American Muslim activist, Alamoudi was sentenced in Virginia in 2004 to 23 years in prison for terror-financing crimes and conspiring with the Libyan government to assassinate then-Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah.⁶⁵ Alamoudi was president of MSA National from 1982 to 1983.⁶⁶

63. "Aafia Siddiqui Sentenced in Manhattan Federal Court to 86 Years for Attempting to Murder U.S. Nationals in Afghanistan and Six Additional Crimes," U.S. Department of Justice, September 23, 2010, <https://www.justice.gov/archive/usao/nys/pressreleases/September10/siddiquiaafiasentencingpr.pdf>; David Ingram, "Pakistani woman embraced by Islamic State seeks to drop U.S. legal appeal," Reuters, September 18, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-courts-siddiqui-idUSKBN0HD0DR20140918>.
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65. "Abdurahman Alamoudi Sentenced to Jail in Terrorism Financing Case," U.S. Department of Justice, October 15, 2004, https://www.justice.gov/archive/opa/pr/2004/October/04_crm_698.htm.
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MUSLIM WORLD LEAGUE (MWL) & WORLD ASSEMBLY OF MUSLIM YOUTH (WAMY)

Background Summary

The Muslim World League (MWL) is a global organization founded in Saudi Arabia in 1962 to provide religious and other services to Muslims throughout the world. The World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) was founded in Saudi Arabia in 1972 as MWL's youth wing.⁶⁷ MWL's stated goal is to "clarify the true message of Islam" and promote its tenets while dispelling misconceptions.⁶⁸ MWL adheres to the conservative form of Islam practiced in Saudi Arabia.⁶⁹ WAMY is a U.N.-affiliated NGO whose mission is to "to build bridges of peace and unity in our multicultural society."⁷⁰ It is reportedly the world's largest Muslim youth organization and seeks to "arm the Muslim youth with full confidence in the supremacy of the Islamic system over other systems."⁷¹ WAMY's U.S. branch incorporated in 1992.⁷²

While neither MWL or WAMY follow Muslim Brotherhood ideology, both groups have at times partnered with the Brotherhood and Brotherhood-affiliated organizations.⁷³ Further, senior Brotherhood member Dr. Kemal el-Helbawy has held senior positions in both MWL and WAMY, which he helped create.⁷⁴ U.S. authorities raided WAMY's U.S. headquarters in Virginia in 2004.⁷⁵

WAMY seeks to "introduce Islam in its purest form as a comprehensive system and way of life."⁷⁶ WAMY targets its outreach toward Muslim teenagers and Muslims in their early 20s.⁷⁷ Despite its acceptance by the United Nations, WAMY has reportedly been criticized for connections to the bin Laden family and to Hamas.⁷⁸ The U.S. government has also linked WAMY to al-Qaeda.⁷⁹ In 2012, WAMY lost its charitable status in Canada due to its ties to extremist elements, including the al-Qaeda-linked Benevolence International Fund in Canada (BIF-Canada).⁸⁰ WAMY also has a history of providing financial support to Hamas that dates back to at least 1996.⁸¹

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73. "Muslim World League and World Assembly of Muslim Youth," Pew Research Center, September 15, 2010, <https://www.pewforum.org/2010/09/15/muslim-networks-and-movements-in-western-europe-muslim-world-league-and-world-assembly-of-muslim-youth/>.
74. Curriculum Vitae of Dr. Kamal el-Helbawy, Internet Archive, accessed March 3, 2020, <http://web.archive.org/web/20080530133410/http://www.khelbawy.com/about.html>; "Muslim World League and World Assembly of Muslim Youth," Pew Research Center, September 15, 2010, <https://www.pewforum.org/2010/09/15/muslim-networks-and-movements-in-western-europe-muslim-world-league-and-world-assembly-of-muslim-youth/>.
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76. "About Us," World Assembly of Muslim Youth UK, accessed February 26, 2020, <http://wamy.co.uk/about-us/>.
77. "Muslim World League and World Assembly of Muslim Youth," Pew Research Center, September 15, 2010, <https://www.pewforum.org/2010/09/15/muslim-networks-and-movements-in-western-europe-muslim-world-league-and-world-assembly-of-muslim-youth/>.
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81. Matthew Levitt, "Turning a Blind Eye To Hamas in London," *Wall Street Journal*, October 20, 2003, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB106659950884130900>.

