SUMMARY

Islamic extremism is on the rise on college and university campuses across the United States. The spread of radical Islamism on campuses has proven to be an effective tool to garner support and gain legitimacy, exploiting the right of free association with academic institutions. International and domestic groups that advocate extremist or radical causes frequently host lectures and other events on campuses to shore up support and recruit members. Indeed, universities are a fertile field for radicals searching for the next generation of activists and sympathizers.

With nearly 600 chapters -- including roughly 150 affiliated chapters -- located in the United States and Canada, the Muslim Students Association (MSA) is the most visible and influential Islamic student organization in North America. As reflected in the extensive information presented in this dossier, MSA has gained legitimacy on American campuses as a benevolent collegiate faith club; however, under this moderate veneer MSA advances a different agenda among impressionable college students. Through conferences and events, publications, websites and other activities, MSA has disseminated and promoted militant Islamic ideologies on college and university campuses throughout North America. This dossier is on MSA-National as well as the numerous chapters of MSA formally affiliated with MSA-National.

I. MSA’S 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 Brotherhood came together at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign with the goal of “spreading Islam as students in North America.”

On its website, MSA-National describes itself as “a non-profit, 501(c) (3), tax-exempt organization that finances itself mainly by fundraising activities.”

Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun, or the Muslim Brotherhood, was founded in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna. It is a rigidly conservative and highly secretive Egyptian-based organization dedicated to resurrecting true Islamic governance based on Sharia law. According to al-Banna, “It is the

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nature of Islam to dominate, not to be dominated, to impose its law on all nations and to extend its power to the entire planet.”

The motto of the Muslim Brotherhood, as elucidated by al-Banna, is, “God is our objective, the Quran is our Constitution, the Prophet is our leader, jihad is our way, and death for the sake of God is the highest of our aspirations.” This motto is often repeated by modern day Brotherhood figures around the world.

The July 2004 indictment of the alleged Hamas front organization, Holy Land Foundation, and seven of its top leaders noted, “The Muslim Brotherhood...is committed to the globalization of Islam through social engineering and violent jihad (holy war).”

The Muslim Brotherhood has provided the ideological underpinning for all modern Sunni Islamic terrorist groups. When discussing Hamas, al Qaeda and Islamic Jihad, Richard Clarke, former national coordinator for security, infrastructure protection under Presidents Clinton and Bush, stated in October 2003 testimony before a Senate committee: “The common link here is the extremist Muslim Brotherhood - all of these organizations are descendants of the membership and ideology of the Muslim Brothers.” Indeed, the 9/11 Commission Report noted that Osama bin Laden “relies heavily” on Sayyid Qutb, a prominent Brotherhood leader executed in the 1950s by Egyptian government.

MSA promotes the Islamist ideology inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood, seeing itself as part of the global Islamic movement. As Larry A. Poston, a theologian from Nyack College, explains in his essay, “Da’wa in the West”:

The Ikhwan [Brotherhood] can be credited with forming several of the Islamic organizations in America. MSA, formed in 1963, has often been a collaborative effort of Ikhwan members from Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and the Sudan.

... The missionary philosophies of al-Banna and Mawdudi have entered the North American continent by at least three different routes... The second avenue has been the Muslim Student Association, undoubtedly the most activist of the da’wa organizations in America. Many of the founding members of this agency were members of or had connections to one or the other of the two organizations in question [the Muslim Brotherhood or Jamaat-i-Islami] and it was through these persons that the ideologies of al-Banna and Mawdudi were integrated into the goals and philosophies of the... [MSA].

Zaid Naman, an official of the Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S., explained the relationship between MSA and the Muslim Brotherhood in a speech in Missouri in the 1980s. He stated:

All of that, Ikhwans\textsuperscript{11} was at the beginning of work when the Ikhwans who came to America, may God reward them all good, were seeking methods for activism. This was probably in the mid 60’s...er, or even...I mean, mid 60’s, long time ago. As for recruitment in the ranks of the Movement [the Muslim Brotherhood in North America], its main condition was that a brother..., was that a brother must be active in the general activism in the MSA, a person who attends its general conferences or participating in its executive committees, whether local or central, and this was the Movement’s conditions in the 1960s.\textsuperscript{12}

Naman continued:

If we examine the Group’s conferences in this..., in this time period [1963-1974], we would find that they were characterized with the following: First of all, in the past the Ikhwans’ conferences used to be held in the same time as the MSA’s conferences, at the same time. They would either precede it with one day or come a day after them. After that they became separate from the MSA’s conferences and they lasted an entire week.\textsuperscript{13}

Speaking about the character of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America at the time he spoke, Naman stated:

We say that first of all, the organizational base in north [sic] America is an organizational base with a dynamic characteristic. This dynamic is at two levels: The first one is at the north [sic] America’s level as the vast majority of the Muslim Brotherhood here are students.\textsuperscript{14}

He later added, “The reality of the movement is that it is a students’ Movement.”\textsuperscript{15}

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.”\textsuperscript{16}

He continued:

The first change was moving the Ikhwans from working at the branches of the MSA and the [Arab Youth Muslim] Association as branches whose activities are based on universities where they go to a university to hold their activity, to what is called at that time “The Muslim House”. The Muslim House was based on them purchasing a house

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11} \textit{Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun} is Arabic for “the Muslim Brotherhood.”
\item \textsuperscript{12} I \textit{USA v. Holy Land Foundation}, 04-CR-240, Exhibit 003-0089, (ND TX, July 2007), p. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Ibid., p. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Ibid., p. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Ibid., p. 8.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p. 7.
\end{itemize}
near the university with Ikhwans living in a part of it and the rest of it becomes a mosque and it would also be a nucleus for the activity.\textsuperscript{17}

Later, an unidentified audience member asked about “the formation of one or multiple fronts for the Group”\textsuperscript{18} and in Naman’s response, he said:

As for distributing the brothers’ efforts, yes, in some of the regions where few Ikhwans exist, there will really be a heavy pressure on them because, in addition to that, they have to be members of the MSA, the [Muslim Arab Youth] Association and, if they’re Palestinians for instance, they will have to be members in the Islamic Association for Palestine.\textsuperscript{19}

At the 7\textsuperscript{th} 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…”\textsuperscript{20}

Interestingly, of two prominent terrorist groups, he said, “Look at Palestine and Lebanon. You see groups like Hamas and Hizballah. These groups that have been uncompromising, trying to establish things based on Islam and they simply will not budge, they will not shake hands with the other side because there are some fundamental conflicts – remember what we were talking earlier about enjoying what is right and forbidding what is wrong? – those concepts, they can’t compromise on.”

Of insurgent groups in Iraq that target American soldiers, Shama says, expressing solidarity, “You look at the situation in Iraq…and you see people like Muqtada al Sadr, who are legitimately rising up against occupation. You see the residents of Fallujah and Mosul legitimately struggling against occupation, and anyone who is doing that for sake of Allah are a part of the global Islamic Movement. Call them insurgents, call them whatever the heck you want; they are a part of the global Islamic Movement if they’re fighting against the occupation and the [uninte] for the sake of Allah (swt).”\textsuperscript{21} By the time of this 2005 MSA conference at which Shama made these remarks, identifying al-Sadr as part of the same Islamic Movement as MSA, al-Sadr’s Mahdi Army had killed American soldiers in well-publicized confrontations and ambushes.\textsuperscript{22} The Fallujah uprising began when four U.S. contractors were killed. Their bodies were mutilated and they were hung from a bridge. Shama then identified the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas as a part of the “mainstream Islamic movement.”\textsuperscript{23} He later added that

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 8.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., p. 12.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} Ahmad Shama, Speech “Global Islamic Movements,” Striving for Revival: Student Activism for Global Reformation: 7\textsuperscript{th} Annual MSA West Conference. University of Southern California. January 14-17, 2005.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} “Capsules of U.S. troops who have died while serving in Iraq and Kuwait,” Associated Press, April 30, 2004.
\textsuperscript{23} Ahmad Shama, Speech “Global Islamic Movements,” Striving for Revival: Student Activism for Global Reformation: 7\textsuperscript{th} Annual MSA West Conference. University of Southern California. January 14-17, 2005.
Hamas was “doing the work on behalf of the ummah in Filistine [Palestine]…Their slogan has been quite clear that, the only solution to the current occupation is military resistance. Not shaking hands. Not dialogues. The current solution to the problem in Filistine a military system.”

He explained how MSA fits in: “The reality is that the Islamic Movement is global and that part of that global aspect is that there has to be a local element to it. We have to be involved. We have to be plugged into the global Islamic Movement. We have an obligation to make sure that our MSAs are part of the global Islamic Movement.”

It is important to understand the rhetorical implications of Shama’s speech. Adherents of the Muslim Brotherhood and its South Asian sister organization, Jamaat-i-Islami, often refer to their cause as the “Islamic Movement.” In fact, Zaid Naman, an official of the Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S., noted that “at some point, there was an attempt to change the name of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement to The Islamic Movement” in a speech about the Brotherhood in America sometime during the 1980s.

Describing the perfect activist in the Islamic Movement, Shama read that

…he is also stimulated by his keenness to discharge his duty, eliminate efficiencies, contribute to the revival of the neglected Khilafas [Caliphates], enforcing the shariah sent down by Allah, unifying the Muslim nation around the Holy Quran, supporting Allah’s friends and fighting Allah’s foes, liberating Muslim territories from all aggression or non-Muslim control, reinstating the Islamic system of Khilafa to the leadership and [unintelligible word] as required by shariah, and renewing the obligation to spreads the call of Islam…

In one segment of Shama’s speech, he ran through a series of what he sees as praiseworthy figures throughout history of the Islamic Movement. Hassan al Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, was praised extensively. Also praised was Sayed Qutb, a prominent leader of the Muslim Brotherhood executed by the Egyptian government. Two of Qutb’s books, In the Shade of the Quran and Milestones, heavily influenced Osama bin Laden. In his speech, Shama insists that, “If you want to know about the Islamic Movement, you must first read Milestones.” Later in his speech, Shama again said, “I strongly recommend, a very good book to start out with is Milestones.” A central thesis of Milestones was that the world had degraded into ignorance, that Arab secular leaders were not true Muslims and therefore must be overthrown. Qutb also insisted that jihad was an offensive struggle that must bring Islam to the entire world so that everyone obeys the will of Allah.

