

House Ways and Means Committee

From Ivory Towers to Dark Corners:

Investigating the Nexus Between
Antisemitism, Tax-Exempt Universities,
and Terror Financing

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Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Neal, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify.

In the wake of the October 7 terrorist attack in Israel, the United States has seen a marked rise in rallies and protests, both on main street America and on college campuses, expressing support for the Hamas terrorist organization. Much of this troubling activity, which has included calls for violence, the unabashed articulation of antisemitism, and even calls for genocide against Israel, can be attributed to a constellation of extremist groups.

Two groups stand out in particular: American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) and Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), a campus group that receives funding and training from AMP.¹

Seven years ago, I testified before Congress on two separate occasions,² noting how AMP was spawned by individuals who previously worked for nonprofits that were shuttered by federal authorities or sued in civil court because they provided financial or material support to Hamas.

When I testified in 2016, legislators exhibited an interest. So did federal law enforcement. However, one official candidly told me that suspected Hamas activists in the United States were viewed then as protected sources in the fight against the Islamic State terrorist group.

¹ “Student Activism for Palestine is The Pride of Our Movement,” American Muslims for Palestine, March 31, 2023. (<https://www.ampalestine.org/media/blog/student-activism-palestine-pride-our-movement>); American Muslims for Palestine, *Facebook*, October 11, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/ampalestine/posts/pfbid0U5uyWJHkvjRyJdZVjpCrFmmJasqtf5AiksJJeTx36p68g2baeP2UXdkrnePH5jy7l>); American Muslims for Palestine, *Facebook*, November 2, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/ampalestine/posts/pfbid0FxP9UiHcNTdM2f8ZQd4Hk84D1AFxQoPM2hE8kuPqDewtFDkDMALU18luZRTgq5X3l>); American Muslims for Palestine, *Facebook*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/reel/1050856772921803>); American Muslims for Palestine, *Facebook*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/reel/359782246478907>); Rick Sobey, “Tufts Students for Justice in Palestine group is ripped for ‘obscene’ comments about Hamas’ terrorist attacks on Israel,” *Boston Herald*, October 10, 2023. (<https://www.bostonherald.com/2023/10/10/tufts-students-for-justice-in-palestine-group-is-ripped-for-obscene-comments-about-hamas-terrorist-attacks-on-israel>); Haley Cohen, “Pro-Palestinian protesters assault several Jewish students at Tulane, witnesses say,” *Jewish Insider*, October 27, 2023. (<https://jewishinsider.com/2023/10/pro-palestinian-protesters-assault-several-jewish-students-at-tulane-2>); Joyce E. Kim and Nia L. Orakwue, “Harvard Alumni Condemn University Leadership Following Viral Video of Confrontation at Pro-Palestine Protest,” *The Harvard Crimson*, November 9, 2023. (<https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/11/9/die-in-confrontation-video>); Gabby Deutsch, “Harvard ‘perfect example’ of pro-Palestinian activism, speakers argue at Arab Conference at Harvard,” *Jewish Insider*, March 6, 2023. (<https://jewishinsider.com/2023/03/harvard-arab-conference-students-linda-sarsour-palestinian-israel>); “2022 Annual Report,” *American Muslims for Palestine*, 2022, page 6. (<https://www.ampalestine.org/sites/default/files/2023-02/AMP%20Annual%20Report%202022%20-%20compressed.pdf>)

² Jonathan Schanzer, “Israel Imperiled: Threats to the Jewish State,” *Testimony Before the House Foreign Affairs Committee Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade and the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa*, April 19, 2016. (<https://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20160419/104817/HHRG-114-FA18-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160419.pdf?ref=stanfordreview.org>); Jonathan Schanzer, “Examining Current Terrorist Financing Trends and the Threat to the Homeland,” *Testimony Before the House Homeland Security Committee Counterterrorism and Intelligence Subcommittee*, May 12, 2016. (<https://docs.house.gov/meetings/HM/HM05/20160512/104904/HHRG-114-HM05-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160512.pdf>)

Since then, AMP has established an active lobby on Capitol Hill, and its ability to mobilize at the grassroots level has grown. Equally disconcerting is the way in which campus groups (such as SJP) receive funding and training from AMP, and systematically threaten or intimidate Jewish and pro-Israel students at universities across the country.

This testimony presents an updated snapshot of this pro-Hamas network in America, drawing attention to its history, current activities, connections to foreign actors, and allegations about possible illicit activities. Only the federal government can answer the question of whether this network of former Hamas operatives is or is not breaking the law right now. But I believe this committee has the power to harness the necessary resources to find out.

