



June 13, 2025

Attorney General Rob Bonta
State of California Department of Justice
1300 I Street
Sacramento, CA 95814

Re: Request for Investigation into SFSU's AMED Studies Program, Dr. Rabab Abdulhadi, Misuse of State Resources and the Promotion of FTO-Affiliated Individuals and Groups

Dear Attorney General Bonta,

I write on behalf of the Intelligent Advocacy Network¹ (IAN), a nonpartisan 501(c)(4) organization committed to countering extremism and advancing lawful, transparent governance in the use of public funds.

We respectfully submit this formal complaint requesting an investigation into the Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diasporas Studies (AMED)² program at San Francisco State University (SFSU) for the misuse of state resources, promotion of individuals and groups affiliated with U.S.-designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations³ (FTOs), and broader institutional failures of oversight.

As detailed in the Network Contagion Research Institute's report, *Foreign Terror Pipelines in the Academy*⁴, the AMED program has utilized California public resources to legitimize, amplify, and coordinate with individuals and groups tied to FTO's—including Hamas, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ).

At the center of this pipeline is Dr. Rabab Abdulhadi, whose direct engagement with FTO-affiliated figures and groups underscores a level of coordination and ideological alignment that goes far beyond academic inquiry or political speech.

¹ <https://intelligentadvocacy.net/>

² <https://amed.sfsu.edu/>

³ <https://www.state.gov/foreign-terrorist-organizations/>

⁴ https://drive.google.com/file/d/1yymjvjCb_2HEH7kL_wVkDSs-b9zy9CHx/view?usp=sharing



Summary of Findings

- AMED has repeatedly leveraged university platforms to host and promote individuals known to be senior operatives, convicted members, or public supporters of Hamas, the PFLP, and PIJ—including Leila Khaled⁵, Sheikh Raed Salah⁶, Sami Al-Arian⁷ and others.
- AMED has co-sponsored and promoted events involving Samidoun⁸, designated by the U.S. and Canadian governments in October 2024 as a terrorist entity and “sham charity,” and hosted speakers affiliated with sanctioned PFLP operative⁹ Khaled Barakat,¹⁰ and Charlotte Kates,¹¹ both of whom celebrated a 2025 terrorist attack in Washington, D.C. where two people were murdered.
- In July 2024, AMED organized a webinar glorifying deceased PFLP spokesperson Ghassan Kanafani, featuring participants closely tied to the PFLP political bureau.
- AMED coordinated a student delegation to Jordan to meet directly with convicted FTO figures Leila Khaled and Sheikh Raed Salah. These trips were framed as educational and conducted under university auspices.
- These actions were promoted through official SFSU digital platforms and event infrastructure¹².
- In May 2024, Dr. Abdulhadi publicly endorsed Hamas, the PFLP, and PIJ at a major national conference¹³, stating¹⁴:

“[I]n Palestine there are many groups, PFLP mostly, but there's also other groups ... participating in the resistance along with Islamic Jihad and Hamas. But it is really mostly the Islamist groups that are leading ... [A]ll the Palestinian resistance groups are coming together ... they're sending messages to the whole world ... I think we need to be fully supportive with the resistance and stand by it so we can achieve the victory we want.”

⁵ <https://www.adl.org/resources/article/leila-khaled-her-own-words>

⁶ <https://amchainitiative.org/amcha-write-sfsu-president-leslie-wong-regarding-sfsu-professor-of-ethnic-studies-rabab-abdulhadi-egregious-misuse-of-university-and-taxpayer-funds/>

⁷ https://irp.fas.org/ops/ci/al-arian_indict_022003.pdf

⁸ <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy2646>

⁹ <https://ofac.treasury.gov/recent-actions/20241015>

¹⁰ <https://masarbadil.org/en/2025/05/5802/>

¹¹ <https://www.memri.org/reports/leaders-designated-terror-organization-samidoun-call-murder-young-couple-pro-palestinian>

¹² https://drive.google.com/file/d/1HHStWVFhGaQkrFeZLWid95PRDTi4NB_Y/view?usp=sharing

¹³ <https://www.adl.org/resources/article/fight-until-victory-speakers-guests-declare-full-support-terrorism-peoples>

¹⁴ https://drive.google.com/file/d/1tnVjAlhqcFU3s5tUb4P6ImH1Jr35U_X4/view?usp=drive_link



Legal and Ethical Implications

While this conduct also falls within the investigative interests of federal agencies, it raises serious questions about compliance with California law, including:

1. Breach of Fiduciary Duty and Misuse of Public Resources

- Even when not funded by specific grants, events promoted under the official AMED banner—an academic unit within the publicly funded CSU system—implicate the university under California Government Code § 8314 and CSU's policies governing the use of state resources. The use of university branding, infrastructure, and personnel to amplify individuals affiliated with designated terrorist organizations represents a breach of CSU's fiduciary duty to uphold its educational mission and ensure lawful stewardship of public assets.