24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
Shama noted the importance of the term, “movement,” when he described MSA’s goal of spreading Islam on the West Coast of the United States:

When MSA West was started…it was very important to those who were helping found it to have that word ‘movement’ in there because we want to be part of this definition I was talking about earlier that we are working towards the Word of Allah being most high. And that means that in the MSA we want the word of Allah to be most high. On the West Coast we want the word of Allah to be most high.32

He later added, “And we need to help reestablish the word of Allah Most High in every aspect. And so we all want to plug into this global Islamic Movement. We want to be part of the same family that these other groups around the world that are fighting in Filistine [Palestine] and fighting everywhere. We want to be part of that.”33

II. ANOTHER AGENDA BEHIND MSA’S DA’WAH

Meaning Behind MSA’s Da’wah

MSA has played a key role in the Brotherhood-led Islamic Movement in North America since the 1960s, when the organization was established as one of the primary conduits for the proselytizing ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America.

Da’wah means proselytizing Islam. It is traditionally seen as a religious requirement for Muslims to perform da’wah. Da’wah also happens to have been a core issue for Hassan al-Banna. Under his direction, the Muslim Brotherhood directed itself towards reviving the concept of da’wah. At a 1995 Muslim Arab Youth Association (MAYA) conference in Toledo, Ohio, the world’s most influential Sunni scholar and the unofficial spiritual leader of the Muslim Brotherhood movement, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, explained the significance of da’wah, converting people to Islam, as a tool to spread the global Islamic Movement, stating, “Conquest through da’awa, that is what we hope for. We will conquer Europe, we will conquer America! Not through sword but through da’awa.”34

As explained by MSA National on its website, “‘Da’wah’ means invitation, and refers specifically to inviting people to Islam.”35 The primary way in which MSA carries out its stated mission of “spreading Islam as students in North America”36 is through daw’ah.

32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
Even though MSA’s da’wah campaign does also entail benign and legitimate religious work protected under the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, some of these activities and statements by MSA indicate its true Islamist agenda.

At its national conferences, MSA promotes the idea that da’wah is a duty and a vital tool to further the goals of the global Islamic Movement. At MSA’s 2006 East Zone Conference at the University of Maryland, speaker Shad Imam was explicit about the ultimate goal of da’wah, echoing Qaradawi’s comments above, stating:

And as we go forth into the dunya [world] as ambassadors of Islam, we must remember the contributions, not just of the people in the past, but the contributions that you and I will make for this religion. What will those contributions be? How will it [be] 10 years from now, 20 years from now, generations from now? What will people say about this generation? Will they go back and say, “You know what -- these guys didn’t know what they were doing.” Or will they look back and say, the institutions that we set up, the institutions that we built, the da’wah that we gave, because of this da’wah, Islam has spread in this country and America is now a Muslim country [emphasis added].

MSA student leaders and members consistently promote the message that da’wah is performed in the service of the global Islamic movement to spread and establish Islam. At the 2005 MSA West Conference cited above, Shama stated that the ultimate goal of da’wah is to establish an Islamic government. He declared:

The only justification -- the only justification -- that Muslims have to live in this country is da’wah. I say it again. It might be controversial…The only obligation that we have living in this country is da’wah…We are going to have a pretty good justification…and if we are not doing something to invite people to Islam, Muslims and non-Muslims, then we are missing the point what Islamic Movement is about…The end goal of everything I was talking about is the establishment of, the reestablishment of, Islamic form of government.

A document posted on MSA National’s website entitled, “Dawa: Time to Come Out of Our Boxes,” advises MSA members to strategically adapt their da’wah to the particular cultural sensibilities of North Americans, for instance in this excerpt instructing them how to define “jihad”:

Instead of using “Holy War” to translate the word Jihad, use a more comprehensive and proper term like, “struggle” or “striving”… Try to use language that is more appealing to North Americans.

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III. MSA’S ISLAMIST TIES

Many early leaders of MSA went on to form other Islamic organizations in America that spread Islam as espoused by the Muslim Brotherhood. As its website states, “MSA National was the precursor of ISNA [the Islamic Society of North America], ICNA [the Islamic Circle of North America], MAYA [the Muslim Arab Youth Association], IMA [the Islamic Medical Association of North America], AMSS [the Association of Muslim Social Scientists], AMSE [the Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers], MYNA [Muslim Youth of North America], Islamic Book Service, and the North American Islamic Trust.”

MSA states on its website, “MSA National maintains continuous affiliation with ISNA. As an affiliate of ISNA, historically, the MSA National President has a seat on the ISNA Majlis Ash-shura. However, beyond this, ISNA does not have any direct involvement in MSA National affairs. In addition, the MSA Annual Continental Conference is held alongside ISNA.”

Over the years, MSA has maintained ties to the organizations it spawned. The North American Islamic Trust (NAIT), the first U.S.-based Muslim financial trust, has played a key role in all of MSA’s financial dealings. MSA leaders have had high profile roles in other Islamic organizations, some of which have been linked to Islamic extremism.

**Abdurahman Alamoudi** served as acting president of MSA National from 1982 to 1983. Alamoudi was also the founder and executive director of the American Muslim Council (AMC) in 1990. AMC was once the most prominent Islamic public advocacy organization in America. He was also the director and president of the American Muslim Foundation, the regional representative for the Washington, DC-area of ISNA, member of the executive committee of the Islamic Society of Boston, and director of the United Association for Studies and Research.

In 2004, Alamoudi was sentenced to 23 years in jail in 2004 after pleading guilty to “violating the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), which imposes terrorism-related

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43 Resume of Abdurahman M. Alamoudi, 2.
47 Islamic Society of Boston, Form 1023, 1983.
sanctions prohibiting unlicensed travel to and commerce 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.” The U.S. Treasury Department stated that Alamoudi had raised a million dollars for al Qaeda, adding that his arrest “was a severe blow to al Qaida, as Alamoudi had a close relationship with al Qaida.”

Ahmad Totonji, among MSA’s initial founders, became a key player in the Muslim Brotherhood-dominated SAAR network in Northern Virginia. Federal investigators have alleged that the SAAR network – composed of over 100 companies, charities, and organizations with interlocking boards of directors – may have financing ties to al Qaeda, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and Hamas. The origins of the SAAR network reside with a group of Muslim scholars, businessmen, and scientists who gathered in the United States in the early 1980s. The first SAAR entity, the SAAR Foundation, was incorporated in Virginia in 1983.

Members of the younger MSA generation have been linked to criminal activity. Ali Asad Chandia, former president of Montgomery College MSA, was convicted in June 2006 on three counts of providing or conspiring to provide material support to the U.S.-designated terrorist organization Lashkar-e-Taiba. Muhammad Al-Gurashi, former president of MSA at Arizona State University, was charged by a federal grand jury in 2003 with two counts of illegal possession of a firearm. In July 2003, federal prosecutors stated that al-Gurashi agreed to be deported to Saudi Arabia and motioned for charges to be dismissed in order to avoid a waste of judicial resources. Intelligence and law enforcement officials claimed that he rented a car with three other individuals and drove to Freeport, Texas and stopped at President George W. Bush’s

53 Redacted Affidavit In Support of Application, In the Matter of Searches Involving 555 Grove Street, Herndon, Virginia, and Related Locations, 02-114-MG (ED VA).
54 Ibid.
55 Virginia Secretary of State, SAAR Foundation Inc., Articles of Incorporation, 1983.
GIVING THE TALIBAN A STAGE ON CAMPUS

A key method by which MSA chapters around the country espouse and empower Islamist ideologies is by providing pulpits on U.S. college campuses to figures tied to extremist organizations, networks, and even governments. On March 10, 2001, the MSA of the University of Southern California (USC) invited Syed Rahmatullah Hashimi, senior advisor to Mullah Omar of the Taliban, to speak to students.

In his talk there, just 6 months before the 9/11 attacks, Hashimi accused the United States of exaggerating the threat posed by Osama bin Laden, stating that U.S. citizens were “taught…that bin Laden is saying all American civilians must be killed. That is the story of media, and the media here is very irresponsible. They are commercialized, and they’ll do anything for selling advertisements.” 63 Laying the blame on the United States and the media, Hashimi ignored bin Laden’s 1998 fatwa, which stated, “We, with God’s help, call on every Muslim who believes in God and wishes to be rewarded to comply with God’s order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it.” 64

The MSA chapter at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey provided students on campus with access to the rhetoric of Islamic extremists, selling video tapes on its website of a speech given by the Taliban ambassador at Drew on May 3, 2000. 65

MSA STUDENT OFFICIAL TRAINS FOR WAR

Syed Maaz Shah, an electrical engineering student at the University of Texas (Dallas campus) who served as secretary of the university’s MSA, was arrested by the FBI and detained for possession of a firearm by a non-U.S. citizen. 66 Born in Pakistan, Shah had lived for several years with his parents in the United States, who relocated later on in Nigeria; his younger brother is enrolled at the University of Texas. Shah, who was awarded a university scholarship, was described by his aunt during the detention hearing as an excellent student. 67 He had entered the United States on a student visa, which was revoked in January 2006. 68

63 Syed Rahmatullah Hashimi, Speech University of Southern California, March 10, 2001.
68 Ibid.
The two FBI agents assigned to the international counter-terrorism squad in Houston, Texas, revealed that they started the investigation in 2005. They recounted that Shah was present during at least two camping trips during which he participated in firearms training using live rounds. Shah and the other campers were recorded talking about jihad and martyrdom. Shah also displayed his passport and asked one of his companions if “he wanted to see the passport of a terrorist.”

The charges against Shah stemmed from these camping trips outside Houston with three others in 2005. Two of Shah’s companions on the camping trip were indicted in 2006 for conspiring to “offer financial support to Taliban fighters (hereafter ‘the fighters’) and their families; and (2) to train with firearms to hone their skills for battlefield jihad.” These charges stem from the same camping trip. The fourth individual was charged, like Shah, with illegal firearms possession. In April 2007, prosecutors added charges of being in the country illegally against Shah. On May 24, 2007, Shah was convicted on two counts of firearms possession by an alien. One of Shah’s companions, Kobe Williams, pled guilty to the conspiracy charge in late 2006. Adnan Mirza’s trial is scheduled to begin in October 2007. Shiraz Syed Qazi was found guilty of the firearms charge in January 2007 and was sentenced to 10 months in prison.