HAMAS IN THE UNITED STATES

Historically, Hamas supporters have abused the U.S. financial system to send millions of dollars overseas. From 1989-2001, one such network raised millions of dollars for Hamas through a Texas-based charity known as the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development. In December 2001, U.S. authorities raided HLF and froze its assets. Ultimately, five individuals were convicted and sent to prison for providing material support to Hamas.³

This network was tenacious, however. Its members created a new entity in a different state and with a different name — but with the same goals, fundraising apparatus, and personnel. The new organization, Kindhearts for Charitable Development, did not evade U.S. government scrutiny. In fact, I was a terrorism finance analyst at the U.S. Treasury in 2006 when Kindhearts' access to the U.S. financial system was blocked pending investigation.⁴

But elements of this network remained. The Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), which provided media, communications, and fundraising services to HLF, still operated. The family of a slain American teenager named David Boim ultimately sued the Islamic Association for Palestine for its Hamas support. IAP was found civilly liable, with the judge awarding damages of more than \$150 million.⁵ The last of the Hamas front groups closed shop.

In the years that followed, however, the United States government endeavored to end its “Global War on Terror.” Terrorist groups such as Hamas were no longer scrutinized, particularly as “great power competition” began to inform our foreign policy.

More than seven years ago, FDD discovered a reconstituted network of former employees associated with the aforementioned Hamas charities. At least nine individuals who worked for or

³ U.S. Department of Justice, Press Release, “Federal Judge Hands Downs Sentences in Holy Land Foundation Case,” May 27, 2009. (<https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/federal-judge-hands-downs-sentences-holy-land-foundation-case>)

⁴ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Press Release, “Treasury Freezes Assets of Organization Tied to Hamas,” February 19, 2006. (<https://web.archive.org/web/20160304074929/https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js4058.aspx>)

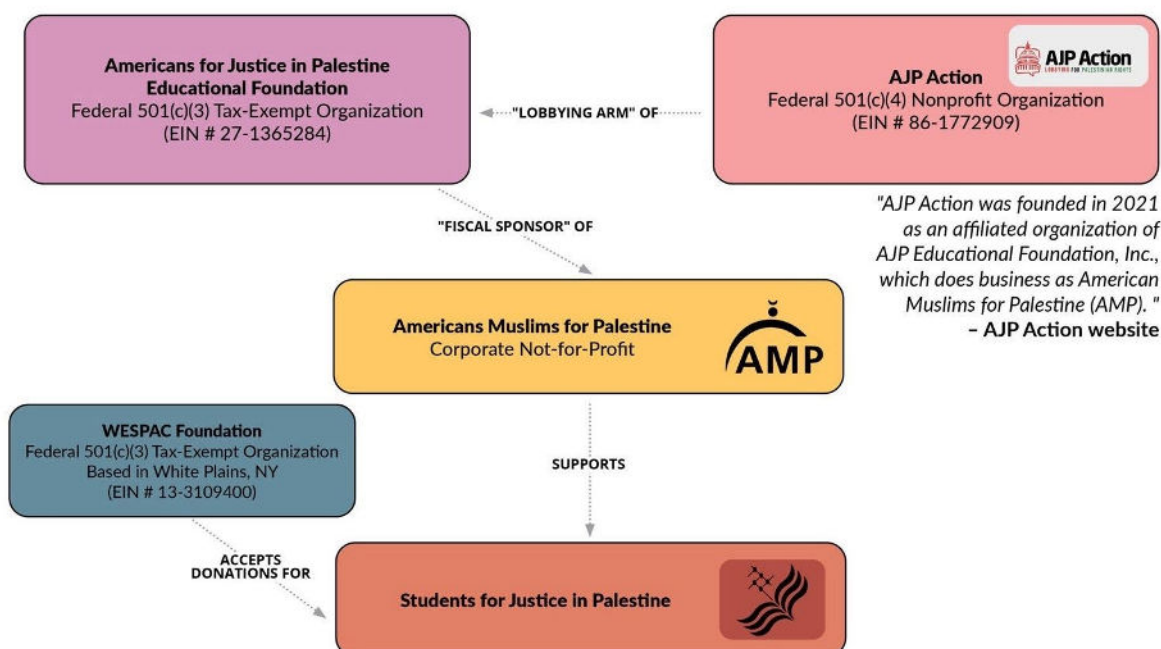
⁵ Laurie Cohen, “3 Islamic fundraisers held liable in terror death,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 11, 2004. (Archived version available at https://web.archive.org/web/20180709135600/https://articles.chicagotribune.com/2004-11-11/news/0411110231_1_david-boim-magistrate-judge-arlander-keys-joyce-boim)

on behalf of these shuttered charities came together to run a new organization called American Muslims for Palestine.

