



CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY

Muslim Brotherhood Case Study Documentation

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Exhibit 1:

Holy Land Foundation Trial – Strategic Plan of the
Muslim Brotherhood

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
الحمد لله رب العالمین و الصلاة و السلام علی سید المرسلین

مذكرة تفسيرية

للهدف الإستراتيجي العام للجماعة في أمريكا الشمالية

١٩٩١/٥/٢٢

المحتويات :

- ١- مقدمة في التفسير .
- ٢- مفهوم التوطين .
- ٢- عملية التوطين .
- ٤- مؤسسات التوطين الشاملة .

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين و العاقبة للمتقين

التاريخ : ٢٢ / ٥ / ١٩٩١

الأخ الحبيب / فضيلة المسؤول العام حفظه الله .
الأخ الحبيب / أمين مجلس الشورى حفظه الله .
الأخوة الاحبة / أعضاء مجلس الشورى حفظهم الله .
السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته ... و بعد

أتمنى على الله تعالى أن تكونوا و أهليكم و من تحبون ممن حولكم على أحسن حال ترضيه عز و جل .
أتوجه اليكم بخطابي هذا راجيا أن يحظى اهتمامكم و ينال حسن رعايتكم فأنتم أهل المسؤولية و أصحاب
الأمانة . بين أيديكم « مذكرة تفسيرية » اجتهدت في تدوينها حتى لا تبقى حبيسة الصدر و العقل . و لكي
أشارككم جزءاً من المسؤولية الملقاة على عواتقنا في قيادة الجماعة في هذه البلاد .
و لعلّ الذي شجعني على أن أتقدم بالمذكرة في هذا الوقت بالذات هو احساسني « ببارقة أمل » و اشراقه خير
تبشر بأننا بدأنا ندخل مرحلة جديدة من مراحل العمل الاسلامي في هذه القارة .
و الأوراق التي بين أيديكم ليست ترفاً زائداً أو خيالات و هواجس مرّت في مخيلة أحد إخوانكم . و إنما هي
آمال و طموحات و تحديات أرجو أن تشاركونني فيها أو معظمها . و لا أتمنى لها العصاة و الصواب المطلق .
و إنما هي اجتهاد يحتاج منكم الى دراسة و نظر و تفصيل و تأصيل .
و طلبي من إخواني... أن يقرأوا المذكرة و يكتبوا ما شاءوا من تعليقات و تصويبات . مع العلم أن الذي بين
أيديكم ليس غريباً أو طرحاً جديداً منبثقاً لا أصل له . و إنما هو محاولة لتفسير و شرح بعض ما جاء في
الخطبة بعيدة المدى . و التي اعتمدها و أقرناها في مجلسنا و مؤتمرنا عام (١٩٨٧) .
فلا تجعل أخي الكريم بإلقاء هذه الاوراق بعيداً لكثرة انشغالك و همومك .. كل الذي أطلبه منك أن تقرأها و
تعلق عليها . علّنا نستكمل مع بعضنا مشروع خطتنا و عملنا الاسلامي في هذه البقعة من العالم . و لكن
فعلت لأكوننّ لك من الشاكرين الممتنين .
كما و أرجو من أخي الكريم أمين المجلس حفظه الله أن يدرج موضوع المذكرة على جدول أعمال المجلس في
اجتماعه القادم .

و جزاكم الله خيراً و حفظكم ذخراً لدعوته

أخوكم / محمد أكرم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين و العاقبة للمتقين

الموضوع : مشروع لمذكرة تفسيرية للهدف الاستراتيجي العام للجماعة في أمريكا الشمالية
الوارد في الخطة بعيدة المدى .

أولاً : تستند هذه المذكرة الى :

- ١- الهدف الاستراتيجي العام للجماعة في أمريكا و المعتمد من قبل مجلس الشورى و المؤتمر التنظيمي لعام [١٩٨٧] و هو « تمكين الاسلام في أمريكا الشمالية أي : ايجاد حركة اسلامية فعالة و مستقرة بقيادة الاخوان المسلمين . تتبنى قضايا المسلمين محليا و عالميا . و تعمل على توسيع القاعدة الاسلامية الملتزمة . و تهدف الى توحيد و توجيه جهود المسلمين . و تطرح الاسلام كبديل حضاري . و تدعم دولة الاسلام العالمية أينما كانت » .
- ٢- الاولوية المعتمدة من قبل مجلس الشورى لعمل الجماعة في دورته الحالية و السابقة و هي: « التوطين » .
- ٣- تطور العلاقة ايجابيا مع الاخوة في السلكة الاسلامية في محاولة الوصول الى الوحدة الاندماجية .
- ٤- الحاجة الدائمة للتفكير و التخطيط المستقبلي و محاولة استشرافه و العمل على « تطويع » الحاضر ليستجيب و يتلائم مع احتياجات و تحديات المستقبل .
- ٥- ورقة الاخ فضيلة المسؤول العام حفظه الله التي أرسلها مؤخراً الى أعضاء المجلس .

ثانياً : مقدمة في مذكرة التفسير :

- لكي نبدأ بالتفسير لابد من « استحضار » السؤال الاتي و - وضعه نصب أعيننا لأن علاقته مهمة و لازمة بالهدف الاستراتيجي و بمشروع التفسير الذي نحن بصدده- . و السؤال هو : « كيف تصب أن ترى حركة الاسلام في أمريكا الشمالية بعد عشرة أعوام ؟ » أو « استصحاب » الجملة التالية -عند التخطيط و العمل- و هي : « العمل الاسلامي في أمريكا الشمالية عام (٢٠٠٠) : رؤية استراتيجية » .
- و لابد -أيضاً- من إستحضار و إستصحاب « عناصر » الهدف الاستراتيجي العام للجماعة في أمريكا الشمالية و سأكررها « مرقمة » متعمداً و هي :
- [١- ايجاد حركة اسلامية فعالة و مستقرة بقيادة الاخوان المسلمين .
- ٢- تبني قضايا المسلمين محليا و عالميا .
- ٣- توسيع القاعدة الاسلامية الملتزمة .
- ٤- توحيد و توجيه جهود المسلمين .

٥- طرح الاسلام كبديل حضاري .

٦- دعم إقامة دولة الاسلام العالمية أينما كانت [.

- و لابد من التأكيد على أنه أصبح من الواضح و من « المعلوم من الواقع بالضرورة » أن الجميع متفقون على أننا نريد أن « نوطن » أو « نمكّن » الاسلام و حركته في هذه البقعة من الارض .
- فلا بد - إذن - من تبني فهماً مشتركاً لمداول التوطين أو التمكين . نفسّر في سياقه و على أساسه الهدف الاستراتيجي العام - بمناصره الستة - للجماعة في أمريكا الشمالية .

ثالثاً : مفهوم التوطين :

وردت هذه الكلمة في « معجم » و وثائق الجماعة بمصطلحات متعددة . بالرغم من أن الجميع قصد بها أمراً واحداً . و نعتقد أن الفهم في المضمون مشترك . و سنحاول هنا تفسير الكلمة و « مرادفاتها » تفسيراً عملياً ذو دلالة حركية واقعية و ليس تفسيراً لفوياً فلسفياً . مع التأكيد أن تفسيرنا لا يكتمل الا بعد استيعاب تفسيرنا « لعملية » التوطين ذاتها و التي ترد في الفقرة اللاحقة . فنقول بإختصار ما يلي :

التوطين - « ان يكون الاسلام و حركته جزءاً من الوطن الذي يحيا فيه » .
التأسيس - « ان يتحول الاسلام الى مؤسسات ثابتة الاركان تقوم عليها قواعد الحضارة و البناء و الشهود » .
الاستقرار - « ان يكون الاسلام مستقراً في الارض التي يتحرك عليها اهله » .
التمكين - « ان يكون الاسلام متمكناً من نفوس و عقول و حياة اهل البلد الذي يتحرك فيه » .
التأصيل - « ان يكون الاسلام أصيلاً و ليس طارناً أي متأصلاً «متجذراً» في تربة البقعة التي يتحرك عليها و ليس نهبتاً غريباً عنها » .

رابعاً : عملية التوطين :

- و لكي يكون الاسلام و حركته « جزءاً من الوطن » الذي يحيا فيه و « مستقراً » في ارضه و « متأصلاً » في نفوس و عقول أهله و « متمكناً » من حياة مجتمعه و له « مؤسسات » ثابتة الأركان يقوم عليها البناء الاسلامي و يتحقق بها الشهود الحضاري . فلا بد أن تخطط الحركة و تجاهد من أجل امتلاك « مفاتيح » و أدوات هذه العملية لإنجاز المهمة العظيمة كمسؤولية « جهادية حضارية » تقع على عاتق المسلمين و على رأسهم الاخوان المسلمين في هذه البلاد . و من هذه المفاتيح و الأدوات ما يلي :

١- تبني مفهوم التوطين و ادراك دلالاته العملية :

ركّزت المذكرة التفسيرية على البعد الحركي و الواقعي لمفهوم عملية التوطين و على دلالاتها العملية دون الالتفات الى الاختلاف في الفهم بين من هو المقيم و غير المقيم ؟ أو من هو المستوطن أو غير المستوطن؟

و نعتقد أن الذي جاء في الخطة بعيدة المدى بهذا الصدد فيه الكفاية .

٢- إحداهن نقلة نوعية في منهجية تفكيرنا و عقليتنا لتتناسب مع تحديات مهمة التوطين : المقصود بأحداث النقلة - و هو تعبير ايجابي - هو الاستجابة للتحديات الكبيرة لمهمة التوطين ، و نعتقد أن أية استجابة تفييرية تبدأ بمنهج التفكير و مركزه العقل أولاً . و لكي يتضح ما نقصد بالنقلة التي ننادي بها كمفتاح يؤهلنا لخوض ميدان التوطين ، نقول باختصار شديد ...أن يتحقق :

- الانتقال من عقلية التفكير الجزئي الى عقلية التفكير الشمولي ،
- الانتقال من عقلية التخطيط الجزئي «المبتور» الى عقلية التخطيط الشمولي «المتواصل» ،
- الانتقال من عقلية الحذر و التحفظ الى عقلية المجازفة و التحرر المنضبط ،
- الانتقال من عقلية تنظيم النخبة الى عقلية التنظيم الشعبي ،
- الانتقال من عقلية الوعظ و الارشاد الى عقلية البناء و الإلهاد ،
- الانتقال من عقلية احادية الرأي الى عقلية تعددية الرأي ،
- الانتقال من عقلية التصادم الى عقلية الاستيعاب ،
- الانتقال من عقلية الفرد الى عقلية الفريق ،
- الانتقال من عقلية الترقب الى عقلية المبادرة ،
- الانتقال من عقلية التردد الى عقلية الحسم ،
- الانتقال من عقلية المبادئ الى عقلية البرامج ،
- الانتقال من عقلية الافكار المجردة الى عقلية المؤسسات الحقيقية [و هنا بيت القصيد و لب المذكرة] .