MSA AND RADICALIZATION

A report issued by the New York City Police Department in 2007 noted the contribution of MSA chapters to the proliferation of Islamist and Salafist ideology. The report stated:

Among the social networks of the local university population, there appears to be a growing trend of Salafi-based radicalization that has permeated some Muslim student associations (MSA’s). Extremists have used these university-based organizations as forums for the development and recruitment of likeminded individuals – providing a receptive platform for younger, American-born imams, to present a radical message in a way that resonates with the students. For example, one book increasingly being cited for

69 Ibid.
72 US v. Shiraz Syed Qazi, 06-427, “Indictment” (SD TX, November 28, 2006).
78 Salafism is an austere form of Islam within the Sunni sect that attempts to return to what its adherents believe to be unadulterated Islam as was practiced by Muhammad and his Companions. In order to achieve this, Salafis strip out what they see as bida, or innovations, from the practice of Islam as it has developed over the centuries. Most major Sunni terrorist organizations, including al Qaeda, claim to ascribe to Salafism. Wahhabism is the Saudi brand of Islam.
discussion by many of these associations is Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab’s *Kitab At-Tawheed*, the foundational book for Wahhabi Islam.\(^7^9\)

**IV. MSA PUBLICATIONS**

The Washington, D.C.-based MSA National, MSA University of California-Los Angeles (UCLA), and the Muslim Student Union (an MSA chapter) at the University of California-Irvine (UC-Irvine) issue publications that are distributed on campus and often made available to students and other audiences nationwide. UCLA’s Muslim student newspaper, *al-Talib*, has a targeted distribution of 20,000 copies per issue, which includes mosques, community centers, and campuses nationwide.\(^8^0\) UC-Irvine’s *Alkalima* circulates to 15,000 readers across the United States.\(^8^1\) Some of these publications are also available on the Internet. The rhetoric and ideology expressed in these publications is cause for concern.

The July 1999 issue of *al-Talib* featured an editorial by MSA staff entitled, “The Spirit of Jihad.” This editorial was published after it was well-known by the public that Osama bin Laden’s terrorist network was behind the 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya that killed 225 people and wounded more than 4,000. Most of the victims of these attacks were African civilians and many were Muslims. 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 defend our brother and refer to him as a freedom fighter; someone who has forsaken wealth and power to fight in Allah’s cause and speak out against oppressors. We take these stances only to please Allah.\(^8^2\)

Osama bin Laden’s photograph is even featured on the cover, and he is referred to as a “freedom fighter and philanthropist.”\(^8^3\)

An article in the November 2000 issue of *al-Talib*, entitled, “Survival of a Nation: Twenty Years of War in Afghanistan,” defends the Taliban and endorses the goals of al Qaeda co-founder and bin Laden-mentor, Abdullah Azzam. The article states:

> In most Islamic and Western media…[the Taliban] are branded as Islamic fundamentalists who practice a harsh interpretation of Islam…The Taliban insist that a return to normalcy after 20 years of war will take time and patience. We pray that Sheikh ‘Azzam’s dream of a true Islamic State comes true.\(^8^4\)

The same article quotes bin Laden as an authority of the virtues of the Taliban regime.\(^8^5\)

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\(^7^9\) Mitchell D. Silber and Arvin Bhatt, *Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat* (New York Police Department, 2007).


\(^8^5\) Ibid.
In September 2001, the issue was titled, “Philippines: the Forgotten Jihad.” The featured article’s author lamented what he describes as the “targeted distortion” of Abu Sayyaf, a group allied to al Qaeda and directly tied to the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center. In fact, the year before this article was published in *al-Talib*, this terrorist group, “captured an American Muslim visiting Jolo Island and demanded that the United States release Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman and Ramzi Yousef, who were jailed for their involvement in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. ‘We have been trying hard to get an American because they may think we are afraid of them,’ a spokesman for Abu Sayyaf said. ‘We want to fight the American people.’” \(^{86}\) Regarding this terrorist group, the *al-Talib* article sarcastically and cynically contended:

> The marginal Abu Sayyaf are actually beneficial for the United States because they give the United States an excuse to be in the Philippines. After all, America’s just helping the government get past its nasty Muslim problem, nothing else. \(^{87}\)

The June 2004 issue of UC-Irvine’s *Alkalima* contained an opinion piece praising Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Hizballah, and describing Hamas-founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and former Hamas senior leader Abd Al-Aziz Al-Rantisi as martyrs. The article states:

> …the Arab people have realized that the only solution to the Zionist situation is through military force, which is espoused by Hamas, Hizb’ Allah, Islamic jihad, and other Islamic resistance organizations.

> …Arab countries have come to realize that the only group able to liberate land from the Zionists was Hizb’ Allah. Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, who only had control of his tongue, stuck to his correct legitimate ideology and was assassinated as a hero of the Palestinian people and Muslims worldwide.

> …Just as the legacy of those before them has grown after their martyrdom - as has been the case with Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, and Malcolm X - Sheikh Yassin and Dr. Rantissi have joined these martyrs in the Islamic Movement; their influence on future generations will be immense. \(^{88}\)

It is important to note the honorable mention in this passage of Muslim Brotherhood luminaries Hassan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb.

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\(^{87}\) Salar Rizvi, “The Philippines; mapping out the conflict; Targeted Distortion; the media agenda,” *Al-Talib*. September 2001.

UC Irvine’s Muslim student magazine, *AlKalima*, and UCLA MSA’s *al-Talib* jointly published a special report entitled, “Zionism: The Forgotten Apartheid.”89 The report contained thinly veiled anti-Semitic bigotry, stating:

As the Zionists continue to colonize, torture and ethnically-cleanse in the name of the ‘peace process’ and the Americans continue to fund them, the respective staffs of *Al-Talib* and *AlKalima* feel it to be their basic duty to expose Zionism, its evils and its effects...Zionist-controlled world media has been purposefully distorting and misconstruing world events too long.90

The report devoted a section to “the resistance movements against Zionist aggression,”91 portraying terrorist groups Hamas and Hizballah in a favorable light.

An article in the June 2003 issue of *al-Talib*, entitled, “In the Face of the Enemy: Rachel Corrie’s Stand Against Oppression,” accused Israel of perpetrating genocide against Palestinians. It stated:

With the alleged “War on Terror” and the Palestinian people conveniently slipping right into the label of “terrorists,” Sharon essentially has millions of sympathizers, including President Bush and his administration. And with the war on Iraq clogging up the main media outlets, Israel is almost completely free to creep around the distracted cameras and finish the controlled genocide in Palestine.92

V. MSA’S INTERNET ACTIVITIES

**MSA NATIONAL ACTION ALERTS, NEWS STATEMENTS AND PRESS RELEASES**

In a statement issued by the MSA’s Political Action Task Force (PATF) on March 22, 2004, MSA National said that it “strongly condemns the assassination of Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, the spiritual leader and founder of the Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS) in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.”93

An Action Alert issued in 2004 by MSA’s National Political Action Task Force (PATF) urged members to “send letters of support, encouragement and kind words to our Muslim political
A number of prison inmates are described as “leading American Muslim activists.” The list includes figures such as Abdurahman Alamoudi, Sami al-Arian, Randall “Ismail” Royer, and Imam Jamil Al-Amin. This list was posted on the MSA-National website in 2004, before some of these figures were convicted of their respective crimes, but as of mid 2007, all of these men are incarcerated and a link to this list remains on the Political Action webpage on the MSA-National Website.

As explained above, Abdurahman Alamoudi was charged in 2003 with immigration fraud, tax evasion and illegal financial dealings with Libya. He pled guilty in 2004 to three federal offenses. Alamoudi was sentenced to 23 years in jail. In July 2005, the U.S. Treasury Department declared that Alamoudi had raised money for al Qaeda in the United States and had facilitated the transfer of about $1 million to organizations and individuals with links to al Qaeda.

Sami al-Arian, a University of South Florida Computer Science professor, was indicted in February 2003, 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, 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.

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.” 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.”

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While the MSA Action Alert was sent out two years before al-Arian pled guilty, al-Arian had been well-known in the Islamic community since at least the early 1990s for being an advocate for terrorism against Israelis. Additionally, al-Arian’s inflammatory language calling for terrorism had been widely publicized since his indictment in 2003, the year before the Action Alert was issued. For example, at the Islamic Center of Cleveland in 1991, when Fawaz Damrah introduced him, he said that al-Arian “heads the ICP - and as small excerpt about the ICP - it is the active arm of the Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine in North America. We call it the ICP here for security reasons.”\(^{104}\) Al-Arian, in his speech, said that “we must continue with the Resistance . . . let's damn America, let's damn Israel, let's damn their allies until death.”\(^ {105}\)

**Randall Royer** was the ringleader of the Virginia Paintball Jihad cell, which consisted of eleven men who participated in combat training with paintball guns and sought terrorist training to fight with on the side of the Taliban after the 9/11 attacks. The cell members were indicted in 2003 for their involvement with Lashkar e Taiba (LeT),\(^ {106}\) an al Qaeda-affiliated terrorist organization based in Pakistan and for conspiring to levy war against the United States and provide material support to al Qaeda.\(^ {107}\) Royer decided to seek a plea agreement and pled guilty to weapons and explosives charges in January 2004.\(^ {108}\) He was sentenced to 20 years in prison.\(^ {109}\)

**Jamil Al-Amin** (a.k.a. H. Rap Brown) was convicted in 2002 of murdering a Fulton County deputy sheriff and sentenced to life in prison.\(^ {110}\)

In April of 2005, MSA-National also released a statement calling for the “presence and volunteerism”\(^ {111}\) of MSA members at a fundraising dinner in support of Ahmed Omar Abu Ali and Abdulhaleem Ashqar.\(^ {112}\) Abu Ali was convicted by a federal jury in November 2005 of plotting with al Qaeda operatives to assassinate President George W. Bush and conspiracy to commit acts of terrorism.\(^ {113}\) He was sentenced to thirty years in prison in March of 2006.\(^ {114}\)


\(^{105}\) *USA v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, "Exhibit" (MD FL), Video, Sami al Arian, Islamic Center of Cleveland, April 7, 1991.


\(^{112}\) Ibid.


