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By \_\_\_\_\_ Deputy 

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS  
DALLAS DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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v.

NO. 3:04-CR-240-G

HOLY LAND FOUNDATION FOR  
RELIEF AND DEVELOPMENT (1)

also known as the "HLF"

SHUKRI ABU BAKER (2)

MOHAMMAD EL-MEZAIN (3)

GHASSAN ELASHI (4)

HAITHAM MAGHAWRI (5)

AKRAM MISHAL (6)

MUFID ABDULQADER (7)

ABDULRAHMAN ODEH (8)

Supersedes Indictment Returned On  
July 26, 2004

INDICTMENT

The Grand Jury Charges:

INTRODUCTION

At all times material herein:

1. The Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyya is Arabic for "The Islamic Resistance Movement" and is known by the acronym HAMAS. HAMAS, which is sometimes referred to by its followers as "The Movement," is a terrorist organization based in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Gaza). HAMAS was founded in 1987 by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin as an outgrowth of the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim Brotherhood is an international Islamic organization founded in Egypt in 1928

and is committed to the globalization of Islam through social engineering and violent *jihad* (holy war). HAMAS' published charter states that HAMAS' purpose is to create an Islamic Palestinian state throughout Israel by eliminating the State of Israel through violent *jihad*.

2. HAMAS achieves its goals through a military wing, known as the Izz el-Din al-Qassam Brigades, and a social wing, known as *Dawa* ("preaching" or "calling").

Although these two components have separate responsibilities, the organization operates seamlessly, with each component working to achieve the overall objectives of the terrorist group.

3. HAMAS' military wing is responsible for carrying out suicide bombings and other terrorist attacks within Israel, the West Bank and Gaza. These attacks have targeted civilians and have resulted in the death and injury of hundreds of individuals, including American citizens. HAMAS' social wing operates as a social welfare agency, providing food, medical care and education to Palestinians in order to generate loyalty and support for the organization and its overall goals. HAMAS supports religious and academic institutions that facilitate the teachings of HAMAS and introduce its radical and violent ideology at the earliest stages of spiritual and educational development. This social engineering is critical to winning the hearts and minds of the Palestinian people and to creating a military and operational recruitment pool for HAMAS. Additionally, HAMAS

rewards past terrorist acts, and provides incentive for future acts, by financially subsidizing family members of HAMAS operatives who are killed, injured or imprisoned, and ensuring that the families are revered in the community.

4. HAMAS' social services are, in large part, administered by local HAMAS affiliated zakat committees and other ostensibly charitable organizations. "Zakat," or "alms giving," is one of the pillars of Islam and is an act incumbent on all practicing Muslims. The membership of these committees and organizations consists of HAMAS members, operatives and activists. HAMAS' social infrastructure is supported by numerous financial sources located around the world, including individuals and entities in the United States. Additionally, due to HAMAS' substantial expenditures and the fungible nature of money, some of the money collected externally under humanitarian banners is routed to military and operational use, in addition to freeing up other funds for specific terrorist acts. Such uses include the provision of weapons, explosives, transportation services, safehouses, and job salaries for operatives.

5. HAMAS' Political Bureau sits above the social and military wings and serves as the highest ranking leadership body in the HAMAS organization. The Political Bureau is responsible for setting policies and guidelines regarding HAMAS' activities, including directing and coordinating terrorist acts. By design, several high-ranking members of the political bureau, such as Khalid Mishal and Mousa Abu Marzook, have resided outside the West Bank and Gaza, and lived in such places as Jordan, Syria and the United States.