2. Failure of Administrative Oversight

- The longstanding pattern of activity within AMED suggests a breakdown in institutional accountability. The university's failure to intervene, especially following previous legal action¹⁵, appears to constitute administrative negligence.

3. Hostile Educational Environment / Violation of Title VI Principles

- A hostile climate at SFSU is not new. In *Volk v. Board of Trustees*¹⁶, Jewish students alleged systemic antisemitic harassment and marginalization at SFSU. The university settled in 2019¹⁷, agreeing to strengthen campus protections, reporting mechanisms, and inclusion measures. AMED's continued amplification of rhetoric, individuals and groups affiliated with FTOs—alongside Dr. Abdulhadi's repeated framing of Zionist identity as inherently racist or violent¹⁸—undermines the spirit of that settlement and raises serious concerns about the university's compliance with its own corrective commitments.

¹⁵https://www.sfexaminer.com/news/the-city/sfsu-settles-lawsuit-alleging-it-fostered-anti-semitism-on-campus/article_40a32784-9578-5b03-97f1-0a12783a0563.html?=/&subcategory=217%7CNightclub

¹⁶https://www.sfexaminer.com/news/the-city/sfsu-settles-lawsuit-alleging-it-fostered-anti-semitism-on-campus/article_40a32784-9578-5b03-97f1-0a12783a0563.html?=/&subcategory=217%7CNightclub

¹⁷<https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/d4vybmuxhullqkdh07ro7/Volk-v-CSU-Final-Signed-Settlement.pdf?rlkey=wi2erz33u69cc2rlllyuobnoi&e=1&dl=0>

¹⁸ <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1qqYmtgrz1HpoWpdOkFCUEx2vHmImyXXx/view?usp=sharing>



- On June 9, 2025, vandals attacked Manny's—a Jewish and LGBTQ owned cafe in San Francisco—with violent anitsemite, anti-Zionist graffiti¹⁹, including “Die Zio” and “The only good settler is a dead 1.” The timing of this attack, occurring just weeks after the D.C. murders and their public glorification by AMED-aligned figures, highlights the tangible risk of allowing taxpayer-funded university programs to promote rhetoric tied to extremist violence.

4. Indicators of Federal Violations

- Though outside your direct jurisdiction, the facts presented also suggest potential violations of federal law, including:
 - i. Material Support for Terrorism (18 U.S.C. § 2339B)
 - ii. Title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965
 - iii. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act
 - iv. Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA)

Request for Action

We respectfully urge your office to:

- Initiate a formal investigation into the operations of AMED, SFSU's oversight, and the conduct of Dr. Rabab Abdulhadi;
- Review compliance with state fiduciary, educational, and anti-discrimination laws; Subpoena relevant records—including AMED funding, communications, and affiliations with known FTOs;
- Refer evidence of potential federal violations—including material support for terrorism, violations of the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA), Title IV of the Higher Education Act, and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act—to the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights.

The NCRI report²⁰ provides compelling evidence that AMED operates not as an academic department, but a radicalization engine funded by California taxpayers. This is more than a

¹⁹<https://jweekly.com/2025/06/10/mannys-vandalized-with-anti-israel-graffiti-broken-windows-during-anti-ic-e-protest/>

²⁰ https://drive.google.com/file/d/1yymjvjCb_2HEH7kL_wVkdSs-b9zy9CHx/view?usp=sharing



matter of academic freedom. It is a test of whether public institutions will be held accountable for enabling networks that incite violence.

Thank you for your attention to this timely matter. I am available to provide additional documentation or brief your office upon request.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to read "Susan George", is positioned above the typed name.

Susan George

Chief Executive Officer

Intelligent Advocacy Network (IAN)

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Attachment: NCRI Report - Foreign Terror Pipelines in the Academy: The Case Study of SFSU and Dr. Rabab Abdulhadi