AMERICAN MUSLIMS FOR PALESTINE

AMP is a not-for-profit corporation founded in Illinois with national headquarters in Falls Church, Virginia.⁶ A 501(c)3 nonprofit called the AJP Educational Foundation is the group's fiscal sponsor.⁷ In 2021, AJP Educational Foundation launched an affiliated c4 lobby, AJP Action.⁸

AMP'S HYBRID CORPORATE STRUCTURE



Most of what can be gleaned about AMP's donors derives from its annual fundraising conferences — which often feature family members of senior Hamas leadership as speakers. Although AMP's official party line is that it does not discuss Hamas explicitly, it has also published fundraising appeals for the imprisoned leaders of the Holy Land Foundation.⁹

⁶ "Contact us," *American Muslims for Palestine*, accessed November 10, 2023.

(<https://www.ampalestine.org/contact-us>)

⁷ "#GazaUnderAttack," *SalsaLabs*, accessed November 11, 2023.

(<https://palestine.salsalabs.org/ampdonate2023/index.html>)

⁸ "Our Story," *AJP Action*, accessed November 11, 2023. (<https://ajpaction.org/services/ourstory>)

⁹ Noor Elashi, "My Father Will Not be Forgotten," *American Muslims for Palestine*, December 12, 2011.

(<https://www.ampalestine.org/advocate/action-alert/my-father-will-not-be-forgotten>)

The mission, goals, donors, and fundraising infrastructure of AMP share a striking resemblance to the charities that were dismantled more than a decade ago. All four members of AMP's most senior leadership previously worked for these groups. Many of AMP's donors, board members, and corporate sponsors have also been active with entities proven to support Hamas.

This was not lost on the family of David Boim. One year after I delivered testimony that exposed the existence of this reconstituted network, the Boim family sued AMP. The 2017 complaint alleges that AMP is the "alter ego" of IAP. It argues that AMP is the same institution as IAP, fulfilling the same functions with the same goals, merely operating under a different name to avoid IAP's legal liabilities. The case is ongoing.¹⁰

AMP's influence has grown in recent years. AMP's lobbying arm, AJP Action, lobbied legislators here on Capitol Hill just two weeks ago.¹¹ Lawmakers such as Rashida Tlaib, Betty McCollum, Summer Lee, Andre Carson, Jan Schakowsky, Bill Pascrell, and Ilhan Omar have all met with the group.¹² These legislators may not have known the background of the lobby group they met.

Facilitating campus activism is a key part of AMP's work. Its student network is coordinated by an AMP employee named Taher Herzallah. Per the AMP website, Herzallah is the "Associate Director of Outreach and Community Organizing for American Muslims for Palestine." He is the "liaison between campus activism groups on campuses across the country," helping "groups procure grants, materials and speakers." He is also "instrumental in helping students set up programs and activities."¹³

AMP's founder, Hatem Bazian, also founded Students for Justice in Palestine, which is unquestionably one of the most vitriolic anti-Israel voices on campus.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Boim v. American Muslims for Palestine*, No. 17-03591 (N.D. Ill. May 17, 2022). (<https://casetext.com/case/boim-v-am-muslims-for-palestine-2>)

¹¹ "AJP Action," *AJP Action*, accessed November 11, 2023. (<https://ajpaction.org>); "A Day of Advocacy: 300 Voices That Stood Up for Gaza," *AJP Action*, October 30, 2023. (<https://ajpaction.org/a-day-of-advocacy-300-voices-that-stood-up-for-gaza>)

¹² American Muslims for Palestine, *Facebook*, October 26, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=735917465231307&set=a.478594564296933>); American Muslims for Palestine, *Facebook*, October 27, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=736391015183952&set=a.478594564296933>); "A Day of Advocacy: 300 Voices That Stood Up for Gaza," *AJP Action*, October 30, 2023. (<https://ajpaction.org/a-day-of-advocacy-300-voices-that-stood-up-for-gaza>); "AJP Action Successfully Organizes and Mobilizes for Palestine," *AJP Action*, September 29, 2021. (<https://ajpaction.org/ajp-action-successfully-organizes-and-mobilizes-for-palestine>); American Muslims for Palestine, *Facebook*, November 24, 2020. (<https://www.facebook.com/550789245010379/posts/day-2-session-3-main-event-virtual-gala-against-all-odds-palestine-prevailsfeatur/3601967103225896>); Fosnalive, *Instagram*, October 25, 2023. (<https://www.instagram.com/p/Cy1Fak4JncN>)

¹³ "Our Team," *American Muslims for Palestine*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.ampalestine.org/about-amp/our-team>)

¹⁴ Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), "Anti-Defamation League," October 19, 2023. (<https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounder/students-justice-palestine-sjp>)

AMP has also become a leading grassroots organizer of the vehemently anti-Israel and sometimes violent protests that have swept the country and erupted on college campuses nationwide. Whether or not it is sanctioned by AMP, the rhetoric is often hateful, inciteful, and antisemitic.¹⁵ To the best of my knowledge, AMP has not denounced this hate-speech or taken steps to ensure that it won't take place at future rallies.