٣- فهم المراحل التاريخية التي مرّ بها العمل الاسلامي الاخواني في هذه البلاد :
يمتد كاتب المذكرة أن فهم و استيعاب المراحل التاريخية للعمل الاسلامي الذي قاده و يقوده الاخوان المسلمين في هذه القارة مفتاح مهم جداً في العمل من أجل التوطين ، تلحظ من خلاله الجماعة سيرها و اتجاه حركتها و منحنيات و منعطفات دربها . و سنكتفي هنا بذكر عنوان [العنوان هنا يعبر عن السمة الغالبة للمرحلة] كل مرحلة من هذه المراحل [و لعل التفصيل يكون في دراسة مستقبلية أخرى] ، و أغلب الظن أن المراحل هي :

- أ- مرحلة البحث عن الذات و تحديد الهوية ،
- ب- مرحلة البناء الداخلي و إحكام التنظيم ،
- ج- مرحلة المساجد و المراكز الاسلامية ،
- د- مرحلة انشاء المؤسسات الاسلامية -الطور الاول - ،
- هـ- مرحلة انشاء المدارس الاسلامية -الطور الاول- .

(٤)

و- مرحلة التفكير في الحركة الاسلامية العلنية -الطور الاول- .
ز- مرحلة الانفتاح على الحركات الاسلامية الاخرى و محاولة الوصول الى صيغة للتعامل معها -الطور الاول-
ح- مرحلة احياء و استكمال انشاء المؤسسات الاسلامية -الطور الثاني- :
نعتقد أن الجماعة على أبواب هذه المرحلة في طورها الثاني فعليها أن تدلف الباب و تدخله كما دخلته أول مرة .

٤- فهم طبيعة دور الاخ المسلم في أمريكا الشمالية :

إنّ عملية التوطين « عملية جهادية حضارية » بما تحمل الكلمة . و لابد أن يستوعب الاخوان أن عملهم في أمريكا هو نوع من أنواع الجهاد العظيم في إزالة و هدم المدنية او الحضارة الغربية من داخلها و «تخريب» بيوتها الشقيّة بأيديهم و أيدي المؤمنين لكي يتم جلاؤهم و يظهر دين الله على الدين كله . و دون هذا المستوى من الاستيعاب ، فاننا دون التحدي و لنا نعدّ أنفسنا للجهاد بعد . فقدر المسلم ان يجاهد و يعمل حيثما كان و حيثما حلّ حتى قيام الساعة و لا مفرّ من هذا القدر الا لمن اختار القعود .. و لكن هل يستوي القاعدون و المجاهدون .

٥- ادراك أننا لانستطيع أن نقوم بمهمة التوطين بمفردنا أو بمعزل عن الناس :

إنّ مهمة بهذه الجسامة و الضخامة كحمة التوطين ، تحتاج الى جهود عظيمة و مضيّة ، و لن يستطيع الاخوان - بإمكاناتهم و مواردهم البشرية و المالية و العملية - أن يقوموا بهذه المهمة بمفردهم أو بمعزل عن الناس ، و الذي يعتقد هذا فهو مخطئ و الله أعلم . أما دور الاخوان فهو المبادرة و الريادة و القيادة و رفع الراية و دفع الناس بهذا الاتجاه . ثم يعملون على توظيف و توجيه و توحيد جهود و قوى المسلمين لهذه العملية . و من أجل ذلك لابد أن يتعمق عندنا فقه « التحالفات » و فن « الاستيعاب » و أدب « التعاون » .

٦- ضرورة تحقيق المزاجية و الاندماجية المتدرجة المتوازنة بين العمل الخاص و العمل العام :

نظن أن ما كُتِب حول هذا الموضوع كثير و فيه الكفاية و لكن يحتاج منا الى تأطير زمني و عملي بحيث يتحقق المطلوب بشكل متدرج و متوازن و متواكب مع متطلبات عملية التوطين .

٧- القناعة بأن نجاح توطين الاسلام و حركته في هذه البلاد هو نجاح للحركة الاسلامية العالمية و اسناد حقيقي للدولة المنشودة بإذن الله تعالى :

هناك فهم - تخالفه هذه المذكرة - و هو أن تركيز عملنا في محاولة توطين الاسلام في هذه البلاد سيؤدي الى تفسيرنا و إخلالنا بدورنا في أداء واجبنا تجاه الحركة الاسلامية العالمية في دعم مشروعها في قيام الدولة . نعتقد أن الاجابة من شقين : الاول - ان نجاح الحركة في أمريكا باقامة قاعدة اسلامية ملتزمة ذات قوة و فعالية و تأثير سيكون خير عون و دعم و اسناد لمشروع الحركة العالمية .

(٥)

و الثاني_ هو أن الحركة العالمية لم تنجح بعد في « توزيع الأدوار » على فروعها فتحدد لهم المطلوب منهم كأحد المشاركين او المساهمين في مشروع قيام الدولة الاسلامية العالمية . و يوم أن يتم هذا فسيكون لابناء الفرع الاخواني الامريكي آيادٍ و مواقف بيضاء يفخر بها الآباء .

٨- استيعاب المسلمين و كسبهم بكل فئاتهم و ألوانهم في أمريكا و كندا لصالح مشروع التوطين و جعله قضيتهم و مستقبلهم و أساس حياتهم الاسلامية في هذه البقعة من العالم:

هذه المسألة تحتاج منا الى « فقه للتعامل مع الاخرين » . فالناس معادن و الناس كإهل مائة . نحن نحتاج الى اعتماد المبدأ الذي يقول « خذ من كل الناس ..أفضل ما عندهم » ، أفضل ما عندهم من تخصصات و خبرات و فنون و طاقات و كفاءات . و المقصود بالناس هنا من داخل الصف أو خارجه من الافراد و المؤسسات . و سياسة « الأخذ » تكون بما يحقق خدمة الهدف الاستراتيجي و عملية التوطين . و لكن التحدي الكبير الذي أمامنا هو : كيف نربطهم جميعا في « فلك » خطتنا و «دائرة» حركتنا لتحقيق «مناط» مصلحتنا ؟ و ليس لنا خيار - في ظني - الا التحالف و التفاهم مع من يرضى في ملتنا . و يرضى بمذهبتنا في العمل . و الساحة الاسلامية الامريكية مليئة بهؤلاء ينتظرونالرواد .

المهم أن نوصل الناس الى مستوى ادراك التحدي الذي أمامنا كمسلمين في هذا البلد و الاقتناع بمشروعنا في التوطين . و ادراك مصلحة اللقاء و التعاون و التحالف . حينها لو طلبنا المال سيأتي طائلاً ، و لو طلبنا الرجال لجاؤا صفوا . المهم أن تكون خطتنا هي « المعيار و الميزان » في علاقاتنا مع الاخرين . و هنا ينبغي تسهيل نقطتين . الاولى : نحن بحاجة الى ادراك و فهم موازين القوى الاسلامية على الساحة الامريكية [و لعل هذا يكون مشروع دراسة مستقبلية] . و النقطة الثانية : ان الذي توصلنا اليه مع الاخوة في « اكنا » يعتبر خطوة في الاتجاه الصحيح و بداية الخير و أول الفيت . يحتاج منا إنماءً و ترشيداً .

٩- اعادة النظر في هياكلنا التنظيمية و الادارية و نوعية القيادات و أساليب اختيارها بما يتلائم مع تحديات مهمة التوطين :

ستسكت الملكرة عن التفصيل في هذا البند لحين آخر مع انه أمر بدهي و فيه قول كثير .

١٠- تنمية و تطوير مصادرتنا و مواردنا و امكانياتنا المالية و البشرية بما يتناسب مع ضخامة المهمة الكبيرة :

لو استعرضنا الموارد البشرية و المالية التي يملكها الاخوان لوحدهم في هذا البلد لشعرنا و شعر غيرنا بالفخر و الاعتزاز . و لو ضمننا اليها موارد أصدقائنا و حلفائنا و من هم في فلكنا يسبحون و لرايتنا ينتظرون . لأدركنا اننا يمكن أن نخوض بحر التوطين و نستعرضه لإعلاء كلمة الله سبحانه .

١١- اعتماد المنهج العلمي في التخطيط و التفكير و اعداد الدراسات التي تحتاجها عملية التوطين :

- نعم نحتاج الى هذا المنهج . و نحتاج الى العديد من الدراسات التي تعين في هذه العملية الجهادية الحضارية . و لعله نكتفي هنا بذكر بعضها بإيجاز :
- تاريخ الوجود الاسلامي في أمريكا .
 - تاريخ العمل الاسلامي الاخواني في أمريكا .
 - الحركات و المنظمات و المؤسسات الاسلامية : تحليل و نقد
 - ظاهرة المراكز و المدارس الاسلامية : تحديات و احتياجات و احماءات .
 - الاقليات الاسلامية .
 - الجاليات الاسلامية و العربية .
 - المجتمع الامريكي . تركيبه و سياسة .
 - نظرة المجتمع الامريكي الى الاسلام و المسلمين ... و غيرها كثير من الدراسات التي يمكن ان نوجه اليها اخواننا و حلفائنا لاعادتها اما من خلال دراستهم الاكاديمية أو من خلال مراكزهم العلمية أو من خلال تكليفاتهم الحركية . المهم أن تبدأ .

١٢- الاتفاق على « آلية » مرنة و متوازنة و واضحة لتنفيذ عملية التوطين ضمن « اطار زمني » محدد و متدرج و متوازن و متواكب مع متطلبات و تحديات عملية التوطين .

١٣- فهم المجتمع الامريكي من جوانبه المختلفة فهماً « يؤهلنا » من القيام بمهمة توطين دعوتنا في وطنه و « إستراتيجياتها » على أرضه .