Abdelhaleem Ashqar was indicted for his alleged participation in a racketeering conspiracy involving members of the terrorist group Hamas in the United States, who allegedly raised and transferred millions of dollars to Hamas, a charge for which he was acquitted in 2007. However, the jury found him guilty for obstruction of justice and contempt of court.

An editorial published in June 2004 in Dartmouth’s student newspaper, The Dartmouth, entitled “Preaching Hatred at Dartmouth,” exposed anti-Semitic remarks posted on the website of the college’s MSA chapter, Al-Nur. Following publication of the article, Al-Nur apologized, and soon thereafter, its website was “under construction.” A visit to the archived website in question reveals that Al-Nur had quoted a virulently anti-Semitic Hadith (saying of the Prophet Muhammad) and provided equally hateful commentary. The Hadith and commentary follow:

1820. Abu Hurairah (May Allah be pleased with him) said: The Messenger of Allah (PBUH) said, “The Last Hour will not come until the Muslims fight against the Jews, until a Jew will hide himself behind a stone or a tree, and the stone or the tree will say: ‘O Muslim, there is a Jew behind me. Come and kill him,’ but Al-Gharqad tree will not say so, for it is the tree of the Jews.”

Commentary: Gharqad is a thorny plant which is well-known in the area of Palestine. Allah can bestow the power of speech to whatever thing He likes. When Allah wills, He will give mastery to the Muslims. He will help them even by means of plants and stones which will assist the Muslims against the Jews by informing them about the whereabouts of the Jews. The Jews have predominance over the Muslims in spite of the fact that they are a minority. But according to this true narration, the situation will definitely change before the Day of Resurrection, and the Muslims will dominate the Jews. Allah is the Master and Rubb of everything.

A document on MSA-USC’s website, entitled “Shattering Ten Misconceptions About Islam,” rejects “pure democracy” and promotes rule by Islamic law, as follows (emphasis in original):

…the Islamic state must derive its law from the Qur’an and Sunnah. This principle excludes certain choices from the Islamic state’s options for political and economic systems, such as pure democracy, unrestricted capitalism, communism, socialism, etc. For example, a pure democracy places the people above the Qur’an and Sunnah, and this is disobedience to the Creator. However, the best alternative to pure democracy is democracy that implements and enforces the Shari’ah (Islamic Law).

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119 Ibid.
…This is the methodology of the Islamic state, to consult one another, but to always keep the Qur’an and Sunnah paramount. *Any law which contradicts the Qur’an or Sunnah is unlawful.*

On the website of MSA South Seattle Community College, a piece entitled “A Cry From Palestine” gives the following opinion about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (emphasis and spelling errors in original):

> We are willing to live in peace the second that all the AMERICAN and EUROPEAN jews are back in their proper land. We don't want war, we want fairness and peace. These people of Palestine will not compromise until the Jewish "ZIONIST" Government is out of Palestine. Until then we are going to fight until our blood covers the streets, we are going to fight for our kids, for out ancestors, we are going to fight until the land is once again ours. We are going to fight until we can live in peace like the muslims did before Palestine was taken by Jews. Inshallah every last blood of Muslims will be accounted for, and every last peace of dirt will be in peace with out a gun sound. Inshallah we can live in peace with everyone is Palestine, once Palestine is controlled by Muslims. Inshallah Allah will grant us victory in this life and the next.

The homepage of MSA at Drew University links to a list of Islamic websites that includes such extremist organizations as: **Hizb-ut-Tahrir**

> **Hizb-ut-Tahrir** is a Muslim organization, banned in many countries, that is dedicated to the establishment of a world-wide Muslim Caliphate. While this organization claims that it is nonviolent in nature, Hizb-ut-Tahrir members have been implicated in some terrorist plots. For example, Hizb ut-Tahrir has had a close relationship with the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), an al Qaeda-allied terrorist organization. They share many of the same members. The more violently inclined of Hizb-ut-Tahrir have gravitated toward IMU. Hizb-ut-Tahrir is a “nominally nonviolent but extremist Islamic religious movement that seeks to establish an Islamic caliphate throughout Central Asia (including China’s Xinjiang Province).” Their international headquarters are in London. Hizb-ut-Tahrir members in Central Asia have distributed leaflets calling for violent revolution, assassination, and retribution against U.S. soldiers for what they see as a Western war waged on Islam. Members of the organization have been arrested in

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Russia by the FSB with explosives in their Moscow headquarters. Hizb-ut-Tahrir members with explosives have also been arrested in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.¹²⁷

**Jamaat-i-Islami**¹²⁸ is the sister movement to the Muslim Brotherhood. It was founded in Lahore in present-day Pakistan in 1941 by Sayyid Abulala Mawdudi.¹²⁹ Like the Muslim Brotherhood, Jamaat-i-Islami seeks to establish an Islamic government with a constitution based on the Quran and sharia.¹³⁰ Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, the mastermind of the 9/11 attacks, was arrested in the home of a Jamaat-i-Islami official in Pakistan.¹³¹

**Holy Land Foundation**¹³² is an Islamic charity whose assets were frozen in December 2001 by the FBI and Treasury Department based on charges that it had raised funds for Hamas; among HLF’s founders was Musa Abu Marzooq, a political leader of Hamas currently located in Damascus, Syria with Hamas leader Khalid Mishaal.¹³³ In July 2004, a federal grand jury indicted HLF on charges including providing material support to a foreign terrorist organization.¹³⁴ In December 2004 a federal judge held HLF (along with the Islamic Association for Palestine, or IAP) liable in a $156 million dollar lawsuit for aiding and abetting the terrorist group Hamas in the murder of a 17-year old American citizen.¹³⁵ The U.S. Appeals Court in the Seventh Circuit overturned the award in December 2007 after determining the Boims had not done enough to establish that the groups' support for Hamas contributed, even indirectly, to their son's murder. The case was sent the case back to the district court to allow for additional proceedings. The terrorist financing trial against the Holy Land Foundation began in Dallas in July 2007.

On October 22, after 19 days of deliberation, the jurors in the HLF case were unable to reach a unanimous verdict on almost all the charges against the defendants, and the judge ordered a mistrial. Defendant Mohammed El-Mezain was acquitted on all but one count; that of conspiracy to provide material support to terrorists. The prosecution says it intends to retry the case.¹³⁶

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¹²⁷ Ibid., 4.
¹²⁹ Charles Allen, God’s Terrorists (Cambridge, MA: De Capo Press, 2006), 270.
¹³⁰ Ibid., 271.
¹³⁶ The jury has found Defendant Mohammad El-Mezain NOT GUILTY on Counts 2-32. Verdict available here. Chief Judge Fish has declared a mistrial as to Count 1 for this defendant and on all counts for the remaining defendants., http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/notable.html
Islamic Association for Palestine was Hamas’ primary political support organization in the United States. A 2001 Immigration and Naturalization Service memo documented IAP’s support for Hamas and found that the “facts strongly suggest” that IAP was “part of Hamas’ propaganda apparatus.”

IAP came up in a memorandum opinion in the case of Holy Land Foundation v. Ashcroft, in which the Holy Land Foundation unsuccessfully sued then-Attorney General John Ashcroft to challenge its designation as a Specially Designated Terrorist Entity. HLF U.S. District Judge Gladys Kessler found the following:

Further, there is evidence in the record that, at the same time Hamas was funding HLF, it was also funding a network of organizations connected to HLF. There is evidence that at least one of these organizations, Islamic Association for Palestine ("IAP"), has acted in support of Hamas. [footnote 17 in this document reads, “There is evidence in the record that IAP distributes information on behalf of Hamas. See AR 1499-1535.] The Government contends that HLF knew of Hamas' funding of these organizations because HLF’s leaders were associated with or related on a familial basis to the leaders of the other funded organizations.

In November 2004, a federal magistrate judge held IAP civilly liable for $156 million in the 1996 shooting of an American citizen by a Hamas member in the West Bank. The judge found that IAP had “published and distributed an abundance of pro-Hamas documents.”

Human Concern International is a charity that has been tied to al Qaeda. In a 1996 interview with Rose al-Yusuf, Osama bin Ladin referred to his own work as: “To put it simply the Bin Ladin Establishment’s Aid covers 13 countries, including Albania, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Netherlands, Britain, Romania, Turkey, Lebanon, Iraq, and some Gulf countries which there is no need to mention.” He continues, “This aid, comes in particular from the Human Concern International Society, which was founded in Afghanistan in 1982.” Fayizah Sa’d then mentioned in the article that bin Ladin was one of the founders of that society.

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138 In the matter of Hasan Faisal Yousef Sabri, Notice of Revocation of petition for Amerasian, Widow, or Special Immigrant (Form I-360), Attachment.
139 Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. John Ashcroft, 02-442, “Memorandum Opinion” 21 (D DC, August 8, 2002).
The website of MSA at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute provides a link to “The Forty Hadith.” One of these, called “The Concept of Jihad,” offers a translation and incendiary commentary about jihad and the supremacy of Islam over other religions. The translation of the Hadith reads:

I have been ordered to fight against people until they testify that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah and until they perform the prayers and pay the zakat, and if they do so they will have gained protection from me for their lives and property, unless [they do acts that are punishable] in accordance with Islam, and their reckoning will be with Allah the Almighty.

The translation is accompanied by a commentary, whose inflammatory nature is illustrated by the following excerpts:

A third opinion interprets the hadith as saying that people have to accept the domination or supremacy of Islam - that Islam is the dominant religion. This objective is to be achieved by whatever means, whether it is through fighting or through peaceful agreements.

We should be practicing the great values, concepts and principles of Islam and following its rulings and guidelines. If we do so, this will portray the real image of Islam and make us the perfect model for other societies, communities and nations. Only then will the non-Muslims feel attracted to Islam and may accept the dominance of Islam in their society.

The Muslim community is encountering two kinds of challenges - the internal challenges (some of which were previously mentioned) and the external challenges which are being imposed on them by the opponents of Islam. Those opponents are coming up with different ways of “fighting” and trying to rule the Muslim world. These external challenges include all aspects of globalisation, modernity, change of lifestyle, technology misuse, changing values, etc.

The opponents of Islam are promoting evil and negative concepts through new ways and means...The latest findings of researches and studies, like cognitive psychology, are used to influence the world, including the Muslims, to change their attitudes, values and even beliefs.