In short, individuals who previously worked for Hamas charities are now a driving force behind the large, pro-Hamas demonstrations taking place in major cities across America. This same network is also providing training, talking points, materials, and financial support to students intimidating and threatening Jewish and pro-Israel students on college campuses.¹⁶

Of course, every attendee of these rallies has a right to declare his or her political beliefs. But they also have the right to know who is behind this activity. The same goes for every state government, municipality, and university impacted by this recent surge in pro-Hamas activity.

THE HOLY LAND FOUNDATION

AMP's staff and structure is deeply and intimately linked to the Holy Land Foundation. From 1995 to 2001, according to U.S. government estimates, "HLF sent approximately \$12.4 million outside of the United States with the intent to willfully contribute funds, goods, and services to Hamas."¹⁷ This charity was founded by Hamas's current deputy director, Mousa Abu Marzook, who was at that time living in the United States. He seeded the Holy Land Foundation with \$210,000 in startup funds.¹⁸

After the Holy Land Foundation was shuttered, seven of its officers were indicted; two of them fled the country. Five were convicted and sent to prison for providing material support to Hamas.

At least four individuals who worked for or on behalf of the Holy Land Foundation went on to work for or on behalf of American Muslims for Palestine.

Jamal Said, a regular keynote speaker at AMP fundraisers,¹⁹ raised money for HLF as the head of the Mosque Foundation, a 501c3 organization that donated money to the HLF.²⁰ The Mosque

¹⁵ "Who are the Primary Groups Behind the U.S. Anti-Israel Rallies?" *Anti-Defamation League*, October 20, 2023. (<https://www.adl.org/resources/blog/who-are-primary-groups-behind-us-anti-israel-rallies>)

¹⁶ "Campus Activism Resources," *American Muslims for Palestine*, September 8, 2016. (Archived version (<https://web.archive.org/web/20160524225435/https://www.ampalestine.org/index.php/component/content/article/9-projects-a-events/595-campus-activism-resources>))

¹⁷ *United States of America v. Mohammad El-Mezain*, Appeal No. 09-10560, (5th Cir. 2011). (<https://www.ca5.uscourts.gov/opinions%5Cpub%5C09/09-10560-CR0.wpd.pdf>)

¹⁸ Eric Lichtblau with Judith Miller, "Threats and Responses: The Money Trail; 5 Brothers Charged With Aiding Hamas," *The New York Times*, December 19, 2002. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/19/us/threats-and-responses-the-money-trail-5-brothers-charged-with-aiding-hamas.html>)

¹⁹ AMP-Chicago, *Facebook*, March 19, 2014. (<https://www.facebook.com/ampalestinechicago/photos/gm.1407041112890451/597477577008212/?type=3&theater>)

²⁰ Joel Mowbray, "Reign of the Radicals," *The Wall Street Journal*, January 27, 2006. (<https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB113832728441457779>)

Foundation, which he continues to run, now sponsors AMP conferences.²¹ Said was an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation trial.²²

Kifah Mustafa, another HLF fundraiser and unindicted co-conspirator, is now a speaker at AMP's conferences and events.²³ Mustafa is also the head of an Illinois foundation that shares a P.O. Box with AMP in Arlington, Texas.²⁴

Hussein El-Khatib, who spent five years as a regional director of the Holy Land Foundation, served as an AMP board member until his death in 2018.²⁵

Another AMP figure who previously raised funds for the Holy Land Foundation is AMP's National Board member Salah Sarsour.²⁶ He is also a director of AMP's 501c3 arm.²⁷ In the 1990s, Sarsour spent eight months in jail in Israel for Hamas activity.²⁸ According to court documents cited by my former Treasury colleague Matthew Levitt, Salah Sarsour used a bank account of his furniture store in Milwaukee to send money to Adel Awadallah,²⁹ a Hamas military leader.³⁰ Sarsour today owns a Wisconsin furniture store that advertises and fundraises at AMP's annual conferences.³¹

American Muslims for Palestine regularly features the family members of the Holy Land Foundation's convicted leadership at its conferences. AMP publishes fundraising appeals for

²¹ "On The Road To Free Palestine," American Muslims For Palestine Conference Program, November 2021.