١٤- تبني « فقه » مدوّن يتضمن قواعد و مبادئ و سياسات و تفسيرات شرعية و حركية تتلائم مع حاجات و تحديات عملية التوطين .

١٥- الاتفاق على « معايير » و موازين تكون بمثابة « حاسة الاستشعار » أو « برج المراقبة » للتأكد من أن أولوياتنا و خططنا و برامجنا و هيكلنا و قياداتنا و اموالنا و مناشطنا كلها تسير باتجاه عملية التوطين.

١٦- تبني صيغة عملية مرنة يتكامل فيها عملنا المركزي مع عملنا المحلي .
[البنود من ١٢ الى ١٦ سيرد فيها التفصيل لاحقاً] .

١٧- ادراك دور و طبيعة عمل « المركز الاسلامي » في كل مدينة بما يحقق عملية التوطين :

إن المركز الذي نسمى له هو الذي : يُمثل « محور » حركتنا و « محيط » دائرة عملنا و « نقطة » ارتكازنا و « قاعدة » انطلاقنا و « دار أرقمنا » لتربيتنا و اعدادنا و إنفاذ سرايانا بالاضافة الى انه « محراب » عبادتنا .

(٧)

حتى يتحول المركز الاسلامي -بالفعل- لا بالقول الى نواة « لمجتمع اسلامي » صغير يكون انعكاساً و مرآة لمؤسساتنا المركزية . ينبغي أن يتحول المركز الى « خلية نحل » يُخرج شهداً حلو المذاق . فيتحول بذلك المركز الاسلامي الى مكان الدرس و الاسرة و الكتبية و الدورة و الندوة و الزيارة و الرياضة و المدرسة و النادي الاجتماعي و ملتقى المرأة و محضن الناشئة و الناشئات و مكتب صنع القرار السياسي المحلي و مركز توزيع صحفنا و مجلاتنا و كتبنا و أشرطةنا السمعية و المرئية .

باختصار نقول : أننا نريد أن يصبح المركز الاسلامي « دار الدعوة » و « المركز العام » بالمضمون أولاً قبل الاسم ، و على قدر امتلاكنا و توجيهنا لهذه المراكز على مستوى القارة .. على قدر ما يمكننا القول أننا نسير بنجاح نحو توطين الدعوة في هذه البلاد .

أي أن يكون دور « المركز » كدور « المسجد » على عهد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم عندما انطلق يباشر « توطين » الدعوة في عهدها الاول في المدينة المنورة، و من المسجد إستأنف الحياة الاسلامية و قدم للعالم أروع و أبهى حضارة عرفتها الإنسانية .

و هذا يحتم أن تتحول -بعد حين - المنطقة و الشعبة و الأسرة الى « غرف عمليات » للتخطيط و التوجيه و المراقبة و القيادة للمركز الاسلامي ليكون مثلاً و نموذجاً يحتذى .

١٨- اعتماد نظام يؤكد على ان « فرز » العاملين و « توزيع الادوار و « تقليد » المناصب و المسؤوليات يكون على أساس التخصص و الرغبة و الحاجة و بما يحقق عملية التوطين و يسهم في إنجاحها .

١٩- تحويل مبدأ التفرغ لمسئولي المواقع الرئيسية في الجماعة الى قاعدة و أساس و سياسة في العمل ، و بدونه قد تتعطل عملية التوطين [و الكلام حول هذا الموضوع يحتاج الى تفصيل و تأصيل] .

٢٠- ادراك أهمية النقلة « المؤسساتية » في عملنا الحركي . و الجهاد من أجل تحقيقها على أرض الواقع بما يخدم عملية التوطين و يعجل نتائجه بأذن الله عزّ و جلّ :

إنّ سبب تأخير هذا البند على أهميته القصوى هو لأنه يمثل سر و لب هذه المذكرة . و يمثل أيضاً المظهر العملي و المعيار الحقيقي لنجاحنا أو إخفاقنا في سيرنا نحو هدف التوطين . و الحديث عن المؤسسات العقلية أو الظاهرة « المؤسساتية » لا يحتاج منا الى تفصيل كثير . و يكفيننا أن نقول أن أول رائد لهذه الظاهرة كان نبينا محمد صلى الله عليه و سلم إذ انه وضع الاساس لأول مؤسسة حضارية و هي المسجد فكانت بحق « المؤسسة الشاملة » . ثم هكذا كان فعل رائد الدعوة الاسلامية المعاصرة الامام الشهيد حسن البنا رحمه الله عندما أحسنّ هو و إخوانه بضرورة إعادة « تأسيس » الاسلام و حركته من جديد . فأقام المؤسسات بكل أنواعها : الاقتصادية و الاجتماعية و الاعلامية و الكشفية و المهنية و حتى العسكرية . و يجدر القول أننا في بلد لا يفهم الالفة المؤسسات و لا يحترم و يحسب وزناً لأي مجموعة بدون مؤسسات فاعلة و مؤثرة و قوية .

(A)

و من حسن الطالع أن بيننا من إخواننا من سبقونا بالقول والعمل من عنده هذه «النزعة» أو العقلية أو الميل لإنشاء المؤسسات . مما يدفعنا الى القول بشجاعة و مراحة - كما قالها ذات مرة السادات في مصر «نحن نريد أن نقيم دولة المؤسسات» - كلمة حق أراد بها الباطل . و أنا أقول لايخواني دعونا نرفع شعار الحق لإقامة الحق « نحن نريد أن نقيم جماعة المؤسسات » . اذ ان بدونها لن نضع أقدامنا على الطريق الصحيح .

- و من أجل أن تتم عملية التوطين لابد أن نخطط و نعمل من الآن على تهيئة و اعداد أنفسنا و إخواننا و أجهزتنا و أقسامنا و لجاننا لكي تتحول الى مؤسسات شاملة بشكل متدرج و متوازن و متواكب مع الحاجة و الواقع . و الذي يشجعنا على ذلك - بالاضافة الى الذي ذكر سابقاً - هو أننا نملك « أنوية » لكل مؤسسة من المؤسسات التي ننادي بوجودها . [انظر الى الملحق رقم (١)] .

-كل الذي نحتاجه هو أن نُحْكِم ربطهم و نُتَسَّق عملهم و نجتمع عناصرهم و نوحد جهودهم مع غيرهم ثم نصلهم بالخطة الشاملة التي نسعى لها .

فعلى سبيل المثال :

عندنا نواة لمؤسسة « اعلامية و فنية شاملة » : نملك مطبعة + جهاز صف حروف متطور + مركز سمعيات و بصريات + مكتب اخراج فني + مجلات و صحف بالعربية و الانكليزية [الافاق و الامل و السياسي و الى فلسطين و المقتطفات الصحفية و الزيتونة و الراصد الفلسطيني و مجلة العلوم الاجتماعية ...] + فرقة فنية + مصورين + مخرجين + مقدمي برامج + محررين + بالاضافة الى خبرات اعلامية و فنية اخرى .
مثال آخر :

عندنا نواة لمؤسسة « دعوية تربوية شاملة » : عندنا قسم الدعوة الاسلامية في الاسنا + مؤسسة الدكتور جمال بدوي + المركز الذي يديره الاخ حامد الفزالي + مركز الدعوة الذي تسعى له لجنة الدعوة الآن و الاخ شاكِر السيد + بالاضافة الى جهود دعوية هنا و هناك ... » .

و هكذا يمكن أن نقيس على جميع المؤسسات التي ننادي بايجادها .

-التحدي الكبير الذي أمامنا هو أننا كيف نجعل من هذه الأنوية أو العناصر « المبعثرة » مؤسسات شاملة مستقرة « متوطنة » مرتبطة بحركتنا و تدور في فلك خطتنا و تأتمر بتوجيهنا . و لا يمنع - بل ينبغي - أن يكون لكل مؤسسة مركزية فروعها المحلية و لكن ارتباطها بالمركز الاسلامي في المدينة شرط .

-المطلوب : أن نسعى لتهيئة الأجواء و السبل لتحقيق « الاندماج » بحيث تكون الاقسام و اللجان و المناطق و الشعب و الاسر هي لب و جوهر المؤسسات - بعد حين - .

أي أن تحصل النقلة و التحول كما يلي :

(٩)

- | | |
|--|--|
| ١- قسم التنظيم + قسم الامانة | = المؤسسة التنظيمية و الادارية - المركز العام |
| ٢- قسم التربية + لجنة الدعوة | = المؤسسة الدعوية و التربوية |
| ٢- قسم الاخوات | = المؤسسة النسوية |
| ٤- قسم المال + لجنة الاستثمار + الوقف | = المؤسسة الاقتصادية |
| ٥- قسم الناشئة + قسم المنظمات الشبابية | = المؤسسة الشبابية |
| ٦- اللجنة الاجتماعية + لجنة الزواج + م. الرحمة | = المؤسسة الاجتماعية |
| ٧- اللجنة الامنية | = المؤسسة الامنية |
| ٨- القسم السياسي + لجنة فلسطين | = المؤسسة السياسية |
| ٩- محكمة الجماعة + اللجنة القانونية | = المؤسسة القضائية |
| ١٠- قسم العمل المحلي | = تتوزع أعماله على بقية المؤسسات |
| ١١- مجلاتنا + المطبعة + فرقنا الفنية | = المؤسسة الاعلامية و الفنية |
| ١٢- مؤسسة الدراسات + دار النشر + دار الكتاب | = المؤسسة الفكرية و الثقافية |
| ١٢- الجمعيات العلمية و الطبية | = المؤسسة العلمية و التعليمية و المهنية |
| ١٤- المؤتمر التنظيمي | = المؤتمر التأسيسي الاسلامي الامريكي |
| ١٥- مجلس الشورى + لجنة التخطيط | = مجلس شورى الحركة الاسلامية الامريكية . |
| ١٦- المكتب التنفيذي | = المكتب التنفيذي للحركة الاسلامية الامريكية |
| ١٧- المسئول العام | = رئيس الحركة الاسلامية و الناطق الرسمي لها . |
| ١٨- المناطق + الشعب + الاسر | = القيادات الميدانية للمؤسسات و المراكز الاسلامية. |

خامساً : مؤسسات التوطين الشاملة :

- ثم نسمى و نجاهد من أجل أن تصبح كل مؤسسة من هذه المؤسسات المذكورة أعلاه « مؤسسة شاملة » على مدى الايام و السنين و ما نُؤدّر لنا أن نكون في هذه الديار ..المهم يكفيننا اعتزازاً أننا وضعنا اللبنة و يأتي من بعدنا أقوام و أجيال تكمل المسيرة و الطريق و لكن بهدي سابق واضح المعالم .
و لكي يتضح القول بمقصدنا من المؤسسة الشاملة المتخصصة . نذكر هنا ملامح و مظاهر كل مؤسسة من المؤسسات « الراجعة » :

١- دعوية و تربوية [المؤسسة الدعوية و التربوية] : بحيث تشمل على :

- مؤسسة نشر الدعوة (مركزية و فروع محلية) .
- معهد لتخريج الدعاة و المربين .
- علماء و دعاة و مربين و مبشرين و مقدمي برامج .
- فنون و تقنية الاتصال و التبليغ و الدعوة .