147 Ibid.
148 Ibid.
149 Ibid.
150 Ibid.

When we use technology, e.g. the Internet, we must use it in a way where we are the ones who control it, and not as a manipulation tool of others. We should use it in our *da'wah*, as a form of counter manipulation.\(^{151}\)

**VI. MSA CONFERENCES**

On February 4, 1999, the MSA chapter at Southwest Missouri State University (SMSU) held a conference. Kamran A. Bokhari, the official spokesperson for al Muhajiroun in North America, was one of the speakers.\(^{152}\) Bokhari was also the MSA-SMSU planning coordinator.\(^{153}\) Al Muhajiroun is a now-defunct British-based extremist organization founded by Omar Bakri Muhammad.\(^{154}\) Al Muhajiroun was well-known for its praise of terrorism and inflammatory anti-Western militant rhetoric. In 1997, *The Guardian* wrote a 9,000 word story on Bakri Muhammad that explained his activities and positions.\(^{155}\) The article reported that Bakri Muhammad asserted that homosexuals and adulterers should be stoned to death and that it was the duty of every Muslim to kill Jews in Israel.\(^{156}\) He also stated that Great Britain was a legitimate target for terrorist attacks “because London called for the destruction of the Khalifate on March 3, 1924.”\(^{157}\) In 1998, it was reported that al Muhajiroun members sought to launch terrorist attacks in Britain retaliation for American and British bombing missions against Iraq.\(^{158}\) In 2003, Omar Bakri Muhammad became infamous for referring to the September 11, hijackers as the “Magnificent 19.”\(^{159}\)

In February 1998, the official MSA listserv distributed an al Muhajiroun fatwa against the U.S. and British governments. The fatwa read:

> The Fatwa is Jihad against the US and British governments, armies, interests, airports and institutions and it has been given by the most prominent scholars of Islam today because of the US and British aggression against Muslims and the Muslim land of Iraq.\(^{160}\)

Despite the fact that the listserve always included a disclaimer\(^{161}\) and that MSA has asserted that they do not support terrorism against non-combatant civilians,\(^{162}\) the fact remains that MSA

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\(^{151}\) Ibid.


\(^{153}\) Ibid.


\(^{156}\) Ibid.

\(^{157}\) Omar Bakri Muhammad quoted in Ibid.


\(^{161}\) The disclaimer read: “Views expressed on MSANews do not necessarily represent those of the MSANews editors, the Ohio State University or any of our associated staff and "watchers". Further distribution of material featured on this list may be restricted. In all cases, please obtain the necessary permission of the authors or rightful
distributed material calling for attacks against the United States. This is one of many MSA
disseminations of al Muhajiroun propaganda. Interestingly, this bothered one MSA listserve
recipient, Adam Giorgiou, so much that he wrote to the editors at MSA responsible for the
listserv in October 1998. Giorgiou wrote:

Dear MSANews editors

I have a question; why is al-Muhajiroun still being permitted to speak on the MSANews
list? Didn't MSA already promise that we, the subscribers, would not have to put up with
their rubbish?

I also find Mr. Bokhari's statements on Al Muhajiroun to be quite contradictory with the
leader, Sheikh Umer Bakri Mohammed. Mr. Bokhari seems to imply that the group is
peaceful in nature, when anyone who has read Mohammed's stuff, or spoken to any
members, would know that is totally wrong. Plus, he denies any link to Bin laden; didn't
Bakri already claim that they're his spokesman just a few weeks ago?

If MSA promises us that we won't have to put up with this kind of racist group, then why
do they go back on their promise? This lowers the standard of MSA. We don't want them.
We don't need them.

Adam Giorgiou

In the face of this sentiment, MSA News agreed to censor some of al Muhajiroun’s releases.
However, a few short months later, in January of 1999, MSA once again distributed an al
Muhajiroun message titled, “Jihad is the Islamic Solution to Western Aggression in Iraq.” MSA
later reported to have initiated a ban against material from Omar Bakri Mohammed,
but this did not stop the MSA listserve from sending out an interview with Bakri Mohammed in
early 2001 in which he defended against accusations of his ties to Osama bin Laden, but stated
that he and his organization “vocally and publicly show [their] support and stand for [bin
Laden’s] struggle and the objectives he and his brothers stand for.”

On February 14, 2004, at an MSA West Conference at the University of California- Berkeley,
Amir Abdul Malik Ali made the following remarks:

America is a place of ideas, our battle ground for ideas, in America, the Prophet, peace be
upon him, says a mujahid fights with his words, with his tongue, as well as his sword. So

owners before forwarding any material to or from this list. This service is meant for the exchange of analyses and
news, for both academic and activist usage. We depend on your input. However, this is not a discussion list. Thank
you.”
162 MSANews editors to Michael Whine, E-mail, August 16, 1998.
163 Adam Giorgiou to msanews@msanews.mynet.net, E-mail, October 2, 1998.
165 “Jihad is the Islamic Solution to Western Aggression in Iraq,” MSA Net E-mail, January 24, 1999.
166 “OBM Network Interview:- Sheikh Omar Bakri Muhammad – 12 Answers For The Record,” MSANews,
167 Ibid.
in America you mostly fight with your tongue although you should learn how to use your sword, or rifle, or handgun. Protecting your home, protecting your home. We’re citizens and the Constitution says the right to bear arms, ya know what I’m saying, so stock up!  

He added:

Allah talks about struggling, jihad is used. Jihad. Struggling in the way of Allah, that’s what Allah says, struggling in the way of Allah right and then the clincher, then the clincher, not afraid of those who find blame, ain’t afraid, say what you want! Say what you want about our kind! Say what you want about our freedom fighters! Say what you want about so called fundamentalism, and jihadists, and Islamists…Say what you want! Call us terrorists! Say whatchya want!  

Following the arrest of Imam Jamil al-Amin on murder charges, MSA sponsored several events to raise money for his legal defense. At one fundraiser, Imam Abdul Alim Musa, Imam of Masjid al-Islam in Washington, D.C., defended al-Amin’s murderous actions, inciting hate and violence against the United States:

Imam Jamil coined a phrase, and that phrase meant this: If you don’t give us justice, if you don’t give us equality, if you don’t give us our share of America, if you don’t stay out of our way and leave us alone, we’re gonna burn America down.”  

Imam Musa continued, portraying al-Amin as a hero who stood up against America:

Imam Jamil al-Amin is the last man standing. Yeah, against who? The United States Government of America. They’ve never been able to break him. They’ve never been able to make him compromise. That’s who we’re dealing with today. We’re dealing with a hero.  

At a 2005 MSA conference at the University of Arizona, guest speaker Imam Umar Abdul Jalil, executive director of ministerial and volunteer services for all correctional institutions in the New York City area, made the following comments, for which he was later suspended by New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg:

We have terrorists defining who the terrorist is, but because they have the weight of legitimacy they get away with it…We know that the greatest terrorists in the world occupy the White House, without a doubt.

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169 Ibid.
173 Imam Umar Abdul Jalil, Speech “Developing Our Ummah: Strengthening Ties within the Muslim Community; We are Social Servants of God,” MSA West Zone Conference. Tucson, AZ. April 15-17, 2005.
At an event sponsored by the MSA chapter at Chaffey College in California in March 2006, guest speaker Amir Abdel Malik Ali gave an address entitled, “War on Terrorism or War on Islam,” in which he stated, “The war on terrorism is actually a war on Islam.”

On October 22, 2000, an anti-Israel protest took place at the Israeli consulate in Los Angeles. The rally was organized by two UCLA students, Arif Shaikh and Ahmed Shama. Shama was then president of the UCLA MSA chapter. At the rally, protesters shouted “Death to Israel!” and “Victory to Islam! Death to Jews!”

At the end of the rally, an Israeli flag was burned while the crowd yelled, “Khaybar Khaybar, O Jews, the army of Muhammad is coming for you.” The slogan is a historical reference to remind Jews of the imminent death they supposedly face once Muslim armies unite under the banner of Islam, as happened to them in Khaybar in the seventh century.

At the same rally, Hussam Ayloush, representative of CAIR of Southern California, encouraged students and other attendees to donate to HLF. HLF was later closed down by the U.S. government for its ties to Hamas and was indicted in Dallas for supporting the Palestinian terrorist organization Hamas, a U.S.-designated terrorist organization. Ayloush made this appeal to the audience:

> We need to make sure to extend our support to the victims, to the orphans, to those who have…the many martyrs who have given their lives to the honor of this holy place. We need to make sure to send our donations. There are many organizations here. I will name two of them. I was not asked by them to…this is not a commercial. The Holy Land Foundation, the Islamic Relief. Both have efforts going on in Palestine for the families of the victims.

At an October 2000 protest, Sohail Shakry, then the president of MSA West, quoted Hizbollah Secretary General Sheik Nasrallah, calling for the eradication of the State of Israel:

> If we look at the situation the past 52 years, the biggest impediment to peace has been the existence of the Zionist State of Israel. Since the existence of this state, we have had wars, conflicts, killings, massacres. If we really want true peace then we must see that it goes with the elimination of the Zionist entity in the middle of the Muslim world.