Extremist Activities

1996: Hamas-affiliated organizations send thank-you notes to WAMY for funding provided through the U.K.-based Palestinian Relief and Development Fund (Interpal). Interpal is an internationally sanctioned British charity officially dedicated to providing relief to economically disadvantaged Palestinians, but the United States and other nations accuse it of funneling financial support to Hamas.⁸²

August 2003: Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin publicly thanks WAMY for its support of Hamas.⁸³

2003: U.S. Customs Senior Special Agent David C. Kane signs an affidavit alleging WAMY distributed a document called “Animosity Toward the Jews,” which declared Jews to be “humanity’s enemies” because “they foment immorality in this world.”⁸⁴

May 2004: Federal agents raid WAMY’s regional offices in Falls Church, Virginia, and arrest a volunteer board member on immigration charges. Investigators seize all of the office’s files and hard drives. WAMY denies any links to terrorism, contending the raid was strictly related to immigration issues.⁸⁵

Spring 2004: WAMY distributes copies of *A Handy Encyclopedia of Religions and Sects*, a book the 9/11 Commission described as “a tract of anti-Semitism comparable to the Protocols of the Elders of Zion (an infamous fabrication).” WAMY also distributes anti-Christian and anti-Shiite materials. WAMY National Director and American University Muslim Chaplain Fadel Soliman denies using the books but says he made at least one of them available to students interested in religion. Soliman resigns as AU’s chaplain later that year.⁸⁶

July 2017: The Henry Jackson Society issues a report accusing WAMY and MWL of promoting “violent Islamist extremism.” Neither group immediately responds to the accusation.⁸⁷

82. Matthew Levitt, “Turning a Blind Eye To Hamas in London,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 20, 2003, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB106659950884130900>; “U.S. Designates Five Charities Funding Hamas and Six Senior Hamas Leaders as Terrorist Entities,” U.S. Department of the Treasury, August 22, 2003, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js672.aspx>; “Faith, hate and charity,” BBC Panorama, July 28, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/panorama/5209466.stm>.
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84. Jerry Markon, “U.S. Raids N. Va. Office Of Saudi-Based Charity,” *Washington Post*, June 2, 2004, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2004/06/02/us-raids-nva-office-of-saudi-based-charity/31873a20-ab47-4c55-8f16-6202681b595a/>.
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Links to Extremist Individuals

Khaled Meshaal: On October 29, 2002, WAMY invited the Hamas political leader to attend its Muslim Youth and Globalization conference in Saudi Arabia. Then-Crown Prince Abdullah called on student attendees to reject extremism but participants physically embraced Meshaal, according to media reports.⁸⁸ In August 2002, then-Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin thanked WAMY for its financial support.⁸⁹



Zakir Naik: On January 30, 2014, WAMY in Saudi Arabia hosted Naik, an Islamist televangelist accused of influencing the July 2016 Dhaka, Bangladesh terrorists to carry out their attack.⁹⁰

Kemal el-Helbawy: Helbawy was a senior Brotherhood member and a former member of the Brotherhood's Central Guidance Bureau in Egypt. Helbawy resigned from the Brotherhood in 2012 in disagreement with the group's decision to put forward a candidate in Egypt's presidential election.⁹¹ Helbawy was a founding member of WAMY and has held leadership positions in both MWL and WAMY, including serving as WAMY's executive director.⁹²



88. Javid Hassan, "Abdullah Urges Youth To Eschew Extremism," Arab News, October 30, 2002, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/225525>; "Muslim Youth Urged to Embrace 'Moderate Islam' at Riyadh Conference," Agence France-Presse, October 29, 2002.
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Background Summary

Founded in 1994, the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) is a Muslim civil rights organization with chapters across the United States.⁹³ CAIR was founded by members of the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), which in turn was founded in 1981 by members of the Brotherhood. The U.S. government has accused IAP of being part of a U.S. support network for Palestinian terrorist group Hamas.⁹⁴ The IAP began distributing Hamas propaganda immediately after the terror group's founding in 1987.⁹⁵

In 2001, the U.S. government labeled the Texas-based Holy Land Foundation (HLF) a Specially Designated for fundraising on behalf of Hamas.⁹⁶ During the trial of HLF leaders in the early 2000s, evidence emerged linking CAIR to Hamas and the Brotherhood's Palestine Committee, resulting in CAIR being named an unindicted coconspirator.⁹⁷ HLF leaders were eventually found guilty of funneling more than \$12 million to Hamas. In 2008, the FBI restricted the non-investigative interactions of its field offices with CAIR.⁹⁸ CAIR denies any affiliation with the Brotherhood and maintains that its status as an unindicted coconspirator carries no any negative or nefarious connotations.⁹⁹ Nonetheless, CAIR leaders have on multiple occasions refused to condemn the actions of terrorist organizations Hezbollah and Hamas.¹⁰⁰ In 2014, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) designated CAIR a terrorist organization.¹⁰¹