- محطة تلفزيونية .
- مجلة دعوية متخصصة .
- محطة اذاعية .
- المجلس الاسلامي الاعلى للدعاة و المربين .
- المجلس الاعلى للمساجد و المراكز الاسلامية .
- جمعيات الصداقة مع الاديان الاخرى ... و ماشابه ذلك .

٢- سياسيا [المؤسسة السياسية] : بحيث تشمل على :

- حزب سياسي مركزي .
- مكاتب سياسية محلية .
- رموز سياسية .
- علاقات و تحالفات .
- المنظمة الامريكية للعمل السياسي الاسلامي .
- مراكز معلومات متطورة ... و ماشابه ذلك .

٢- اعلاميا [المؤسسة الاعلامية و الفنية] : بحيث تشمل على :

- جريدة يومية .
- مجلات اسبوعية شهرية و فصلية .
- اذاعات .
- برامج تلفزيونية .
- مركز سمعيات و بصريات .
- مجلة للطفل المسلم
- مجلة للمرأة المسلمة
- مطبعة و أجهزة صف حروف .
- مكتب اخراج .
- استديو تصوير و تسجيل .
- فرق فنية للتمثيل و الانشاد و المسرح .
- مكتب تسويق و انتاج فني ... و ماشابه ذلك .

٤- اقتصاديا [المؤسسة الاقتصادية] : بحيث تشمل على :

- بنك اسلامي مركزي .
- اروقاف اسلامية .
- مشاريع استثمارية .
- مؤسسة للقروض الحسنة ... و ماشابه ذلك .

٥- علميا و مهنيا [المؤسسة العلمية و التعليمية و المهنية] : بحيث تشمل على :

- مراكز بحث علمي .
- معاهد تقنية و تدريب مهني .
- جامعة اسلامية .
- مدارس اسلامية .
- مجلس للتعليم و البحث العلمي .
- مراكز لتدريب المعلمين .
- جمعيات علمية في المدارس .
- مكتب للتوجيه الاكاديمي .
- جهاز للتأليف و المناهج الاسلامية ... و ماشابه ذلك .

٦- ثقافيا و فكريا [المؤسسة الثقافية و الفكرية] : بحيث تشمل على :

- مراكز للدراسات و البحوث .
- منظمات ثقافية و فكرية مثال : [جمعية العلماء الاجتماعيين - جمعية العلماء و المهندسين ...] .
- معهد للفكر و الثقافة الاسلامية .
- دار نشر و ترجمة و توزيع للكتاب الاسلامي .
- مكتب للتدوين و التأريخ و التوثيق .
- مشروع ترجمة القرآن الكريم و الحديث الشريف ... و ماشابه ذلك .

٧- اجتماعيا [المؤسسة الاجتماعية الخيرية] : بحيث تشمل على :

- نوادى اجتماعية للشباب و ابناء و بنات الجاليات .
- جمعيات محلية للرعاية الاجتماعية و الخدمات مرتبطة بالمراكز الاسلامية .
- المنظمة الاسلامية لمكافحة الامراض الاجتماعية للمجتمع الامريكي .
- مشاريع المساكن الاسلامية .
- مكاتب الزواج و القضايا العائلية ... و ماشابه ذلك .

٨- شبابيا [المؤسسة الشبابية] : بحيث تشمل على :

- منظمات شبابية مركزية و محلية .
- فرق و نوادي رياضية .
- فرق كشفية ... و ماشابه ذلك .

٩- نسويا [المؤسسة النسوية] : بحيث تشمل على :

- جمعيات نسوية مركزية و محلية .
- معاهد التدريب و التشغيل الفني و التدبير المنزلي .
- معهد لتدريب الداعيات .
- دور الحضانة الاسلامية ... و ماشابه ذلك .

١٠- تنظيميا و اداريا [المؤسسة الادارية و التنظيمية] : بحيث تشمل على :

- معهد للتدريب و التنمية و التطوير و التخطيط .
- خبراء بارزين في هذا المجال .
- أنظمة عمل و لوائح و دساتير تصلح لادارة اعدد الاجهزة و المؤسسات .
- مجلة دورية في التنمية و الادارة الاسلامية .
- امتلاك مخيمات و قاعات للانشطة المختلفة .
- بنك للمعلومات و الحصر و الاحصاء البشري .
- شبكة اتصالات متطورة .
- آرشيف متطور لتراثنا و انتاجنا ... و ما شابه ذلك .

١١- أمنيا : [المؤسسة الامنية] : بحيث تشمل على :

- نوادي للتدريب و تعلم وسائل الدفاع عن النفس .
- مركز يعنى بالشؤون الامنية [فنيا و فكريا و تقنيا و بشريا] ... و ماشابه ذلك .

١٢- قانونيا : [المؤسسة القانونية] : بحيث تشمل على :

- مجلس فقهي مركزي .
- محكمة اسلامية مركزية .
- جمعية المحامين المسلمين .
- المنظمة الاسلامية للدفاع عن حقوق المسلمين ... و ما شابه ذلك .

و الله ولي التوفيق

قائمة بمؤسساتنا و مؤسسات أصدقائنا
[تخيل لو أنها كلها تدير وفق خطة واحدة !!!]

- 1- ISNA = ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA
- 2- MSA = MUSLIM STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION
- 3- MCA = THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES ASSOCIATION
- 4- AMSS = THE ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SOCIAL SCIENTISTS
- 5- AMSE = THE ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS
- 6- IMA = ISLAMIC MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

- 7- ITC = ISLAMIC TEACHING CENTER
- 8- NAIT = NORTH AMERICAN ISLAMIC TRUST
- 9- FID = FOUNDATION FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
- 10-IHC = ISLAMIC HOUSING COOPERATIVE
- 11-ICD = ISLAMIC CENTERS DIVISION
- 12-ATP = AMERICAN TRUST PUBLICATIONS
- 13-AVC = AUDIO-VISUAL CENTER
- 14-IBS = ISLAMIC BOOK SERVICE
- 15-MBA = MUSLIM BUSINESSMEN ASSOCIATION
- 16-MYNA = MUSLIM YOUTH OF NORTH AMERICA
- 17-IFC = ISNA FIQH COMMITTEE
- 18-IPAC = ISNA POLITICAL AWARENESS COMMITTEE
- 19-IED = ISLAMIC EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

- 20-MAYA = MUSLIM ARAB YOUTH ASSOCIATION
- 21-MISG = MALASIAN ISLAMIC STUDY GROUP
- 22-IAP = ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE
- 23-UASR = UNITED ASSOCIATION FOR STUDIES AND RESEARCH
- 24-OLF = OCCUPIED LAND FUND
- 25-MIA = MERCEY INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

- 26-ICNA = ISLAMIC CIRCLE OF NORTH AMERICA
- 27-BMI = BAITUL MAL INC
- 28-IIIT = INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ISLAMIC THOUGHT
- 29-IIC = ISLAMIC INFORMATION CENTER

ISE-SW 1B10/ 0000427

Bate #ISE-SW/ 1B10/ 0000413

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful
Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds,
Prayers and peace be upon the master of the Messengers

An Explanatory Memorandum
On the General Strategic Goal for the Group
In North America
5/22/1991

Contents:

- 1- An introduction in explanation
- 2- The Concept of Settlement
- 3- The Process of Settlement
- 4- Comprehensive Settlement Organizations

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In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful
Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds
And Blessed are the Pious

5/22/1991

The beloved brother/The General Masul, may God keep him
The beloved brother/Secretary of the Shura Council, may God keep him
The beloved brothers/Members of the Shura Council, may God keep them
God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.... To proceed,

I ask Almighty God that you, your families and those whom you love around you are in the best of conditions, pleasing to God, glorified His name be.

I send this letter of mine to you hoping that it would seize your attention and receive your good care as you are the people of responsibility and those to whom trust is given. Between your hands is an "Explanatory Memorandum" which I put effort in writing down so that it is not locked in the chest and the mind, and so that I can share with you a portion of the responsibility in leading the Group in this country.

What might have encouraged me to submit the memorandum in this time in particular is my feeling of a "glimpse of hope" and the beginning of good tidings which bring the good news that we have embarked on a new stage of Islamic activism stages in this continent.

The papers which are between your hands are not abundant extravagance, imaginations or hallucinations which passed in the mind of one of your brothers, but they are rather hopes, ambitions and challenges that I hope that you share some or most of which with me. I do not claim their infallibility or absolute correctness, but they are an attempt which requires study, outlook, detailing and rooting from you.

My request to my brothers is to read the memorandum and to write what they wanted of comments and corrections, keeping in mind that what is between your hands is not strange or a new submission without a root, but rather an attempt to interpret and explain some of what came in the long-term plan which we approved and adopted in our council and our conference in the year (1987).

So, my honorable brother, do not rush to throw these papers away due to your many occupations and worries. All what I'm asking of you is to read them and to comment on them hoping that we might continue together the project of our plan and our Islamic work in this part of the world. Should you do that, I would be thankful and grateful to you.

I also ask my honorable brother, the Secretary of the Council, to add the subject of the memorandum on the Council agenda in its coming meeting.