6. The International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA) confers upon the President the authority to deal with threats to the national security or foreign policy of the United States. On January 23, 1995, pursuant to this authority, the President issued Executive Order 12947, which declared a national emergency resulting from the grave acts of violence committed by foreign terrorists designed to disrupt the Middle East Peace Process. The Executive Order prohibits transactions, including financial transactions, with organizations and individuals named in the Annex to the Order or organizations and individuals declared to be Specially Designated Terrorists by the United States Department of Treasury pursuant to the criteria articulated in the Order. The Executive Order authorizes the Department of Treasury to block all property subject to United States jurisdiction in which there is any interest held by any organization or individual declared to be a Specially Designated Terrorist. Any United States person or entity who possesses any funds in which any interest is held by a Specially Designated Terrorist, must report such interest to the proper United States authorities. Any dealings in those funds after the designation date, or any attempt to avoid acknowledgment of the funds, is unlawful.

7. To implement Executive Order 12947, the United States Department of Treasury, through the Office of Foreign Assets Control, promulgated the Terrorism Sanctions Regulations, which are detailed at Title 31, Code of Federal Regulations, Section 595. Executive Order 12947 and the Terrorism Sanctions Regulations prohibit, among other things: (a) transferring, paying, exporting, withdrawing or otherwise dealing

in property or interests in property of a Specially Designated Terrorist that are in the United States, come within the United States, or come within the possession of or control of United States persons; (b) providing funds, goods or services to a Specially Designated Terrorist; © any transaction for the purpose of, or which has the effect of, evading or avoiding, or which facilitates the evasion or avoidance of the Terrorism Sanctions Regulations; (d) any conspiracy formed for the purpose of engaging in a prohibited transaction. A willful violation of any of these provisions is a criminal offense.

8. On January 25, 1995, HAMAS was designated as a Specially Designated Terrorist by the President in the Annex to Executive Order 12947. On August 29, 1995, former HAMAS Political Bureau Chief and current Deputy Chief Mousa Abu Marzook was designated as a Specially Designated Terrorist. On August 22, 2003, current HAMAS Political Bureau Chief Khalid Mishal was designated as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist pursuant to Executive Order 13324. Executive Order 13324 was issued on September 23, 2001, pursuant to IEEPA, and prohibits transactions with organizations and individuals who, inter alia, commit, threaten to commit, or support certain acts of terrorism.

9. On October 8, 1997, by publication in the Federal Register, the United States Secretary of State designated HAMAS as a Foreign Terrorist Organization pursuant to Section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), as added by the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (AEDPA). Pursuant to the AEDPA, the

Secretary of State may designate a group as a Foreign Terrorist Organization if the group is (1) a foreign organization; (2) the organization engages in terrorist activity as defined by the INA; and, (3) the terrorist activity of the group threatens the national security of the United States. The AEDPA, and specifically 18 U.S.C. § 2339B, reflects Congress' recognition of the danger and design of terrorist movements such as HAMAS and, as a result, it is unlawful to provide material support and resources, to include currency or monetary instruments, financial services, personnel, transportation and other provisions, to any component of HAMAS.

10. The Muslim Brotherhood (HAMAS' parent organization) has maintained a presence in the United States since at least the early 1980s. During the times relevant to this Indictment, the Muslim Brotherhood in the United States had approximately ten to fifteen working committees, including a Palestinian Committee whose designed purpose was to support HAMAS. The Palestinian Committee had authority over several organizations, each with a specific purpose in its mandate to support HAMAS, such as propaganda, community relations and fundraising.

11. In or around 1988, shortly after the founding of HAMAS, **The Holy Land Foundation For Relief and Development** ("HLF") was created by, among others, the defendants **Shukri Abu-Baker, Mohammad El-Mezain** and **Ghassan Elashi**, to fulfill the fundraising component of the Palestinian Committee. From 1989 until 1992, the **HLF** was located in California and, until 1991, was known as the Occupied Land Fund

(hereinafter all references to the Occupied Land Fund will be as the **HLF**). In 1992, the **HLF** relocated to Richardson, Texas and became incorporated in Texas. The **HLF** represented itself to be a non-profit, tax exempt, charitable organization designed primarily to assist needy individuals in the West Bank and Gaza. In addition to the main office in Richardson, Texas, the **HLF** maintained offices in New Jersey, California, Illinois, Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza, and maintained a presence in other locations, such as Lebanon and Jordan.