On February 21, 2001, MSA of the University of California- Irvine invited Imam Muhammad Al-Asi, a Shi’ite cleric from the Islamic Center in Potomac, Maryland, to speak on its campus. Al-Asi said:

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175 Protest at Israeli Consulate, Los Angeles, CA, October 22, 2000.
176 Protest at Israeli Consulate, Los Angeles, CA, October 22, 2000.
177 Hussam Ayloush, Speech, Anti-Israel Protest at Israeli Consulate, Los Angeles, CA, October 22, 2000.
178 UCLA MSA Rally, Los Angeles, CA, October 22, 2000.
You have the Jews who are blind and deaf and dumb, who cannot see the same forms of racism, or discrimination, of oppression that is institutionalized and implemented by one of their own; and that is the Israeli, Zionist government in Tel Aviv...Discrimination, if it is against a gentile, is not objectionable; but anything that happens against a Jew becomes a Holocaust...Where is the courageous Jew who can come out and say Israel is as fascist as the most fascist of Europe? Israel is as racist as Apartheid could ever be.179

On May 15, 2002, during “Zionist Awareness Week” at UC-Irvine, Al-Asi made another incendiary speech, this time making his approval of violent measures known:

If the only thing the Israelis and their mentors and their sponsors and their superiors in Washington, D.C. are going to understand is the use of force, then that’s the language we’re going to communicate with. We’re going to use force. And whatever was taken by force can only be retrieved by force.180

At a San Francisco State University rally on April 9, 2002, Imam Amir Abdul Malik Ali revealed his feelings about Israel and the Palestinian “struggle,” when he shouted, “Stop calling them suicide bombers!”181 Cheered by his student audience, Malik Ali continued his advocacy of the bombers:

When a person commits suicide, they are depressed! When a person commits suicide, they are without hope! When a person commits suicide they are losing their patience. They are in a state of despair! These brothers -- and sisters -- before they go out on their martyr missions are doing videotapes, and they are saying “Yeeuuuhh! I’m doing this! I’m doing this!” And their mothers are right next to them saying, “Go ahead and go!”182

On May 18, 2005, Mohammad Al-Asi gave a speech during “Israel Awareness Week” at the University of California-Irvine, in which he condemned what he saw as the takeover of American politics by Israel and Jewish interests. Echoing the classical anti-Semitic theme of a conspiracy in which Jews dominate the political sphere to further Jewish interests in the world, Al-Asi stated:

It’s about time we begin to open our eyes, see for ourselves and identify this cancerous presence of the Israeli interest that has taken over the American body politic.183

At the February 2006 MSA West Zone Conference at Sacramento State University, Abdel Malik Ali venerated Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, assassinated by Israel in 2004, and rejoiced at Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon’s debilitated state of health:

Look how Allah allowed Sheikh Yassin to die. Look how he allowed him to die. And look at Sharon [laughter]. He’s a vegetable. You think that’s just coincidence? Sheikh

181 Amir Abdul Malik Ali, Speech, Anti-Israel Rally, San Francisco State University, April 9, 2002.
182 Amir Abdul Malik Ali, Speech, Anti-Israel Rally, San Francisco State University, April 9, 2002.
183 Mohammad Al-Asi, Speech, Israel Awareness Week, University of California-Irvine, May 18, 2005.
Yassin died the death of a shaheed, a martyr; no, Sharon. He’s suffering. That’s Allah. See Allah is so deep.\(^{184}\)

Again, appearing on March 1, 2006 at an MSA event at Chaffey College, Malik Ali alleged a Zionist conspiracy behind the Danish cartoon controversy:

The Danish government wasn’t behind this. The Danish government wasn’t behind this at all. It was Zionists who were behind this. It was Zionists… The Zionists did this. We knew, we knew who it was, but we had to wait for the information to come out; to come out. ‘Cause Zionists don’t like Muslims, you know what I’m saying?\(^{185}\)

Speaking at the 7\(^{th}\) MSA West Zone conference in January 2005, Malik Ali disparaged a fictional Muslim spiritual leader, whom he mockingly named “Sheikh Levitate,” for being too much of a pacifist and neglecting to promote jihad:

They’re teaching you that there is disconnect between your internal jihad and the external jihad. And here’s how some of us are falling for it. We will see Sheikh Levitate. And Sheikh Levitate will have all of the appearance of spirituality…And you marvel at his level of spirituality and piety, right? Sheikh Levitate meantime ain’t saying nothin’ about the jihad out there, the struggle of our people, what we must do, how we must prepare, right, and what we must do while we are preparing. He ain’t doin’ nothing about that. Sheikh Levitate ain’t tellin’ nothin’ about Palestine…He’s spiritual. But when it comes time to fight. When it comes time to take a position, when it comes time to challenge the system …when it comes time to deal with the system, Sheik Levitate has nothing to say.\(^{186}\)

At the same conference, former MSA official Ahmad Shama, venerated Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin as a martyr and praised the terrorist organization Hamas:

Sheikh Yassin was just martyred a few months ago. And Sheikh Yassin was probably one of the foremost leaders of the global Islamic Movement worldwide… And Hamas is doing the work on behalf of the ummah in Filastin…Their slogan has been clear that the only solution to the current occupation is military resistance, not shaking hands, not dialogues. The current solution to the problem in Filastin is military resistance…Sheikh Yassin was a proper sheik…There was a man who used his knowledge, he used his knowledge to galvanize the people, to move the people, you know, to get people to, like,

\(^{184}\) Abdel Malik Ali, Speech “Da’Wah, Political Activism and Civil Rights: Elevating the World of Allah in the Campus and Society,” MSA West Zone Conference, Sacramento State University, CA. February 3-5, 2006.

\(^{185}\) Abdel Malik Ali, Speech “War on Terrorism or War on Islam?” Chaffey College, Rancho Cucamonga, CA. March 1, 2006.

give their lives for the sake of Islam. And there is a man who, you know, gave his life for Islam.\textsuperscript{187}

MSA sponsored a 2001 fundraising event at UC-Irvine to raise money for the legal defense of accused murderer Jamil al-Amin -- who was to be convicted of the crime the following year.\textsuperscript{188} Even after Al-Amin’s conviction for murder and imprisonment, MSA continued to sponsor events on his behalf. In February 2004, he was invited to speak via teleconference at an MSA West conference held at the University of California-Berkeley.\textsuperscript{189}

At the 7\textsuperscript{th} Annual MSA West Conference held at the University of Southern California in January 2005, guest speaker Muhammad Al Asi had these comments about the triumph of Allah and martyrdom:

\begin{quote}
Whatever happens, happens because Allah wants it to happen. And where is it going to take us? It is either going to be Shahada [martyrdom] or it is going to be Nasr [victory]. It is either going to be us affirming Allah…or it is going to be Allah delivering to us His triumph, His support, and His victory. It cannot be anything else.\textsuperscript{190}
\end{quote}

At MSA’s 2006 West Zone Conference at Sacramento State University, guest speaker Abdel Malik Ali extolled “three things that Hamas did that we should look at, that we should duplicate in America.” Third among these, according to Ali, “they were uncompromising with oppression. They didn’t sit down and talk with no Yahood.”\textsuperscript{191}

MSA held their 2007 West Zone Conference in April 2007 at UC-Berkley.\textsuperscript{192} Amir Mertaban, the president of MSA West,\textsuperscript{193} gave a speech entitled “Methods of Da’wah.” In his speech, he referenced Muqtada al Sadr, leader of the largest Shia militia in Iraq, the Mehdi Army. While al-Sadr-allied Iraqis have participated in the Iraq government, his militia has been responsible for much of the upheaval in Iraq, including insurgent warfare waged against the U.S. military Americans and massacres of Iraqi Sunnis.\textsuperscript{194} Of al-Sadr, Mertaban stated:

\begin{quote}
Time magazine had this one article on Muqtada al-Sadr. Who knows who Muqtada al-Sadr is? He is one of the individuals in Iraq who is one of the leaders of the Shi’a
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[187] Ahmed Shama, Speech “Global Islamic Movements,” Striving for Revival: Student Activism for Global Reformation: 7\textsuperscript{th} Annual MSA West Zone Conference, University of Southern California. January 14-17, 2005.
\end{footnotes}
resistance movement against U.S. troops. Anyway, Time magazine dramatizes everything. So here is Muqtada al-Sadr, ok? And I want you to look at my facial expression, because this is very powerful how they used him. He was wearing a huge black (unintelligible) with a big black (unintelligible) and he was going like this. And there is red fire in the background. I was scared. This is what (unintelligible) is. They’re attacking Muslims not based on you and how you look and how you look. I don’t even know the guy. The guy is probably a tight Muslim. I don’t even know him. I don’t really care too much about him to tell you the truth. But the idea is how they use individuals like that to portray Muslims.195

Later in his speech, Mertaban said:

War in Iraq or Afghanistan or Osama bin Laden or Saddam Hussein. Don’t ever compromise on Islam! And don’t ever compromise on your Muslim brothers and sisters in which you have no evidence. Osama bin Laden- I don’t know this guy. I don’t know what he did. I don’t know what he said. I don’t know what happened. But we defend Muslim brothers and we defend our Muslim sisters to the end. Is that clear? I am not saying support terrorist acts. I am not saying any of that. I am saying generally speaking. If a man comes and robs a store – if you’re going to rob the store, go ahead and rob the store, are we going to condemn him? No, you support your Muslim brothers whether it is right or wrong. When they do wrong you grab them and you slap some sense into them, you’re doing wrong. You see what I am saying.

So you never compromise on your faith. You be confident in every aspect of life. In every aspect of Islam you are confident. Four wives? Yes men are allowed to have four wives within this context. Jihad? Yes Jihad! Jihad is the tightest thing in Islam. Don’t compromise on these little things. Be proud of it. Why? Because Islam is a perfect religion. If you sit here and you start saying, “Jihad is only an internal this and that,” you are compromising on your faith.196

**MSA ROSTER OF GUEST SPEAKERS**

MSA chapters throughout the country host frequent events, conferences, and lectures featuring speakers from the United States and around the world. MSA National compiled a list on its website of many of these speakers, including those described below.197 This list had been updated as late as April 21, 1999.198

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198 Ibid.
Omar Ahmed founded the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) in 1994.\textsuperscript{199} He was also an official of the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP).\textsuperscript{200} IAP was originally founded in 1981 in Illinois, but was dissolved in 1991 because no annual report was filed.\textsuperscript{201} It was also incorporated in 1986 in California and was frozen two years later for not paying a franchise tax.\textsuperscript{202} The Texas branch of IAP was incorporated in 1993.\textsuperscript{203} IAP came up in a memorandum opinion in the case of \textit{Holy Land Foundation v. Ashcroft}, in which the Holy Land Foundation unsuccessfully sued then-Attorney General John Ashcroft to challenge its designation as a Specially Designated Terrorist Entity.

HLF U.S. District Judge Gladys Kessler found the following:

Further, there is evidence in the record that, at the same time Hamas was funding HLF, it was also funding a network of organizations connected to HLF. There is evidence that at least one of these organizations, Islamic Association for Palestine ("IAP"), has acted in support of Hamas. [footnote 17 in this document reads, “There is evidence in the record that IAP distributes information on behalf of Hamas. See AR 1499-1535.] The Government contends that HLF knew of Hamas' funding of these organizations because HLF's leaders were associated with or related on a familial basis to the leaders of the other funded organizations.\textsuperscript{204}

Mohammed Al-Hanooti has been a supporter of Hamas.\textsuperscript{205} In November 2001, FBI Special Agent Dale Watson, Assistant Director of the FBI Counterterrorism Division submitted a memo to the Department of Treasury regarding the Holy Land Foundation (mentioned above). Al-Hanooti received prominent mention in that memo. Special Agent Watson stated:

In April 1992, HLFRD-1, an FBI source, who has been found to be reliable in the past stated that Al-Hanooti was a big supporter of HAMAS. The source further stated that it was well known in the Palestinian community in the northern New Jersey area that Al-Hanooti was an active HAMAS supporter, purportedly holding fund-raising activities, as well as supporting visitors to the United States from Israel and Jordan, to speak on behalf of HAMAS.