May God reward you good and keep you for His Daw'a

Your brother/Mohamed Akram

(1)

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful
Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds
And Blessed are the Pious

Subject: A project for an explanatory memorandum for the General Strategic goal for the Group in North America mentioned in the long-term plan

One: The Memorandum is derived from:

- 1- The general strategic goal of the Group in America which was approved by the Shura Council and the Organizational Conference for the year [1987] is "Enablement of Islam in North America, meaning: establishing an effective and a stable Islamic Movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood which adopts Muslims' causes domestically and globally, and which works to expand the observant Muslim base, aims at unifying and directing Muslims' efforts, presents Islam as a civilization alternative, and supports the global Islamic State wherever it is".
- 2- The priority that is approved by the Shura Council for the work of the Group in its current and former session which is "Settlement".
- 3- The positive development with the brothers in the Islamic Circle in an attempt to reach a unity of merger.
- 4- The constant need for thinking and future planning, an attempt to read it and working to "shape" the present to comply and suit the needs and challenges of the future.
- 5- The paper of his eminence, the General Masul, may God keep him, which he recently sent to the members of the Council.

Two: An Introduction to the Explanatory Memorandum:

- In order to begin with the explanation, we must "summon" the following question and place it in front of our eyes as its relationship is important and necessary with the strategic goal and the explanation project we are embarking on. The question we are facing is: "How do you like to see the Islam Movement in North America in ten years?", or "taking along" the following sentence when planning and working, "Islamic Work in North America in the year (2000): A Strategic Vision".

Also, we must summon and take along "elements" of the general strategic goal of the Group in North America and I will intentionally repeat them in numbers. They are:

- 1- Establishing an effective and stable Islamic Movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood.
- 2- Adopting Muslims' causes domestically and globally.
- 3- Expanding the observant Muslim base.
- 4- Unifying and directing Muslims' efforts.

5- Presenting Islam as a civilization alternative

6- Supporting the establishment of the global Islamic State wherever it is].

- It must be stressed that it has become clear and emphatically known that all is in agreement that we must "settle" or "enable" Islam and its Movement in this part of the world.

- Therefore, a joint understanding of the meaning of settlement or enablement must be adopted, through which and on whose basis we explain the general strategic goal with its six elements for the Group in North America.

Three: The Concept of Settlement:

This term was mentioned in the Group's "dictionary" and documents with various meanings in spite of the fact that everyone meant one thing with it. We believe that the understanding of the essence is the same and we will attempt here to give the word and its "meanings" a practical explanation with a practical Movement tone, and not a philosophical linguistic explanation, while stressing that this explanation of ours is not complete until our explanation of "the process" of settlement itself is understood which is mentioned in the following paragraph. We briefly say the following:

Settlement: "That Islam and its Movement become a part of the homeland it lives in".

Establishment: "That Islam turns into firmly-rooted organizations on whose bases civilization, structure and testimony are built".

Stability: "That Islam is stable in the land on which its people move".

Enablement: "That Islam is enabled within the souls, minds and the lives of the people of the country in which it moves".

Rooting: "That Islam is resident and not a passing thing, or rooted "entrenched" in the soil of the spot where it moves and not a strange plant to it".

Four: The Process of Settlement:

- In order for Islam and its Movement to become "a part of the homeland" in which it lives, "stable" in its land, "rooted" in the spirits and minds of its people, "enabled" in the live of its society and has firmly-established "organizations" on which the Islamic structure is built and with which the testimony of civilization is achieved, the Movement must plan and struggle to obtain "the keys" and the tools of this process in carry out this grand mission as a "Civilization Jihadist" responsibility which lies on the shoulders of Muslims and - on top of them - the Muslim Brotherhood in this country. Among these keys and tools are the following:

1- Adopting the concept of settlement and understanding its practical meanings:

The Explanatory Memorandum focused on the Movement and the realistic dimension of the process of settlement and its practical meanings without paying attention to the difference in understanding between the resident and the non-resident, or who is the settled and the non-settled

and we believe that what was mentioned in the long-term plan in that regards suffices.

2- Making a fundamental shift in our thinking and mentality in order to suit the challenges of the settlement mission.

What is meant with the shift - which is a positive expression - is responding to the grand challenges of the settlement issues. We believe that any transforming response begins with the method of thinking and its center, the brain, first. In order to clarify what is meant with the shift as a key to qualify us to enter the field of settlement, we say very briefly that the following must be accomplished:

- A shift from the partial thinking mentality to the comprehensive thinking mentality.
- A shift from the "amputated" partial thinking mentality to the "continuous" comprehensive mentality.
- A shift from the mentality of caution and reservation to the mentality of risk and controlled liberation.
- A shift from the mentality of the elite Movement to the mentality of the popular Movement.
- A shift from the mentality of preaching and guidance to the mentality of building and testimony
- A shift from the single opinion mentality to the multiple opinion mentality.
- A shift from the collision mentality to the absorption mentality.
- A shift from the individual mentality to the team mentality.
- A shift from the anticipation mentality to the initiative mentality.
- A shift from the hesitation mentality to the decisiveness mentality.
- A shift from the principles mentality to the programs mentality.
- A shift from the abstract ideas mentality the true organizations mentality [This is the core point and the essence of the memorandum].

3- Understanding the historical stages in which the Islamic Ikhwani activism went through in this country:

The writer of the memorandum believes that understanding and comprehending the historical stages of the Islamic activism which was led and being led by the Muslim Brotherhood in this continent is a very important key in working towards settlement, through which the Group observes its march, the direction of its movement and the curves and turns of its road. We will suffice here with mentioning the title for each of these stages [The title expresses the prevalent characteristic of the stage] [Details maybe mentioned in another future study]. Most likely, the stages are:

- A- The stage of searching for self and determining the identity.
- B- The stage of inner build-up and tightening the organization.
- C- The stage of mosques and the Islamic centers.
- D- The stage of building the Islamic organizations - the first phase.
- E- The stage of building the Islamic schools - the first phase.

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F- The stage of thinking about the overt Islamic Movement - the first phase.

G- The stage of openness to the other Islamic movements and attempting to reach a formula for dealing with them - the first phase.

H- The stage of reviving and establishing the Islamic organizations - the second phase.

We believe that the Group is embarking on this stage in its second phase as it has to open the door and enter as it did the first time.

4- Understanding the role of the Muslim Brother in North America:

The process of settlement is a "Civilization-Jihadist Process" with all the word means. The Ikhwan must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and "sabotaging" its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated and God's religion is made victorious over all other religions. Without this level of understanding, we are not up to this challenge and have not prepared ourselves for Jihad yet. It is a Muslim's destiny to perform Jihad and work wherever he is and wherever he lands until the final hour comes, and there is no escape from that destiny except for those who chose to slack. But, would the slackers and the Mujahedeen be equal.

5- Understanding that we cannot perform the settlement mission by ourselves or away from people:

A mission as significant and as huge as the settlement mission needs magnificent and exhausting efforts. With their capabilities, human, financial and scientific resources, the Ikhwan will not be able to carry out this mission alone or away from people and he who believes that is wrong, and God knows best. As for the role of the Ikhwan, it is the initiative, pioneering, leadership, raising the banner and pushing people in that direction. They are then to work to employ, direct and unify Muslims' efforts and powers for this process. In order to do that, we must possess a mastery of the art of "coalitions", the art of "absorption" and the principles of "cooperation".

6- The necessity of achieving a union and balanced gradual merger between private work and public work:

We believe that what was written about this subject is many and is enough. But, it needs a time and a practical frame so that what is needed is achieved in a gradual and a balanced way that is compatible with the process of settlement.

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7- The conviction that the success of the settlement of Islam and its Movement in this country is a success to the global Islamic Movement and a true support for the sought-after state, God willing:

There is a conviction - with which this memorandum disagrees - that our focus in attempting to settle Islam in this country will lead to negligence in our duty towards the global Islamic Movement in supporting its project to establish the state. We believe that the reply is in two segments: One - The success of the Movement in America in establishing an observant Islamic base with power and effectiveness will be the best support and aid to the global Movement project.

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And the second - is the global Movement has not succeeded yet in "distributing roles" to its branches, stating what is needed from them as one of the participants or contributors to the project to establish the global Islamic state. The day this happens, the children of the American Ikhwani branch will have far-reaching impact and positions that make the ancestors proud.

8- Absorbing Muslims and winning them with all of their factions and colors in America and Canada for the settlement project, and making it their cause, future and the basis of their Islamic life in this part of the world:

This issues requires from us to learn "the art of dealing with the others", as people are different and people in many colors. We need to adopt the principle which says, "Take from people... the best they have", their best specializations, experiences, arts, energies and abilities. By people here we mean those within or without the ranks of individuals and organizations. The policy of "taking" should be with what achieves the strategic goal and the settlement process. But the big challenge in front of us is: how to connect them all in "the orbit" of our plan and "the circle" of our Movement in order to achieve "the core" of our interest. To me, there is no choice for us other than alliance and mutual understanding of those who desire from our religion and those who agree from our belief in work. And the U.S. Islamic arena is full of those waiting...., the pioneers.

What matters is bringing people to the level of comprehension of the challenge that is facing us as Muslims in this country, conviction of our settlement project, and understanding the benefit of agreement, cooperation and alliance. At that time, if we ask for money, a lot of it would come, and if we ask for men, they would come in lines. What matters is that our plan is "the criterion and the balance" in our relationship with others.

Here, two points must be noted; the first one: we need to comprehend and understand the balance of the Islamic powers in the U.S. arena [and this might be the subject of a future study]. The second point: what we reached with the brothers in "ICNA" is considered a step in the right direction, the beginning of good and the first drop that requires growing and guidance.

Bate #ISE-SW 1B10/ 0000419 (Cont'd)

9- Re-examining our organizational and administrative bodies, the type of leadership and the method of selecting it with what suits the challenges of the settlement mission:

The memorandum will be silent about details regarding this item even though it is logical and there is a lot to be said about it.

10- Growing and developing our resources and capabilities, our financial and human resources with what suits the magnitude of the grand mission:

If we examined the human and the financial resources the Ikhwan alone own in this country, we and others would feel proud and glorious. And if we add to them the resources of our friends and allies, those who circle in our orbit and those waiting on our banner, we would realize that we are able to open the door to settlement and walk through it seeking to make Almighty God's word the highest.