²² Andrea Elliott, "White House Quietly Courts Muslims in U.S.," *The New York Times*, April 18, 2010. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/19/us/politics/19muslim.html>)

²³ "Meet our Speakers," *Palestine Convention*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.palestineconvention.org/speakers>); "State police revoke Muslim cleric's chaplaincy," *ABC7*, June 22, 2010. (<https://abc7chicago.com/archive/7514151>)

²⁴ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "2021 Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (Form 990): United Hands Relief, Inc." (https://uhrelief.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/unit9508_21n_FC3.pdf)

²⁵ American Muslims for Palestine, *Facebook*, September 22, 2018. (<https://www.facebook.com/ampalestine/photos/on-the-passing-of-our-great-leader-hussein-el-khatib-on-behalf-of-the-american-mu/10160926012205607>); Hussein Khatib, *LinkedIn*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/hussein-khatib-42667029>)

²⁶ "Our Team," *American Muslims for Palestine*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.ampalestine.org/about-amp/our-team>)

²⁷ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "2021 Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (Form 990): AJP Educational Foundation Inc." (https://apps.irs.gov/pub/epostcard/cor/271365284_201912_990_2021021717708319.pdf)

²⁸ "Profile: American Muslims for Palestine," *Anti-Defamation League*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international/israel-middle-east/american-muslims-for-palestine-2013-03-29-v4.pdf>)

²⁹ Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), page 78.

³⁰ Barbara Demick, "Israeli Security Force Kills Two Top Hamas Terrorists," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 12, 1998. (http://articles.philly.com/1998-09-12/news/25757281_1_imad-awadallah-adel-awadallah-dozens-ofisraeli-army)

³¹ "On The Road To Free Palestine," American Muslims For Palestine Conference Program, November 2021.

HLF's jailed leaders, some even written by the niece of Mousa Abu Marzook, Noor Elashi.³² In May of 2023, AMP sponsored an event featuring one of the Holy Land Foundation's leaders, Mohammed El-Mezain, as well as other family members of top Hamas leadership.³³

AMP's admiration for the jailed leaders of the Holy Land Foundation mirrors that of Hamas itself. Just days after the October 7 Hamas terrorist assault, senior Hamas leader Ali Barakeh announced that Hamas was demanding the release of the Holy Land Foundation's leaders in any agreement to release the hundreds of hostages held in Gaza.³⁴

THE ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE

The Holy Land Foundation did not operate alone. The Hamas fundraising organization enjoyed a close partnership with the Islamic Association for Palestine, which provided media, communications, and fundraising services. Like HLF, IAP was founded with startup money from Hamas leader Mousa Abu Marzook.³⁵

Court documents assert that IAP raised money and collected donations on behalf of HLF. According to evidence presented at the HLF trial, "numerous donation checks...made payable to...IAP," were "deposited into HLF's bank account," in some cases with the memo line, "for Palestinian Mujahidden [martyrs] only."³⁶

After American teenager David Boim was murdered by Hamas, his parents sued the Islamic Association for Palestine and its affiliate organizations in 2000, arguing that IAP's Hamas fundraising made IAP liable for Boim's death under the federal Anti-Terrorism Act. The lawsuit culminated in a \$156 million dollar judgement against IAP and its co-defendants.³⁷

IAP never paid that judgement. According to court documents, IAP said it was "ceasing operations and had few assets left due to the burden of the Boim Judgment and associated litigation costs."³⁸

³² Noor Elashi, "My Father Will Not be Forgotten," *American Muslims for Palestine*, December 12, 2011. (<https://www.ampalestine.org/advocate/action-alert/my-father-will-not-be-forgotten>)

³³ "19 and 21 May, San Diego: Free the Holy Land Five! Documentary screenings and events," *Samidoun*, May 19, 2023. (<https://samidoun.net/2023/05/19-and-21-may-san-diego-free-the-holy-land-five-documentary-screenings-and-events>)

³⁴ @MarioNawfal, X, October 9, 2023. (<https://twitter.com/marionawfal/status/1711589703936290905>)

³⁵ *United States District Court Northern District of Texas, USA v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development*, "Payments from Marzook to the Islamic Association for Palestine," (Northern District of Texas, September 29, 2008), accessed April 15, 2016. (Archived version available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20170124224335/https://coop.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-29-08/Marzook%20IAP.pdf>)

³⁶ *United States of America v. Mohammad El-Mezain*, Appeal, 09-10560 (5th Cir. 2011), page 170. (<http://www.ca5.uscourts.gov/opinions%5Cpub%5C09/09-10560-CR0.wpd.pdf>)

³⁷ *Stanley Boim v. American Muslims for Palestine*, Appeal, No. 20-3233 (7th Cir. 2021). (<https://cases.justia.com/federal/appellate-courts/ca7/20-3233/20-3233-2021-08-16.pdf?ts=1629151216>)

³⁸ *Boim v. American Muslims for Palestine*, No. 17-03591, Document No. 149 (N.D. Ill. May 17, 2022).