HLFRD-2, an FBI source, who has been found to be reliable in the past stated in 1993, that Al-Hanooti collected over six million U. S. dollars for support of HAMAS in Israel.\textsuperscript{206}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[199] Council on American-Islamic Relations, Articles of Incorporation, 1994.
\item[201] Boim, et. al., v. Quranic Literacy Institute, et. al, “Complaint,” (ND IL, May 12, 2000), 5.
\item[202] Ibid.
\item[203] Ibid.
\item[204] \textit{Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. John Ashcroft}, 02-442, “Memorandum Opinion,” 21 (D DC, August 8, 2002).
\item[206] Ibid., p. 10-11
\end{footnotes}
The memo also noted that Al-Hanooti participated in a meeting of Hamas leaders in Philadelphia in 1993.207

**Shakir As-Sayid**, or Shaker El-Sayed, was the secretary-general of Muslim American Society (MAS).208 In 1993, Muslim Brotherhood members in America decided to refer to the Brotherhood as the Muslim American Society, which they incorporated that year.209 MAS instructed its leaders to distance themselves from the Brotherhood. If a leader was asked about MAS’ ties to the Muslim Brotherhood, he was to say that MAS was an independent organization.210 Sayed did say that “MAS, like the Brotherhood, believes in the teachings of Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna, which are ‘the closest reflection of how Islam should be in this life.’”211 MAS’ requirements for its active members provide evidence of El Sayed’s claim; their training includes study of Muslim Brotherhood luminaries al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb.212 MAS websites have devoted biographies to Hassan al Banna and Sayyid Qutb, in which the two are lauded and praised.213 These same websites note the development of MAS through the MSA, ISNA, and NAIT.

At the December 2002 ICNA-MAS conference, Shaker El Sayed, then secretary general of MAS, had this to say, in Arabic, about Palestinian suicide bombers:

… about the subject unfairly named suicide bomber, homicide bomber, murderers, or killers. Our answer to this issue is simple…The Islamic scholars said whenever there is an attack on an Islamic state or occupation, or the honor of the Muslims has been violated, the Jihad is a must for everyone, a child, a lady and a man. They have to make Jihad with every tool that they can get in their hand. Anything that they can get in their hand and if they don’t have anything in their hand then they can fight with their hand without weapons.214

**Soliman Biehari**, or Soliman Biheiri, formed a consulting business known as BMI (Bait ul-Mal) Investment Services, Inc. in the 1980s. According to the sworn statement of FBI Special Agent Robert Wright, BMI had been funded in part by Yassin Qadi, a Specially Designated Global Terrorist, and Musa Abu Marzook, a Hamas operative.215 According to Biheiri, the idea of starting BMI came from a 1981 meeting in Luxembourg with Mahmoud Abu Saud and Gamal Attia, two known senior members of the Muslim

207 Ibid., 10.
208 Muslim American Society, Form 990, Internal Revenue Service (IRS), 2003.
210 Ibid.
211 Ibid.
212 Ibid.
215 Sworn Statement, FBI Special Agent Robert G. Wright, Jr., Chicago, Illinois, March 21, 2000.; Affidavit of FBI Special Agent Robert G. Wright, Jr., (ND IL, June 9, 1998);
Brotherhood. Biheiri described Saud and Attia (who is also Biheiri’s second cousin) as “fathers of the modern Islamic banking system.” 216 The two Brotherhood operatives encouraged Biheiri to start up a financial corporation in the U.S. in the style of other Islamic financial entities like the Islamic Development Bank, which was fathered by Attia and has managed accounts that give financial support to the families of Palestinian suicide bombers. 217 Saud and Attia encouraged Biheiri in this venture because they believed a financial organization with their interests had a better chance of flourishing in the more open American financial system. 218

Biheiri and BMI were connected to Mousa Abu Marzook, a Hamas leader, and Hamas through a BMI company called Mostan established by Biheiri in 1988. In the paperwork for an account at a bank in New Jersey, where Mostan was founded, Marzook is identified as the president of Mostan and Biheri is identified as vice president. In May 1991, Marzook disclosed to a federal law enforcement informant that he had been investing money with BMI. During the investigations into Biheiri’s activities, he was misleading and dishonest about his relationship with Marzook and the extent of his knowledge about Marzook’s position with Hamas. Biheiri was charged and convicted in October 2004 for making false statements under oath. 219

Biheiri was in violation of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA). When authorities seized Biheiri’s computer, they discovered files that indicated BMI dealings with Hamas and Marzook after they had been designated as terrorists by the U.S. government. Marzook’s money, which Biheiri managed for Marzook after his deportation in 1995, remains unaccounted for. 220

Abu Ali (Abdul-Alim) Musa is the Imam of the Masjid al-Islam in Washington DC. In 1996, when asked about Hamas’ use of suicide bombers, Musa justified the tactic, saying that since conventional military means were not a viable option, “you use every means you have to defend yourself and finally you chose a military target a place where military personnel ride These are all military people. And then you go and place some explosions, some explosives on yourself and you kill several of your enemies then you’re not called - -that’s not called suicide in Islam, that’s called achieving martyrdom.” 221 At a rally in DC in July of 2002, Musa said, “When they go out and strike at the heart of Zionism. They are not suicide bombers they are heroes they are sheroes, isn’t that right? That’s a part of

216 Ibid.
218 Soliman S. Biheiri, interview by David Kane and Brad Romanoff at Dulles Airport, United States Customs Service, June 15, 2003.
220 Ibid.
221 Imam Abdul Alim Musa, “The Islamic threat or Western Paranoia?” Crescent International, Johannesburg, South Africa, April 1, 1996.
our deen, that’s a part of our religion, lets not become weak boned and apologetic, and run around trying to appease this government and that government.”

Nabil M. Sadoun was the president of Muslim Arab Youth Association (MAYA). Additionally, he founded the United Association for Studies and Research (UASR) in 1989 and was its director through 1991. UASR, an Islamic think tank with strong ties to Hamas, was co-founded by Hamas leader Musa Abu Marzouk. Abdurahman Alamoudi once was a board member of UASR. Among Sadoun’s invitees to the 1991 UASR/IIIT conference were Musa Abu Marzouk, Ishaq al Farhan of Jordan’s Islamic Action Front (the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan), Kamal Hilbawi of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, and Mohammad al-Asi, imam at the Islamic Center in Washington, DC, known for espousing virulently anti-Semitic views. For example, at a rally at University of California, Irvine on February 21, 2001, al-Asi said, “We have a psychosis in the Jewish community that is unable to co-exist equally and brotherly with other human beings. You can take a Jew out of the ghetto, but you can’t take the ghetto out of the Jew.”

VII. MSA CAUSES

In a December 2001 Associated Press article entitled, “University Support for Alleged Terrorism Affiliates Sparks Debate,” al-Talib publisher and former MSA UCLA President Mohammed Mertaban was quoted criticizing the U.S government for freezing the assets of Islamic charities tied to Hamas and terrorism, justifying suicide bombings:

222 Abdul Alim Musa, Rally, Freedom Plaza, Washington, DC, July 2002.
224 United Association for Studies and Research, Articles of Incorporation filed by with the Illinois Secretary of State and accepted September 18, 1989.
225 United Association for Studies and Research, IRS form 990, 1991.
226 Figures at UASR, including some founders, have well-documented ties with Hamas. For example, a member of the inner circle of UASR -- its executive director since it moved to Virginia in 1991 -- is Ahmed Bin Yousef, aka Yousef Salah. Despite years of denying his membership in Hamas, Bin Yousef surfaced in 2006 as the senior political advisor to Ismail Hanifeh, Hamas prime minister of the Palestinian National Authority. Bin Yousef also served as a staff writer for an English language publication of the Islamic Association of Palestine, the Palestine Monitor, which lauded attacks by HAMAS and published its communiqués in English. (Ilene R. Prusher, “Moderate voices vie for clout within Hamas,” Christian Science Monitor, May 19, 2006, http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0519/p07s01-wome.html (Accessed May 3, 2007); Palestine Monitor, September 1990, pp. 2-3.)
227 United Association for Studies and Research, Articles of Incorporation, State of Illinois, 1989.
228 United Association for Studies and Research, IRS form 990, 1994.
231 Islamic Center of Washington, DC Webpage: http://www.islamiccenterdc.com/imamalasi.htm

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If it goes to families of those who have died in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, I don’t see anything wrong with that. I don’t understand how people can label Palestinians terrorists.\textsuperscript{234}

In an article in the Daily Bruin several months later, Mertaban commented, “We’re in no position to condemn a suicide bombing because none of us has experienced what they’ve been through under 53 years of oppression.”\textsuperscript{235}

MSA hosts on its website a list of “Islamic organizations.” Among these are groups that have been identified as supporters of terrorism or as having terrorist ties. Some of these organizations, such as KindHearts, and Islamic American Relief Agency (IARA) remain on the website as of May 2007,\textsuperscript{236} even though the former was shut down by the U.S. government for its terrorism ties and the latter was designated as a specially designated global terrorist organization by the Treasury Department. Additionally, IARA has been charged with serious crimes explained below. According to Internet archives, MSA provided links to the Holy Land Foundation, the Global Relief Agency, and the Benevolence International Foundation until March 2003,\textsuperscript{237} more than a year after they were shut down by the U.S. government for funding terrorism. These organizations, listed on the MSA website \textit{at least} until 2003, included:

\textbf{KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development} is an Islamic charity that was incorporated in Toledo, Ohio in 2002.\textsuperscript{238} KindHearts is registered in other states including Colorado,\textsuperscript{239} Pennsylvania,\textsuperscript{240} Oklahoma,\textsuperscript{241} Nevada,\textsuperscript{242} and Indiana.\textsuperscript{243}