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11- Utilizing the scientific method in planning, thinking and preparation of studies needed for the process of settlement:

Yes, we need this method, and we need many studies which aid in this civilization Jihadist operation. We will mention some of them briefly:

- The history of the Islamic presence in America.
- The history of the Islamic Ikhwani presence in America.
- Islamic movements, organizations and organizations: analysis and criticism.
- The phenomenon of the Islamic centers and schools: challenges, needs and statistics.
- Islamic minorities.
- Muslim and Arab communities.
- The U.S. society: make-up and politics.
- The U.S. society's view of Islam and Muslims... And many other studies which we can direct our brothers and allies to prepare, either through their academic studies or through their educational centers or organizational tasking. What is important is that we start.

12- Agreeing on a flexible, balanced and a clear "mechanism" to implement the process of settlement within a specific, gradual and balanced "time frame" that is in-line with the demands and challenges of the process of settlement.

13- Understanding the U.S. society from its different aspects an understanding that "qualifies" us to perform the mission of settling our Dawa' in its country "and growing it" on its land.

14- Adopting a written "jurisprudence" that includes legal and movement bases, principles, policies and interpretations which are suitable for the needs and challenges of the process of settlement.

15- Agreeing on "criteria" and balances to be a sort of "antennas" or "the watch tower" in order to make sure that all of our priorities, plans, programs, bodies, leadership, monies and activities march towards the process of the settlement.

16- Adopting a practical, flexible formula through which our central work complements our domestic work.

[Items 12 through 16 will be detailed later].

17- Understanding the role and the nature of work of "The Islamic Center" in every city with what achieves the goal of the process of settlement:

The center we seek is the one which constitutes the "axis" of our Movement, the "perimeter" of the circle of our work, our "balance center", the "base" for our rise and our "Dar al-Arqam" to educate us, prepare us and supply our battalions in addition to being the "niche" of our prayers.

This is in order for the Islamic center to turn - in action not in words - into a seed "for a small Islamic society" which is a reflection and a mirror to our central organizations. The center ought to turn into a "beehive" which produces sweet honey. Thus, the Islamic center would turn into a place for study, family, battalion, course, seminar, visit, sport, school, social club, women gathering, kindergarten for male and female youngsters, the office of the domestic political resolution, and the center for distributing our newspapers, magazines, books and our audio and visual tapes.

In brief we say: we would like for the Islamic center to become "The House of Dawa" and "the general center" in deeds first before name. As much as we own and direct these centers at the continent level, we can say we are marching successfully towards the settlement of Dawa' in this country.

Meaning that the "center's" role should be the same as the "mosque's" role during the time of God's prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, when he marched to "settle" the Dawa' in its first generation in Madina. from the mosque, he drew the Islamic life and provided to the world the most magnificent and fabulous civilization humanity knew.

This mandates that, eventually, the region, the branch and the Usra turn into "operations rooms" for planning, direction, monitoring and leadership for the Islamic center in order to be a role model to be followed.

18- Adopting a system that is based on "selecting" workers, "role distribution" and "assigning" positions and responsibilities is based on specialization, desire and need with what achieves the process of settlement and contributes to its success.

19- Turning the principle of dedication for the Masuls of main positions within the Group into a rule, a basis and a policy in work. Without it, the process of settlement might be stalled [Talking about this point requires more details and discussion].

20- Understanding the importance of the "Organizational" shift in our Movement work, and doing Jihad in order to achieve it in the real world with what serves the process of settlement and expedites its results, God Almighty's willing:

The reason this paragraph was delayed is to stress its utmost importance as it constitutes the heart and the core of this memorandum. It also constitutes the practical aspect and the true measure of our success or failure in our march towards settlement. The talk about the organizations and the "organizational" mentality or phenomenon does not require much details. It suffices to say that the first pioneer of this phenomenon was our prophet Mohamed, God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him, as he placed the foundation for the first civilized organization which is the mosque, which truly became "the comprehensive organization". And this was done by the pioneer of the contemporary Islamic Dawa', Imam martyr Hasan al-Banna, may God have mercy on him, when he and his brothers felt the need to "re-establish" Islam and its movement anew, leading him to establish organizations with all their kinds: economic, social, media, scouting,

Bate #ISE-SW 1B10/ 0000421 (Cont`d)

professional and even the military ones. We must say that we are in a country which understands no language other than the language of the organizations, and one which does not respect or give weight to any group without effective, functional and strong organizations.

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It is good fortune that there are brothers among us who have this "trend", mentality or inclination to build the organizations who have beat us by action and words which leads us to dare say honestly what Sadat in Egypt once said, "We want to build a country of organizations" - a word of right he meant wrong with. I say to my brothers, let us raise the banner of truth to establish right "We want to establish the Group of organizations", as without it we will not able to put our feet on the true path.

- And in order for the process of settlement to be completed, we must plan and work from now to equip and prepare ourselves, our brothers, our apparatuses, our sections and our committees in order to turn into comprehensive organizations in a gradual and balanced way that is suitable with the need and the reality. What encourages us to do that - in addition to the aforementioned - is that we possess "seeds" for each organization from the organization we call for [See attachment number (1)].

- All we need is to tweak them, coordinate their work, collect their elements and merge their efforts with others and then connect them with the comprehensive plan we seek.

For instance,

We have a seed for a "comprehensive media and art" organization: we own a print + advanced typesetting machine + audio and visual center + art production office + magazines in Arabic and English [The Horizons, The Hope, The Politicians, Ila Falastine, Press Clips, al-Zaytouna, Palestine Monitor, Social Sciences Magazines...] + art band + photographers + producers + programs anchors + journalists + in addition to other media and art experiences".

Another example:

We have a seed for a "comprehensive Dawa' educational" organization: We have the Daw'a section in ISNA + Dr. Jamal Badawi Foundation + the center run by brother Hamed al-Ghazali + the Dawa' center the Dawa' Committee and brother Shaker al-Sayyed are seeking to establish now + in addition to other Daw'a efforts here and there...".

And this applies to all the organizations we call on establishing.

- The big challenge that is ahead of us is how to turn these seeds or "scattered" elements into comprehensive, stable, "settled" organizations that are connected with our Movement and which fly in our orbit and take orders from our guidance. This does not prevent - but calls for - each central organization to have its local branches but its connection with the Islamic center in the city is a must.

Bate #ISE-SW 1B10/ 0000422 (Cont`d)

- What is needed is to seek to prepare the atmosphere and the means to achieve "the merger" so that the sections, the committees, the regions, the branches and the Usras are eventually the heart and the core of these organizations.

Or, for the shift and the change to occur as follows:

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- | | |
|---|--|
| 1- The Movement Department +
The Secretariat Department | - The Organizational & Administrative Organization -
The General Center |
| 2- Education Department + Dawa'a Com. | - Dawa' and Educational Organization |
| 3- Sisters Department | - The Women's Organization |
| 4- The Financial Department + Investment
Committee + The Endowment | - The Economic Organization |
| 5- Youth Department + Youths
Organizations Department | - Youth Organizations |
| 6- The Social Committee + Matrimony
Committee + Mercy Foundation | - The Social Organization |
| 7- The Security Committee | - The Security Organization |
| 8- The Political Depart. + Palestine Com. | - The Political Organization |
| 9- The Group's Court + The Legal Com. | - The Judicial Organization |
| 10- Domestic Work Department | - Its work is to be distributed to the rest of the
organizations |
| 11- Our magazines + the print +
our art band | - The Media and Art Organization |
| 12- The Studies Association + The
Publication House + Dar al-Kitab | - The Intellectual & Cultural Organization |
| 13- Scientific and Medial societies | - Scientific, Educational & Professional
Organization |
| 14- The Organizational Conference | - The Islamic-American Founding Conference |
| 15- The Shura Council + Planning Com. | - The Shura Council for the Islamic-American
Movement |
| 16- The Executive Office | - The Executive Office of the Islamic-American
Movement |
| 17- The General Masul | - Chairman of the Islamic Movement and its official
Spokesman |
| 18- The regions, branches & Usras | - Field leaders of organizations & Islamic centers |

Five: Comprehensive Settlement Organization:

- We would then seek and struggle in order to make each one of these above-mentioned organizations a "comprehensive organization" throughout the days and the years, and as long as we are destined to be in this country. What is important is that we put the foundation and we will be followed by peoples and generations that would finish the march and the road but with a clearly-defined guidance.

Bate #ISE-SW 1B10/ 0000423 (Cont'd)

And, in order for us to clarify what we mean with the comprehensive, specialized organization, we mention here the characteristics and traits of each organization of the "promising" organizations.

1- From the Dawa' and educational aspect [The Dawa' and Educational Organization]: to include:

- The Organization to spread the Dawa' (Central and local branches).
- An institute to graduate Callers and Educators.
- Scholars, Callers, Educators, Preachers and Program Anchors.
- Art and communication technology, Conveyance and Dawa'.

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(10)

- A television station.
- A specialized Dawa' magazine.
- A radio station.
- The Higher Islamic Council for Callers and Educators.
- The Higher Council for Mosques and Islamic Centers.
- Friendship Societies with the other religions... and things like that.

2- Politically [The Political Organization]: to include:

- A central political party.
- Local political offices.
- Political symbols.
- Relationships and alliances.
- The American Organization for Islamic Political Action
- Advanced Information Centers....and things like that.

3- Media [The Media and Art Organization]: to include:

- A daily newspaper.
- Weekly, monthly and seasonal magazines.
- Radio stations.
- Television programs.
- Audio and visual centers.
- A magazine for the Muslim child.
- A magazine for the Muslim woman.
- A print and typesetting machines.
- A production office.
- A photography and recording studio
- Art bands for acting, chanting and theater.
- A marketing and art production office... and things like that.

(11)

4- Economically [The Economic Organization]: to include:

- An Islamic Central bank.
- Islamic endowments.
- Investment projects.
- An organization for interest-free loans.... and things like that.

5- Scientifically and Professionally [The Scientific, Educational and Professional Organization]: to include:

- Scientific research centers.
- Technical organizations and vocational training.
- An Islamic university.
- Islamic schools.
- A council for education and scientific research.
- Centers to train teachers.
- Scientific societies in schools.
- An office for academic guidance.
- A body for authorship and Islamic curricula.... and things like that.

6- Culturally and Intellectually [The Cultural and Intellectual Organization]: to include:

- A center for studies and research.
- Cultural and intellectual foundations such as [The Social Scientists Society - Scientists and Engineers Society....].
- An organization for Islamic thought and culture.
- A publication, translation and distribution house for Islamic books.
- An office for archiving, history and authentication
- The project to translate the Noble Quran, the Noble Sayings....and things like that.