Groups such as the Anti-Defamation League and StopAntiSemitism.org have accused CAIR of regularly employing anti-Semitic language in its statements. CAIR has openly compared Israeli government practices to the Nazis, which is included in the internationally accepted definition of anti-Semitism by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA).¹⁰² StopAntiSemitism.org accuses CAIR of legitimizing anti-Semitism on U.S. university campuses under the guise of anti-Israel activism.¹⁰³

93. "CAIR at a Glance," Council on American-Islamic Relations, accessed February 21, 2020, https://www.cair.com/about_cair/cair-at-a-glance/.
94. Elizabeth J. Shapiro, "The Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development: A Case Study," *United States Attorneys' Bulletin*, U.S. Department of Justice, September 2014, <https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/usao/legacy/2014/09/23/usab6205.pdf>.
95. Peter Skerry, "The Muslim American Muddle," *National Affairs*, Fall 2011, <https://www.nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/the-muslim-american-muddle>; "Profile: The Council on American Islamic Relations," Anti-Defamation League, 2015, 5, <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international/israel--middle-east/Profile-The-Council-on-American-Islamic-Relations.pdf>.
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102. "Profile: The Council on American Islamic Relations," Anti-Defamation League, 2015, <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international/israel--middle-east/Profile-The-Council-on-American-Islamic-Relations.pdf>; "Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion," International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, accessed March 23, 2020, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-holocaust-denial-and-distortion?focus=antisemitismandholocaustdenial>.
103. "Georgia International Law Enforcement Exchange (GILEE)," Georgia State University, accessed March 4, 2020, <https://gilee.gsu.edu/>; "Call on the U.S. Department of Education & Georgia State University to Keep Terror-Affiliated Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) off U.S. Campuses!," StopAntiSemitism.org, September 26, 2019, <https://www.stopantisemitism.org/current-petitions-1/call-on-the-us-department-of-education-and-gsu-to-keep-terror-affiliated-council-on-american-islamic-relations-cair-off-us-campuses>.

CAIR targets its activities to Muslim youth through high school and university outreach. The group's first university chapter was established at the University of Illinois in the early 2000s. CAIR sends speakers to campuses and sponsors MSA events.¹⁰⁴ CAIR also carries out programming and activism in schools across the country.

In March 2019, for example, Palestinian students at Autrey Mill Middle School in Alpharetta, Georgia, set up a display at the school's Multicultural Night that presented an undated map of the Middle East with Palestine in place of Israel. More than 500 people from 15 surrounding counties participated in the event. Autrey Mill principal J.E. Trey Martin wrote to parents after the event that he was "extremely disappointed and disgusted with the individuals who presented an insensitive political and geographic representation."¹⁰⁵ CAIR's Georgia chapter involved itself in the controversy, defending the students and the map. The group brokered an agreement with school officials that they said shielded students from disciplinary action and protected them from bullying.¹⁰⁶

In September 2019, StopAntiSemitism.org launched a campaign to have the U.S. Department of Education and Georgia State University (GSU) end all relationships with CAIR. CAIR Georgia had called on GSU to end its affiliation with the Georgia International Law Enforcement Exchange (GILEE), a project of GSU and local, state, federal, and international law enforcement and public safety agencies designed to improve international cooperation and training. Israeli law enforcement agencies are among the participants of the program.¹⁰⁷ Through GILEE, Atlanta police officers train and share best practices with police in Israel, Egypt, and other countries. CAIR argued that the program teaches "the tactics of militarized police forces that treat communities as enemies" while labeling such tactics as counterterrorism.¹⁰⁸

104. "The Council on American-Islamic Relations as Defined by Its Actions and Statements over 15 Years of Community Service," CAIR, June 2010, https://www.cair.com/about_cair/cair-who-we-are/; "CAIR-Chicago Annual Report: 2014," CAIR: Chicago, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5aeb7bb8e2ccd14dfc3d03ff/1/5b1c5e7e03ce640b7ec3dbd5/1528585883603/annual_report_2014.pdf; "Moein M. Khawaja," Ice Miller Legal Counsel, accessed April 14, 2020, <https://www.icemiller.com/people/moein-khawaja/>.