Starting in late 2005, activists from IAP and HLF launched what the Boims allege was an effort to continue IAP's work without IAP's legal liabilities. The new Boim lawsuit alleges, "Activists who had been involved with IAP and HLF recognized that these organizations could not continue to pursue their missions with the same names, in the same form, and saddled with the same civil and criminal liability... They therefore deliberately concealed their connection to IAP... emphasizing internally that 'we really need to distance ourselves from any well-known IAP figures.'"³⁹

However, AMP's roster is strikingly similar to that of IAP.⁴⁰

The former president of IAP, Rafeeq Jaber,⁴¹ prepared the tax forms to help launch AMP's fiscal sponsor, the AJP Educational Foundation. Jaber has been identified in the Palestinian press as the "spiritual father" of AMP's coalition of like-minded organizations.⁴² His financial services business was listed at the same office building as IAP before it shut down.

Abdelbaset Hamayel, IAP's secretary general, was never named as an officer or an executive, but his name appeared on the AJP Educational Foundation's IRS 990 form as the person, "who possesses the organization's books and records."⁴³ Hamayel was later featured on AMP's social media as the group's executive director.⁴⁴ Today, he is active in AMP's Chicago chapter.⁴⁵

Sufian Nabhan was IAP's former Michigan representative.⁴⁶ He went on to serve on AMP's National Board.⁴⁷ AMP and SJP founder, Hatem Bazian, was a frequent speaker at IAP events.⁴⁸

³⁹ First Amended Complaint, *Boim v. American Muslims for Palestine*, No. 17-03591 (N.D. Ill. Filed December 17, 2019). (https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873.179.0_2.pdf)

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ "IAP Contact Information," *Islamic Association for Palestine*, accessed November 12, 2023. (Archived version available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20030407164156/http://www.iap.org/contactus.htm>)

⁴² "مئات الآلاف في شوارع المدن الأمريكية نصرته لغزة" [Hundreds of thousands in the streets of American cities supporting Gaza], *Maan* (Palestinian Authority), August 11, 2014. (<https://www.maannews.net/news/719809.html>)

⁴³ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "2014 Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (Form 990): AJP Educational Foundation Inc." (<https://pdf.guidestar.org/PDF/Images/2014/271/365/2014-271365284-0ba3397f-9.pdf>)

⁴⁴ AMP-Chicago, *Facebook*, August 29, 2014 (<https://www.facebook.com/ampalastinechicago/photos/pb.550789245010379.-2207520000.1459717920./681386211950681/?type=3&theater>)

⁴⁵ Khairi Obed, *Facebook*, November 26, 2021. (<https://www.facebook.com/100000732467966/videos/pcb.4927141430653557/485633742749114>)

⁴⁶ "IAP Contact Information," *Islamic Association for Palestine*, accessed November 12, 2023. (Archived version available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20030407164156/http://www.iap.org/contactus.htm>)

⁴⁷ "AMP National Board," *American Muslims for Palestine*, accessed November 12, 2023. (Archived version available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20160211193901/http://www.ampalastine.org/index.php/about-amp/amp-national-board>)

⁴⁸ First Amended Complaint, *Boim v. American Muslims for Palestine*, No. 17-03591 (N.D. Ill. Filed December 17, 2019). (https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873.179.0_2.pdf)

Osama Abuirshaid worked as the editor of IAP's newspaper, Al- Zaytounah.⁴⁹ He is now AMP's executive director.⁵⁰ Abuirshaid regularly publishes articles in English and Arabic promoting Hamas and has also published interviews that highlight his communications with Hamas leader Abu Marzook and other Hamas leaders in Gaza.⁵¹ In fact, in 2014, Abuirshaid was featured on the website of Hamas's self-declared military wing, the al-Qassam Brigades.⁵²

In addition to his work on Capitol Hill, Abuirshaid regularly travels to Turkey,⁵³ where he meets with and attends conferences run by Sami al-Arian,⁵⁴ who pled guilty to providing material support to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad terrorist organization.⁵⁵ Abuirshaid also travels to Qatar, where he is a "non-resident scholar" for the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS).⁵⁶ This organization, funded by the Qatari government, hosts Hamas's top leadership — including Hamas leaders Khaled Meshal and Osama Hamdan — at its events.⁵⁷

In short, several AMP founders and leaders formerly worked for or on behalf of IAP.