7- Socially [The Social-Charitable Organization]: to include:

- Social clubs for the youths and the community's sons and daughters
- Local societies for social welfare and the services are tied to the Islamic centers
- The Islamic Organization to Combat the Social Ills of the U.S. Society
- Islamic houses project
- Matrimony and family cases office....and things like that.

(12)

8- Youths [The Youth Organization]: to include:

- Central and local youths foundations.
- Sports teams and clubs
- Scouting teams....and things like that.

9- Women [The Women Organization]: to include:

- Central and local women societies.
- Organizations of training, vocational and housekeeping.
- An organization to train female preachers.
- Islamic kindergartens...and things like that.

10- Organizationally and Administratively [The Administrative and Organizational Organization]: to include:

- An institute for training, growth, development and planning
- Prominent experts in this field
- Work systems, bylaws and charters fit for running the most complicated bodies and organizations
- A periodic magazine in Islamic development and administration.
- Owning camps and halls for the various activities.
- A data, polling and census bank.
- An advanced communication network.
- An advanced archive for our heritage and production....and things like that.

11- Security [The Security Organization]: to include:

- Clubs for training and learning self-defense techniques.
- A center which is concerned with the security issues [Technical, intellectual, technological and human]....and things like that.

12- Legally [The Legal Organization]: to include:

- A Central Jurisprudence Council.
- A Central Islamic Court.
- Muslim Attorneys Society.
- The Islamic Foundation for Defense of Muslims' Rights...and things like that.

And success is by God.

Bate #ISE-SW 1B10/ 0000427

Attachment number (1)

A list of our organizations and the organizations of our friends
[Imagine if t they all march according to one plan!!!]

- 1- ISNA = ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA
- 2- MSA = MUSLIM STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION
- 3- MCA = THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES ASSOCIATION
- 4- AMSS = THE ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SOCIAL SCIENTISTS
- 5- AMSE = THE ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS
- 6- IMA = ISLAMIC MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

- 7- ITC = ISLAMIC TEACHING CENTER
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- 20- MAYA = MUSLIM ARAB YOUTH ASSOCIATION
- 21- MISG = MALASIAN [sic] ISLAMIC STUDY GROUP
- 22- IAP = ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE
- 23- UASR = UNITED ASSOCIATION FOR STUDIES AND RESEARCH
- 24- OLF = OCCUPIED LAND FUND
- 25- MIA = MERCY INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

- 26- ISNA = ISLAMIC CIRCLE OF NORTH AMERICA
- 27- BMI = BAITUL MAL INC
- 28- IIIT = INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ISLAMIC THOUGHT
- 29- IIC = ISLAMIC INFORMATION CENTER

Exhibit 2:

Holy Land Foundation Trial – Muslim Brotherhood
Underground Movement Plan

To:

The Rulers

May God Protect Them

(Memorandum Summary)

Phases of World Underground Movement Plan

Phase One: Phase of discreet and secret establishment of elite leadership.

This phase has already been implemented in this country (Illustration p.37, Fifth Fact).

Phase Two: Phase of gradual appearance on the public scene and exercising and utilizing various public activities (It greatly succeeded in implementing this stage. See Fourth Point, pp.44-64).

It also succeeded in achieving a great deal of its important goals, such as infiltrating various sectors of the Government (see p.40 and p.64).

Gaining religious institutions and embracing senior scholars (see p.41 and pp.65-66).

Gaining public support and sympathy (see p.43).

Establishing a shadow government (secret) within the Government (see p.44 and p.67).

Phase Three: Escalation phase, prior to conflict and confrontation with the rulers, through utilizing mass media. Currently in progress (see p.49, Second Action, to p.51, Sixth Action).

Phase Four: Open public confrontation with the Government through exercising the political pressure approach.

It is aggressively implementing the above-mentioned approach (see p.62, Seventh Point; p.94, Sixth Point).

Training on the use of weapons domestically and overseas in anticipation of zero-hour.

It has noticeable activities in this regard, (see illustration p.17, Number 2).

Phase Five: Seizing power to establish their Islamic Nation under which all parties and Islamic groups become united as stated by "Muhammad Zayn Al-'Abdin" in his newspaper *Al-Sunnah* and Muhammad Ahmad Al-Rashid (see p. 24).

All the above-mentioned phases are preliminary steps to reach the above-mentioned phase.

The Underground Movement is also a plan exclusive to the post seizure of power stage.

Radical Solution to the Threat
of This World Underground Movement-and Others-in Four Points

First Point: (To judge matters away from appearances) p.118.

Second Point: Six factors that should be met in any suggested solution, p.118.

Third Point: Phases of Suggested Solution:

First Phase: (Concentrating on priorities and giving precedence to basics through revealing the approach of the organization and its leaders) p.120.

Second Phase: (Pulling influential centers and *da'wa* that the organization utilized) p.124.

Third Phase: (Containment of the remaining influential elements in the society in preparation for the whole shake-up stage) p.125.

Fourth Phase: (Shake-up to end infiltration and parties' utilization of various activities) p.127.

Fourth Point: (Remedy through pointing out the importance of forming a special committee that handles the implementation of the stages of remedy and impacting its success) p.128.

- The Sarury or Qutbi Movement, a division of the World Underground Movement, poses a serious threat to Saudi Arabia's safety and security.
- Muhammad Ahmad Al-Rashid, a leader of the Movement, expounds its ideology in his book *Sina'at al-Hayat (Life Make)*. [Published in 2004 by Dar Al-Fikr, Damascus, Syria. It is sold on the internet at www.fikr.com, ISBN 1-59239-303-9.]
- In his books, M. Al-Rashid incites members of the Movement to establish the Islamic Nation to replace present governments.
- Another founder of the Movement, Ahmad 'Abd Al-Majid 'Abd Al-Sami', in *Muslim Brotherhood and 'Abd Al-Nasir, the Complete Story of the 1965 Movement*, sheds light on the history of the World Underground Movement. Members of this Movement were formerly affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood before establishing their own independent Movement.
- Members of the World Underground Movement benefited from the Afghani war to train on the use of different weapons, explosives, war tactics, and assassination.
- Summer camps and other youth gatherings in Saudi Arabia now include activities such as night attacks, night maneuvers, kidnapping and assault against enemies' strongholds.
- The writer of this report does not rule out that the leader of the present Movement, in Saudi Arabia, is still alive. He mentions the following names:
 1. Ahmad 'Abd Al-Majid who is believed to be residing in Al-Ta'if or Mecca.
 2. Musatafa Al-'Alim who was sentenced in absentia to life in prison. [It should be noted that "God Bless his soul" is handwritten at the end of the paragraph including the above-mentioned individual's name.]

3. Dr. 'Ali Jirisha [Gerasha], a professor at the Faculty of Education in Medinah, a branch of King 'Abd Al-'Aziz's University.
 4. Muhammad Qutb, Sayyid Qutb's brother, a well-known scholar at Saudi universities.
- The above-mentioned individuals have an immense influence on Saudi scholars as Dr. Safar Al-Hawali. This influence is manifested in his book *Al-'Almaniyah (Secularism)*.
 - The writer quotes M. Al-Rashid, in his *Life Make*, saying that the White House and the Kremlin ruled the World in the past. Currently, the World [Underground] Movement is emerging as their third partner.
 - The writer sheds light on the reasons why Saudi Arabia is targeted by this Movement.
 - He points out that Gulf States are also targeted by this Movement and cites examples from M. Al-Rashid's *Al-Masar*.
 - Goals of the World Underground Movement:
 1. To become the third political power together with the U.S. and the former Soviet Union, and the third religious power together with the Jewish Agency and the World Council of Churches.
 2. Regain power from the traitors and the weak.
 3. The establishment of an Islamic Nation run by leaders of the Movement.
 4. The World Underground Movement depends on the secrecy of its operations, different slogans which agree with the nature of each of the countries where it operates, gradual implementation of its plans that could last for decades, various public activities, infiltration in all sectors of the country and the large number of leadership.
 - The writer mentions an interview with Dr. Mana' Al-Qattan in

which the latter alleges that the West does not give Islam a chance to establish its Nation on its territory [territory of Islam.] The writer then mentions that Saudi scholars such as Salman Al-'Udah and Safar Al-Hawali were greatly influenced by these words. He quotes Safar Al-Hawali hoping that Afghanistan becomes the basis of the Islamic Nation. The writer further says that the scholars' words imply their non-recognition of the existence of an Islamic Nation.

- The World Underground Movement does not announce its affiliation to any other movement or organization. It chose various legitimate names to propagate its message such as *Ahl as-Sunnah wa'l Jama'ah* and the "Islamic Awakening" as they came to be known in the Gulf States. Members of the Movement refer to themselves as "Men of the Awakening and its Leaders." The Movement could maintain its secrecy by following the above-mentioned methods.
- Leaders of the Movement propagate that they could re-establish the lost Islamic rule and call on people to follow them. Because of their wide spread followers, existing governments would hesitate to combat the Movement to avoid chaos that might erupt as a consequence of that confrontation.
- Members of the World Underground Movement do not recognize being known as Quti or Sarury Movements. They were only called by these names to detach themselves from other groups. They are called Qutbi Movement in relation to Sayyid Qutb and Sarury Movement in relation to Muhammad Surur Zayn Al-'Abidin.
- The Movement depended on secrecy during the first phases of its establishment. It began 14 years ago in Saudi Arabia.
- 'Abd Al-Mun'im Salih Al-'Aliyy Al-'Izzy, aka Abu 'Ammar, Muhammad Ahmad Al-Rashid. He is of Iraqi origin. [Al-Rashid].

- Emergence and Confrontation Phase:

1. Infiltration within different government sectors: In his tape "*Mafatih al-Khayr*" [Course of Good], Salman Bin Fahd Al-'Udah, a leader of the underground movement *al-Sahwah* [the Awakening], confirms the existence of the Islamic awakening in different government sectors.

2. Controlling educational and religious institutions and the judiciary system.

3. Controlling Call and Guidance (*Al-Da'wah wa Al-Irshad*) centers and the Saudi Ministry of Islamic Affairs and creating new Da'wah centers propagated by Safar Al-Hawali, Salman 'Udah and others.