12. The Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) was the propaganda organization of the Palestinian Committee. It had offices in several cities throughout the United States, including Dallas and Chicago.

13. The defendant **Shukri Abu Baker** was the President, Secretary and Chief Executive Officer of the **HLF**. The defendant **Shukri Abu Baker**'s brother is Jamal Abu Baker, a.k.a Jamal Issa, the former HAMAS leader in the Sudan and the current HAMAS leader in Yemen.

14. The defendant **Mohammad El-Mezain** was the original Chairman of the Board until in or about 1999, when he became Director of Endowments for the **HLF**. The defendant **Mohammad El-Mezain** is a cousin of HAMAS Deputy Political Chief and Specially Designated Terrorist Mousa Abu Marzook.

15. The defendant **Ghassan Elashi** was the original Treasurer, and became the Chairman of the Board of the **HLF** in 1999. He was also an incorporator of the IAP. The

defendant **Ghassan Elashi** is related by marriage to HAMAS Deputy Political Bureau Chief and Specially Designated Terrorist Mousa Abu Marzook.

16. The defendant **Haitham Maghawri** was the Executive Director of the **HLF**.

17. The defendant **Akram Mishal** was the Project and Grants Director for the **HLF**. The defendant **Akram Mishal** is a cousin of HAMAS Political Bureau Chief and Specially Designated Global Terrorist Khalid Mishal.

18. The defendant **Mufid Abdulqader** was a top fundraiser for the **HLF**. The defendant **Mufid Abdulqader** is the half-brother of HAMAS Political Bureau Chief and Specially Designated Global Terrorist Khalid Mishal.

19. The defendant **Abdulrahman Odeh** was the New Jersey representative of the **HLF**.

#### The HLF's Relationship with HAMAS

20. During HAMAS' and the **HLF**'s beginnings, and in furtherance of their designed objective, the **HLF** provided significant financial resources to HAMAS leaders and key strategists. In April 1988, prior to its incorporation, the **HLF** sent approximately \$100,000 to HAMAS' future Political Bureau Chief Mousa Abu Marzook and his associates. Additionally, from 1988 through 1989, the **HLF** wire transferred approximately \$670,000 to an account held by the Islamic Center of Gaza, located in Gaza. The Islamic Center of Gaza was established by HAMAS spiritual leader and founder Sheik Ahmed Yassin, and was used by him to coordinate and conduct HAMAS



activities. During the time that the funds were being transferred to the Islamic Center of Gaza from the **HLF**, Sheik Yassin was arrested and convicted in Israeli court for the kidnapping and murder of an Israeli soldier.

21. As previously described, the **HLF** was deeply involved with a network of Muslim Brotherhood organizations, including other organizations of the Palestinian Committee, such as the IAP, dedicated to furthering the radical violent agenda espoused by HAMAS. These organizations served in different capacities, such as propaganda development and distribution, banking, and creating fundraising forums through which the **HLF** and others raised money. Certain of these organizations, including the **HLF**, sponsored conventions, seminars, rallies and teleconferences in support of radical Islamic causes, including HAMAS. At these conventions, seminars, rallies and teleconferences, pro-HAMAS sheiks, Muslim Brotherhood members and HAMAS officials from overseas were employed to inflame the audience and enhance fundraising. The HLF paid for the travel to the United States of several of these speakers and HAMAS officials, including current HAMAS leader Mahmoud Zahar and former HAMAS spokesperson Jamil Hammami. At these events, participants, including the defendant **Mufid Abdulqader**, praised HAMAS through speeches, songs and violent dramatic skits depicting the killing of Jewish people.