⁴⁹ "Profile: American Muslims for Palestine," *Anti-Defamation League*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international/israel--middle-east/american-muslims-for-palestine-2013-03-29-v4.pdf>)

⁵⁰ "Dr. Osama Abuirshaid," *Palestine Convention*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://palestineconvention.org/amp2018/speaker/osama-abu-irshaid>), "Our Team," *American Muslims for Palestine*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.ampalestine.org/about-amp/our-team>)

⁵¹ Osama Abuirshaid, "The dialectic of religion and politics in Hamas' thought and practice," *Loughboro University*, March 22, 2013. (https://repository.lboro.ac.uk/articles/thesis/The_dialectic_of_religion_and_politics_in_Hamas_thought_and_practice/9466799/1)

⁵² Osama Abuirshaid, "عرب يمكرون بمقاومة غزة" [Arabs are plotting the Gaza resistance], *Al-Qassam* (Palestinian Authority), July 19, 2014. (Archived version available at <https://www.alqassam.ps/arabic/-عرب/4746/مقالات-القسام>)

⁵³ Osama Abuirshaid, *Facebook*, September 7, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=308535011860639&set=pb.100081124266537.-2207520000&type=3>)

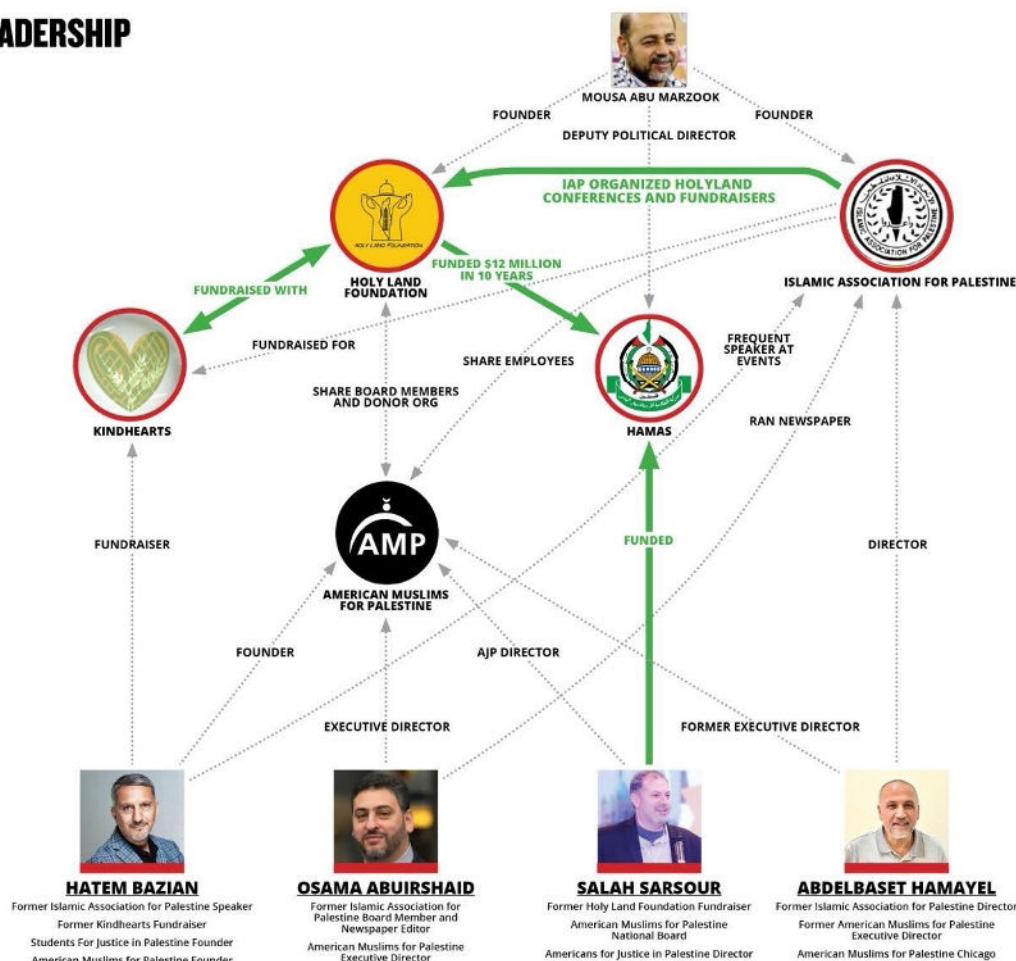
⁵⁴ Mohammed Mushanish, *Facebook*, February 2, 2020. (<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2936284903120021&set=pb.100002156192208.-2207520000&type=3>)

⁵⁵ U.S. Department of Justice, Press Release, "Sami Al-Arian Sentenced To 57 Months In Prison For Assisting Terrorist Group," May 1, 2006. (https://www.justice.gov/archive/opa/pr/2006/May/06_crm_260.html)

⁵⁶ "ACRPS Academic Symposium on the Legal Status and Political Significance of Jerusalem," *Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies*, February 24, 2018. (<https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/Events/Symposium-on-the-Legal-and-Political-Status-of-Jerusalem/Pages/index.aspx>)