The U.S. Treasury Department froze the assets of KindHearts on February 19, 2006. Treasury Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence Stuart Levey stated, “KindHearts is the progeny of Holy Land Foundation and Global Relief Foundation, which attempted to mask their support for terrorism behind the façade of charitable giving.”\textsuperscript{244} KindHearts remains on the MSA website as of May 2007.\textsuperscript{245}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{234} Don Thompson, “University Support for Alleged Terrorism Affiliates Sparks Debate,” Associated Press. December 19, 2001.
\item \textsuperscript{235} Peijean Tsai, “Students Reflect on Current Situation in Israel,” Daily Bruin Online, May 9, 2002.
\item \textsuperscript{236} “Islamic Organizations,” Muslim Student Association National Website, \url{http://www.msa-national.org/resources/islamorg.html} (Accessed May 8, 2007).
\item \textsuperscript{238} KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Ohio Secretary of State, January 22, 2002.
\item \textsuperscript{239} KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Colorado Secretary of State, September 29, 2003.
\item \textsuperscript{240} KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Unified Registration Statement for Charitable Organizations, September 9, 2002.
\item \textsuperscript{241} KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Oklahoma Secretary of State, September 29, 2003.
\item \textsuperscript{242} KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Nevada Secretary of State, August 18, 2003.
\item \textsuperscript{243} KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Indiana Secretary of State, October 17, 2003.
\item \textsuperscript{244} “Treasury Freezes Assets of Organization Tied to Hamas,” Department of Treasury, February 19, 2006.
\item \textsuperscript{245} “Islamic Organizations,” Muslim Student Association National Website, \url{http://www.msa-national.org/resources/islamorg.html} (Accessed May 8, 2007).
\end{itemize}
The Islamic American Relief Agency (IARA, formerly known as the Islamic African Relief Agency-USA) was designated by the U.S. Treasury Department as a specially designated global terrorist organization for its support of Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda, and the Taliban in 2004. IARA was indicted in March 2007 “for illegally transferring funds to Iraq in violation of federal sanctions…stealing government funds, and with attempting to avoid government detection of their illegal activities by, among other things, falsely denying in a nationally-televised interview that an associate of Osama bin Laden had been an employee of IARA.” IARA remains on the MSA website as of May 2007.

Benevolence International Foundation (BIF) -- The Benevolence International Foundation (BIF) began operating in the United States in the early 1990s. Founded in Saudi Arabia in the late 1980s as Lajnat al-Birr al-Islamiah (LBI), it was renamed upon incorporation in the United States. Sheik Abdul Galil Batterjee, a wealthy Saudi Arabian, founded LBI. BIF provided support for the Mujahadeen fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan, as well as to facilitate the immigration of Jihadists into the conflict zone. After the war in Afghanistan ended, BIF helped al Qaeda establish its presence in the Sudan, Bosnia and Chechnya, providing support for the Mujahadeen in those conflicts as well. BIF was shut down by the U.S. Government in December of 2001, as part of a crackdown on terrorist financing after the September 11th attack by al Qaeda. The United States Treasury Department designated BIF as a financier of terrorism on November 19, 2002, along with two closely linked but separately incorporated entities Benevolence International Fund (Canada), Bosanska Idealna Futura (Bosnia), and their branch offices. BIF worked with the Holy Land Foundation, a Hamas-front that had its assets frozen by the U.S. government, in its relief efforts in Palestine. MSA provided a link to BIF until March 2003.

Global Relief Foundation (GRF) -- The Global Relief Foundation (GRF) began operating in the United States as a tax-exempt, nonprofit charitable organization in 1992. Based in Bridgeview, Illinois, it grew into one of the largest Islamic charities in the United States. GRF described itself as a not-for-profit, nongovernmental organization set up to provide humanitarian and charitable relief to Muslims, especially in conflict zones such as Afghanistan, Bosnia,

249 BIF, Articles of Incorporation, 1992.
250 BIF, Articles of Incorporation, 1992.
256 Global Relief Foundation Form 990, 1993.
Chechnya, Kashmir, and Lebanon, through a network of overseas offices.\textsuperscript{257} In addition to undertaking this charitable work, however, the organization served as a propaganda organ for global jihad, and the U.S. government has alleged that GRF funded violent jihadism.\textsuperscript{258} GRF had an initial budget of about $700,000.\textsuperscript{259} By the end of the 1990s, it was reporting more than $5 million in annual contributions.\textsuperscript{260} The organization’s tax filings indicate that 90 percent of the money donated between 1994 and 2000 was sent abroad.\textsuperscript{261} An FBI memorandum notes that “some materials distributed by GRF glorify ‘martyrdom through jihad’ and state that donations will be used to buy ammunition, equip ‘the raiders’ and support the Mujahedin.”\textsuperscript{262} GRF had overseas registered offices in Islamabad, Pakistan; Brussels, Belgium; Sarajevo, Bosnia; Zagreb, Croatia; and Baku, Azerbaijan.\textsuperscript{263}

On December 14, 2001 the FBI raided GRF’s Bridgeview headquarters and arrested its chairman, Rabih Haddad.\textsuperscript{264} On that same day, NATO soldiers and United Nations police raided GRF’s offices in Kosovo.\textsuperscript{265} The U.S. Treasury Department’s Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) took control of GRF’s assets, informing the GRF:

\begin{quote}
The United States Government has reason to believe that Global Relief Foundation, Inc. (“GRFI”) may be engaged in activities that violate the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. §§ 1701-06 (“IEEPA”). You are hereby notified that pursuant to the authorities granted by the IEEPA, the U.S. Department of the Treasury is blocking all funds and accounts and business records in which GRFI has any interest, pending further investigation and resolution of this matter.\textsuperscript{266}
\end{quote}

GRF sued then-Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neill, then-Secretary of State Colin Powell, then-Attorney General John Ashcroft, and FBI Director Robert Mueller, challenging the seizure of their assets, in January 2002.\textsuperscript{267} The district court denied GRF’s request for an injunction against the defendants.\textsuperscript{268} The case went to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit where the court found in favor of the defendants.\textsuperscript{269}

\textsuperscript{257} National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, “Monograph on Terrorism Financing,” 89.
\textsuperscript{258} Ibid., 88.
\textsuperscript{259} State of Illinois, Global Relief Foundation, Articles of Incorporation, January 10, 1992.
\textsuperscript{260} National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, “Monograph on Terrorism Financing,” 89.
\textsuperscript{261} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{262} “Feds Claim Muslim Charity Had Contact with Bin Laden Secretary,” \textit{Associated Press}, March 28, 2002.
\textsuperscript{263} \textit{Global News} 4, no. 1 (Winter 1997) 8.
\textsuperscript{267} \textit{Global Relief Foundation, Inc. v. Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neill, et. al.,} 02-C-0674, “Complaint,” (ND IL, January 28, 2002).
\textsuperscript{269} Ibid.
The FBI began investigating GRF prior to 9/11, suspecting that it supported Islamic extremism270 and had high-level affiliations with an al Qaeda precursor organization in Pakistan.271 Chicago FBI agents summarized their findings in a January 6, 2000 memo:

Although the majority of GRF funding goes toward legitimate relief operations, a significant percentage is diverted to fund extremist causes. Among the terrorist groups known to have links to GRF are the Algerian Armed Islamic Group, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Gama’at Al Islamyia, and the Kashmiri Harakat Al Jihad El Islam, as well as the Al Qaeda organization of Usama Bin Laden. . . . In the past, GRF support to terrorists and other transnational mujahideen fighters has taken the form of purchase and shipment of large quantities of sophisticated communications equipment, provision of humanitarian cover documentation to suspected terrorists and fund-raising for terrorist groups under the cover of humanitarian relief.272

MSA provided a link to GRF until March 2003.273

**Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF)** -- Islamic charity based in America, whose assets were frozen in December 2001 by FBI and Treasury Department based on charges that it had raised funds for Hamas. Among HLF’s founders was Musa Abu Marzooq, political leader of Hamas.274 In July 2004 a federal grand jury indicted HLF and seven of its leaders on charges of providing material support to designated foreign terrorist organization HAMAS.275 The trial is scheduled to begin July 16, 2007. In December 2004 a federal judge ruled that HLF (along with IAP) was liable for a $156 million dollar lawsuit for aiding and abetting the terrorist group Hamas in the murder of a 17-year old American citizen.276 The terrorism finance trial against the Holy Land Foundation began in July 2007. MSA provided a link to HLF until March 2003.277 Also, in October 2007, regarding the upcoming verdict in the HLF trial, Farhad Noorzay, the president of MSA West, sent out a message asking people, “to make du'a and supplicate to Allah, the Almighty, asking Him to confirm the innocence of these men, that justice prevail, and that they be returned home safely to their families.”278

270 “Monograph on Terrorism Financing.” Staff Report to the Commission, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, August 2004, p. 90.
272 Ibid., 91.
VIII. MSA’S POLITICAL AGENDA


The introductory sentence explains, “This brief statement outlines the potential long-term goal of every MSA: The Islamization of Campus Politics and the politicization of the MSA.”

The piece goes on to detail how students can achieve this goal:

The MSA needs to be a more “In-your-face” association…For example, the student body must be convinced that there is such a thing as a Muslim-bloc…

With regard to Muslim participation in campus student governments, the guide states:

Aim is to rise within the ranks of the Union [student government] and to get on selected executive committees…I cannot stress this enough, the Union has vast powers that Muslims need to control.

MSA’s Political Action Task Force (PATF) emphasizes unity on political issues. Its website says, “We must build clear lines of communication between MSAs and PATF to spearhead a united political movement.”

Realizing that vision of unity has produced a conformist political atmosphere within the organization -- one that has had devastating consequences for moderate Muslim students who do not kowtow to MSA’s extremist views. This is exemplified by the case of an Arizona State University student, who says he was intimidated and ostracized by MSA on his campus for supporting the U.S. liberation of Iraq. The student detailed his personal experience as follows:

When I, a proud American of Arab descent and Muslim faith, took a stand on behalf of the liberation of my oppressed Iraqi brethren, the ASU Muslim Students’ Association personally attacked me for not being a real Muslim and announced to the ASU student body in editorials in the student paper that I Oubai Mohammad Shahbandar was a hater.

of Arabs and Muslims. There was no press conference by the president of the university or anyone else in his administration in behalf of this Muslim victim of Islamist hate.283