22. In October 1993, in response to a United States sponsored Middle East peace initiative between the Israeli government and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, known as the Oslo Accords, and other significant events, the principals of the **HLF** met with other members of the United States based Palestinian Committee in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The purpose of the meeting was to determine their course of action in support of HAMAS' opposition to the peace plan and to decide how to conceal their activities from the scrutiny of the United States Government. As noted in prior paragraphs, HAMAS is opposed to any peaceful solution to the Palestinian territorial conflict, as such a proposition is at odds with HAMAS' goal of annihilating the State of Israel and establishing an Islamic state in all of historic Palestine. During the meeting, the defendants **Shukri Abu Baker, Ghassan Elashi and Haitham Maghawri**, and others known and unknown to the Grand Jury, expressed their support for "The Movement," (as previously stated, a term known to refer to HAMAS, whose full name is the Islamic Resistance Movement) and affirmed that the United States should be used as a fundraising platform to further "The Movement's" goals. The attendees acknowledged the need to avoid scrutiny by law enforcement officials in the United States by masquerading their operations under the cloak of charitable exercise. To that end, the attendees discussed the need to conceal their true motives and objectives by giving nominal amounts to other non-Palestinian charities. The defendant **Shukri Abu Baker** reflected this understanding when he stated, "We can give \$100,000 to the Islamists and

\$5,000 to the others.” The attendees noted the danger of attracting the terrorist perception, which would undoubtedly compromise their efforts in supporting the violent *jihad*.

23. In 1994, a dispute arose between the **HLF** and another HAMAS fundraising entity in the United States. Then HAMAS Political Chief Mousa Abu Marzook resolved the dispute and determined that the **HLF** would be the primary fund-raising organization for HAMAS in the United States.

24. One of the ways the **HLF** supported HAMAS was by subsidizing HAMAS’ vital recruitment and reward efforts in the West Bank and Gaza. Although this financial initiative was spread broadly across the Palestinian population in order to promote HAMAS’ appeal throughout the entire Palestinian community, those directly involved in furthering HAMAS’ agenda were treated more favorably. In 1992, the Government of Israel deported over 400 members of HAMAS and other Islamic terrorist organizations to southern Lebanon in response to a surge in violence by HAMAS militants against Israeli soldiers, police and civilians. The **HLF** provided financial assistance to the deportees, and publically lauded itself for its response to the deportation. Deceased HAMAS leader Sheik Abdel Rantisi was one of the deportees whose family received financial assistance from the **HLF**.

25. In furtherance of HAMAS’ goal of garnering the support of the Palestinian people, the **HLF** sponsored orphans and needy families in the West Bank and Gaza.

While the program was mantled with a benevolent appearance, the HLF specifically sought orphans and families whose relatives had died or were jailed as a result of furthering HAMAS' violent campaign, including suicide bombings. This type of support was critical to HAMAS' efforts to win the hearts and minds of the Palestinian people and to create an infrastructure solidifying HAMAS' presence.

COUNT ONE

Conspiracy to Provide Material Support to a Foreign Terrorist Organization -  
(18 U.S.C. § 2339B(a)(1))

1. Paragraphs one (1) through twenty-six (26) of the Introduction to this Indictment are hereby re-alleged and incorporated by reference as though fully set forth herein.

2. Beginning from on or about October 8, 1997, and continuing until the date of the Indictment, in the Dallas Division of the Northern District of Texas and elsewhere, the defendants **Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF), Shukri Abu Baker, Mohammad El-Mezain, Ghassan Elashi, Haitham Maghawri, Akram Mishal, Mufid Abdulqader and Abdulrahman Odeh**, and others known and unknown to the Grand Jury, knowingly conspired to provide material support and resources, as those terms are defined in Title 18, United States Code, Section 2339A(b), to wit, currency and monetary instruments, to HAMAS, a designated Foreign Terrorist Organization, in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 2339B(a)(1).

MANNER AND MEANS OF THE CONSPIRACY

3. The defendants **HLF, Shukri Abu Baker, Mohammad El-Mezain, Ghassan Elashi, Haitham Maghawri, Akram Mishal, Mufid Abdulqader and Abdulrahman Odeh** provided material support and resources to the designated Foreign Terrorist Organization HAMAS by raising funds in the United States and elsewhere, and sending those funds to organizations and programs in the West Bank and Gaza, and elsewhere,



























