⁵⁷ "In a Symposium Preceding Conference on the Palestinian Cause, Hamdan: 'The Resistance Continues'; Erekat: 'Negotiations Will Never Relinquish Palestinian Justice,'" *Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies*, December 7, 2013. (https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/News/Pages/In_a_Symposium_Preceding_Conference_on_the_Palestinian_Cause_Hamdan_The_Resistance_Continues;_Erekat_Negotiations_Will_Nev.aspx)

AMP LEADERSHIP



KINDHEARTS

In 2006, the Treasury Department froze the assets of Ohio-based KindHearts. Treasury called KindHearts the “progeny” of HLF.⁵⁸ Treasury stated that KindHearts coordinated fundraising with an official from the Holy Land Foundation even after HLF was named a terrorist entity. Treasury further asserted that KindHearts and the Holy Land Foundation deposited money into the same overseas bank account owned by HLF.⁵⁹ KindHearts also utilized IAP as a fundraiser and organizer, according to the group’s IRS 990 forms.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Press Release, “Treasury Freezes Assets of Organization Tied to Hamas,” February 19, 2006. (Archived version available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20150221125322/http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js4058.aspx>)

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “2003 Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (Form 990): Kindhearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Inc.” (https://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/020/020534702/020534702_200312_990.pdf?_ga=1.209492948.777103848.1460262044)

KindHearts was run by Khaled Smaili, a former employee of the Global Relief Foundation (GRF).⁶¹ GRF was officially registered as a charity in Palos Hills, Illinois. In 2002, Treasury sanctioned it for funding al-Qaeda.⁶²

Faced with this and other evidence, the organization agreed to disband.

KindHearts' Illinois representative was former IAP and current AMP leader Abdelbaset Hamayel.⁶³ AMP's current chairman (and SJP founder) Hatem Bazian also helped raise money for Kindhearts in 2004.⁶⁴

CONCLUSION

At one of its conferences, AMP featured a panel that invited attendees to learn how to “navigate the fine line between legal activism and material support for terrorism.”⁶⁵ I am not in a position to determine whether AMP is able to navigate that “fine line,” but it is clear some of its supporters have been part of organizations that failed to abide by the law in the past.

Mr. Chairman, what I have laid out here is cause for significant concern. At the very least, AMP is a hate group with its roots in Hamas fundraising organizations that were shuttered for a reason. It could be far worse. It is my strong belief that organizations that promote, encourage, or turn a blind eye to hate speech, incitement to violence, and intimidation have no place on Capitol Hill or on university campuses.

Relevant intelligence and law enforcement agencies have the resources to learn more about this network of Hamas supporters. On behalf of the many Americans who are deeply concerned about the rise of pro-Hamas activism in the United States, I sincerely hope you harness the government resources to investigate.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify.

⁶¹ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Press Release, “Treasury Freezes Assets of Organization Tied to Hamas,” February 19, 2006. (Archived version available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20150221125322/http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js4058.aspx>)

⁶² U.S. Department of the Treasury, Press Release, “Treasury Department Statement Regarding the Designation of the Global Relief Foundation,” October 18, 2022. (<https://web.archive.org/web/20150221030642/https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/po3553.aspx>)

⁶³ “KindHearts Annual Fund Raising Dinner for Palestine & KindHearts’ Annual Contest,” *KindHearts*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://web.archive.org/web/20050515004402/http://www.kindhearts.org/upcoming%20event/set%204%20prinout.pdf>)

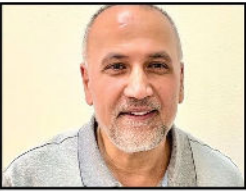
⁶⁴ “The MSA of Scripps Ranch Highschool & KindHearts Present: Palestinians in agony! Fundraising Dinner,” *Amcha Initiative*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Bazian-Kindhearts.pdf>)

⁶⁵ Shane Harris, “Pro-Palestinian Group Lectured On Skirting Terror Laws,” *The Daily Beast*, April 14, 2017. (<https://www.thedailybeast.com/pro-palestinian-group-lectured-on-skirting-terror-laws>)

AMP is the latest in a long history of Hamas-linked charities in America

	HOLY LAND FOUNDATION Founded 1988 Designated Terrorist Organization 2001	
	ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE Founded 1993 • Liable for Hamas Finance 2004 Disbanded 2010	
	KINDHEARTS FOR CHARITABLE DEVELOPMENT Founded 2002 • Assets Frozen 2006 Shut Down 2011	
	AMERICAN MUSLIMS FOR PALESTINE Founded in Chicago 2006 • DC office opens 2015 Sued as "Alter Ego" of IAP in 2017 Lobbying Arm "AJP Action" opens 2021 Virginia Attorney General Investigation 2023	

AMP is led by these four former employees of Hamas front groups:

	
HATEM BAZIAN	OSAMA ABURSHAIID
	
SALAH SARSOOR	ABDELBASET HAMAYEL