105. Ben Brasch, "Fulton principal 'disgusted' by map replacing Israel with Palestine," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, March 8, 2019, <https://www.ajc.com/news/local/fulton-principal-disgusted-map-replacing-israel-with-palestine/hTMZi1nWSZD5EVbLz21wO/>.

106. Eddie Samuels, "Controversial Map May Have Been Pre-Approved," *Atlanta Jewish Times*, March 12, 2019, <https://atlantajewishtimes.com/timesofisrael.com/controversial-map-may-have-been-pre-approved/>; "CAIR Georgia Meets School Leadership, Welcomes Resolution To Multicultural Night Controversy," CAIR Georgia, April 10, 2019, <https://www.cairgeorgia.com/press-releases/532-cair-georgia-meets-school-leadership-welcomes-resolution-to-multicultural-night-controversy.html>.

107. "Georgia International Law Enforcement Exchange (GILEE)," Georgia State University, accessed March 4, 2020, <https://gilee.gsu.edu/>; "Call on the U.S. Department of Education & Georgia State University to Keep Terror-Affiliated Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) off U.S. Campuses!," StopAntiSemitism.org, September 26, 2019, <https://www.stopantisemitism.org/current-petitions-1/call-on-the-us-department-of-education-and-gsu-to-keep-terror-affiliated-council-on-american-islamic-relations-cair-off-us-campuses>.

108. "Atlanta Town Hall Exposes Brutality and Bigotry in GILEE, Georgia's Islamophobic Police Exchange with Israel," CAIR Georgia, September 23, 2019, <https://www.cairgeorgia.com/press-releases/548-civil-rights-groups-host-town-hall-on-gilee-georgia-s-islamophobic-police-training-with-israel.html>.

Extremist Activities

March 1994: CAIR co-founder and Chief Executive Director Nihad Awad states that he supports Hamas's social programs more than those of the Palestine Liberation Organization during a speech at Barry University.¹⁰⁹

November 1994: Awad refuses to condemn Hamas during an interview on *60 Minutes*. Awad claims the "United Nations Charter grants people who are under occupation to defend themselves against illegal occupation."¹¹⁰

1995-2001: CAIR belongs to the Brotherhood-created Palestine Committee, which also includes the HLF. According to the U.S. Department of Justice, the Palestine Committee coordinated support for Hamas in the United States,¹¹¹ providing approximately \$12.4 million between 1995 and 2001 through various Hamas-affiliated organizations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.¹¹²

February 2010: Former CAIR national board member Nabil Sadoun is deported to Jordan for lying on immigration forms about his membership in Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. CAIR claims Sadoun left the board several months prior but does not specify why.¹¹³

Links to Extremist Individuals

Ghassan Elashi: Elashi, a founding board member of CAIR's Texas chapter, was one of the founding members of the Holy Land Foundation (HLF), previously the largest Muslim charity in the United States. HLF was shut down after it was proven the group was fundraising on behalf of Palestinian terror group Hamas.¹¹⁴ The U.S. government labeled HLF a Specially Designated Terrorist. Elashi and four other HLF officials were convicted in 2008 of providing material support to a U.S.-designated terrorist organization.¹¹⁵



109. Creede Newton, "Republican calls CAIR a Hamas-linked 'terrorist group,'" Al Jazeera, February 10, 2017, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/02/republican-calls-cair-hamas-linked-terrorist-group-170210134359010.html>; "Nihad Awad Director of CAIR Declares His Support For Terrorist Hamas," YouTube video, 00:27, uploaded January 1, 2019, by "Islamophobia Watch," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x-j6SNGKZe0>.
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Nihad Awad: Awad is the co-founder and chief executive director of CAIR.¹¹⁶ He is also a former public relations director of the Brotherhood-linked Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP), which the U.S. government accused of being part of Hamas's fundraising arm in the United States. Awad has also expressly voiced support for Hamas.¹¹⁷ The Jewish student group Hillel International sent a letter of protest to Harvard University in 2017 after Awad received a service award from the university. Hillel cited Awad's past work with the IAP and that group's publication of an anti-Semitic monograph called "America's Greatest Enemy: The Jew! And an Unholy Alliance!"¹¹⁸



Omar Ahmad: Ahmad served as president of IAP between 1991 and 1994. He was CAIR's founding chairman.¹¹⁹ Federal authorities declined to prosecute Ahmad in 2011 after an investigation into his activities related to HLF.¹²⁰

Mohamed Nimer: Nimer served as CAIR's director of research between 1995 and 2007. In 1993, Nimer attended a Hamas activist camp in Lebanon.¹²¹



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