4. Owning a huge recording studio *al-Risalah* [the Message] that produces 15 million tapes annually including Salman Al-'Udah's tapes and controlling Islamic newspapers and magazines as *al-Da'wah* and *al-Muslimun* [the Muslims].

5. The appearance of new Islamic missionaries such as Bishr al-Bishr, Ali al-Qurani, Ibrahim bin 'Uthman al-Faris and others.

- The Movement's Finances: It obtained money through the following:

1. Members' contributions.
2. Institutions owned by followers of the Awakening movement such as "Al-Taqwa Islamic Recording" and "al-Risalah" Islamic recording studios in Riyadh.

3. Publishing companies

4. Some agricultural projects, such as Al-Jawf joint agricultural project.

5. The majority of women's private hospitals.

6. Some private schools.
7. Car agencies.
8. Computer and import projects.
9. Some stores in Jeddah and Riyadh that sell Oriental perfumes.
10. Independent and private self-defense training projects.
11. Islamic magazines and journals of Da'wah nature such as the Kuwaiti "*al-Mujtamaa*" magazine [almujtamaa-mag.com]; the Egyptian "*al-I'tisam*" magazine, "*al-wa'ei*" magazine [alwaei.com], "*al-Islah*" magazine [aleslah.org], "*al-Da'wah*" magazine [aldaawah.com], and "*Al-Haras al-Watani*" magazine [haras.naseej.com]. Both "*Al-Bayan*" and "*Al-Sunnah*" magazines, owned by Muhammad Surur Zayn al-'Abidin, are directly affiliated with the World Underground Movement.
12. Charities such as the Relief Organization, World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), Salman al-'Awdah's office in Beridah and Africa's Muslim Committee. During the Gulf crisis, the office of Relief Organization in Medinah attacked the Saudi government and its scholars through its distribution of a tape for 'Abd Rab al-Rasul Sayyaf. The writer wonders how did the Organization obtain the money for the recording and distribution of such a tape.
13. Islamic conferences and forums that are held domestically and overseas by WAMY, da'wah conferences, the University of Imam Muhammad bin Sa'ud's conferences and conferences held by the Ministry of Islamic Affairs.
14. All books written by Muhammad Ahmad Al-Rashid, Dr. Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Sayyid Qutb, Hasan al-Banna and other Muslim Brotherhood writers.
15. All books published by centers and forums that are directly affiliated with the World Underground Movement as al-Muntada al-Islami in the UK [www.almuntada-org.uk] and its branch AlMultaga

Al-Islame in the USA which is run by Muhammad Surur Zayn al-'Abidin. Also the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) run by Dr. Abd Al-Hamid Abi Sulayman and Dr. Jabir Al-'Ilwani. IIIT has published Muhammad Al-Ghazali and Yusuf Al-Qaradawi's books. There is also the Center of Application of Islamic Law in Pakistan run by Dr. Salah al-Sawi [currently the Vice President of AOU and Secretary General of the Assembly of Muslim Jurists in America.]

16. Publishing houses as Al-Muntalaq in Emirates, Al-Arqam in Kuwait, Al-Shuruq in Egypt and Lebanon, and al-Risalah.

17. "The Cooperative Office" run by Salman Al-Ouda in Beridah, the [former] "Scientific Center for Research" in Mecca run by Safar al-Hawali and in USA, the Committee for the Defense of Legal Rights in which names as Saad Al-Faqih and Muhammad al-Mis'iri appear.

Exhibit 3:

Holy Land Foundation Trial – List of Muslim Brotherhood Organizations in the US

Attachment number (1)

A list of our organizations and the organizations of our friends
[Imagine if t they all march according to one plan!!!]

- 1- ISNA = ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA
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- 24- OLF = OCCUPIED LAND FUND
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Exhibit 4:

Holy Land Foundation Trial – List of Unindicted Coconspirators



ATTACHMENT A

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

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	§	
	§	
VS.	§	CR NO. 3:04-CR-240-G
	§	
HOLY LAND FOUNDATION	§	
FOR RELIEF AND DEVELOPMENT,	§	
also known as the “HLF” (01)	§	
SHUKRI ABU BAKER, (02)	§	ECF
MOHAMMED EL-MEZAIN, (03)	§	
GHASSAN ELASHI, (04)	§	
HAITHAM MAGHAWRI, (05)	§	
AKRAM MISHAL, (06)	§	
MUFID ABDULQADER, (07) and	§	
ABDULRAHMAN ODEH (08)	§	

List of Unindicted Co-conspirators and/or Joint Venturers*

(It should be noted that certain individuals and/or entities appear in more than one category).

I. The following are individuals/entities who are and/or were part of the HAMAS' social infrastructure in Israel and the Palestinian territories:

1. Abdel Al Jeneidi
2. Abdel Khalek Al Natsheh
3. Abdel Rahim Hanbali
4. Abdul Rahman Baroud
5. Adali Yaish
6. Ahmad Abdullah
7. Ahmed Al Kurd
8. Ahmed Baher



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9. Akram Kharoubi
10. Alaa Anwar Aqel
11. Al Anwar Al Ibrahim Library
12. Al Salah Society
13. Al Razi Hospital
14. Amal Alafranji
15. Amin Shweiki
16. Anees Shaheen
17. Aqel Rabi
18. Asaad Abu Sharkh
19. Bethlehem Orphans Society
20. Bilal Yousif Asfira
21. Ekram Taweel
22. Fallah Herzallah
23. Fatimeh Odeh
24. Fawaz Hamad, aka Abul Abed
25. Foud Abu Zeid
26. Ghassan Harmas
27. Hafeth Natsheh
28. Halhul Zakat
29. Hamad Hassanat
30. HAMAS
31. Hamed Al Bitawi
32. Hanadi Natsheh
33. Hashem Sadeq El Natsheh
34. Hatem Qafisha
35. Hoda Abdeen
36. Hosni Khawaji
37. Husni Abu Awad
38. Hussein Abu Kweik
39. Hussein Al Khatib
40. Ibrahim Abdel Rahim Dawoud, aka Bilal Hanoun
41. Ibrahim Mosleh
42. Ibrahim Al Yazuri
43. Islamic University of Gaza
44. Islamic Center of Gaza, aka Islamic Complex, aka Al Mojamma Al Islami
45. Islamic Relief Committee
46. Islamic Society of Gaza



ATTACHMENT A

47. Islamic Charitable Society of Hebron
48. Islamic Science and Culture Committee
49. Islamic Heritage Committee
50. Jamal Al Khodary
51. Jamal Al Tawil
52. Jamil Hammami, aka Abu Hamza
53. Jenin Zakat
54. Kamal Al Tamimi, aka Abu Islam
55. Khaled Abdelqader
56. Khalid Al Masri
57. Khalil Shaheen
58. Mahmoud Yasin Ahmed El Sheikh Yasin
59. Mahmud Rumahi
60. Mahtahdi Musleh
61. Mervit Al Masri
62. Mohamed Fouad Abu Zeid
63. Mohamed Saker
64. Mohamed Eid Misk
65. Mohamed Siam, aka Abu Mahmud
66. Mufid Mukhalalati
67. Muhamad Salman Baroud
68. Muhammad Taha
69. Muhammad Muharam
70. Muslim Womens' Society
71. Nabil Mansour
72. Nablus Zakat
73. Najeh Bakarar
74. Nasser Hidmi
75. Omar Hamdan
76. Patients Friends Society
77. Qalqilya Zakat
78. Ramallah Zakat
79. Riyadh Walwil
80. Salem Salamah
81. Seham Al Quatros
82. Siham Al Masri
83. Sulieman Ighbariya
84. Taher Shreitah



ATTACHMENT A

85. Talal Sader
86. Tawfik ATrash
87. Tolkarem Zakat
88. Walid Jarrar
89. Young Mens' Muslim Society
90. Zaid Zakarneh
91. Ziyad Mishal
92. Zuhair Elbarasse

II. The following are individuals who participated in fund-raising activities on behalf of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development:

1. Abdallah Azzam
2. Abdel Jabar Hamdan
3. Abdel Aziz Jaber
4. Abdul Muni Abu Zunt
5. Ahmed Al Kofahi
6. Ahmed Nofel
7. Ahmed Al Qattan
8. Ahmed Kafaween
9. Aziz Dweik
10. Bassam Jarrar
11. Deeb Anees
12. Faisal Malawi
13. Fathi Yakan
14. Ghazi Honeina
15. Hamed Al Bitawi
16. Hammam Saeed
17. Hamza Mansour
18. Hatem Qafisha
19. Hatem Jarrar
20. Jamal Badawi
21. Jamil Hammami, aka Abu Hamza
22. Kamal Hilbawi
23. Khalil Al Quqa
24. Mahfuz Nahnah
25. Mahmud Zahar, aka Abu Khaled



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26. Majdi Aqel
27. Mohamed Siam, aka Abu Mahmud
28. Mohamed Anati
29. Mohamed Shbeir
30. Mohammed Faraj Al Ghul
31. Muharram Al Arifi
32. Mustafa Mahsur
33. Omar Sobeihi
34. Omar Al Ashqar
35. Qadi Hassan
36. Raed Saleh
37. Rashed Ghanoushi
38. Yussef Al Qaradawi

III. The following are individuals/entities who are and/or were members of the US Muslim Brotherhood's Palestine Committee and/or its organizations

1. Abdel Haleem Ashqar, aka Abdel Hassan
2. Ahmed Agha
3. Akram Kharoubi
4. Al Aqsa Educational Fund
5. American Middle Eastern League, aka AMEL
6. Ayman Ismail
7. Ayman Sharawi
8. Ayman Siraj Eddin
9. Basman Elashi
10. Bayan Elashi
11. Council on American Islamic Relations, aka CAIR
12. Dalell Mohamed
13. Fawaz Mushtaha, aka Abu Mosab
14. Fayez Idlebi
15. Ghassan Dahduli
16. Hamoud Salem
17. Hassan Sabri
18. Hazim Elashi
19. IAP Information Office
20. Ibrahim Al Samneh



ATTACHMENT A

21. INFOCOM
22. International Computers and Communications, aka ICC
23. Islam Siam
24. Islamic Association for Palestine in North America, aka IAP
25. Islamic Association for Palestine, aka IAP
26. Ismail Elbarasse, aka Abdul Hassan, aka Abd el Hassan
27. Ismail Jaber
28. Issam El Siraj
29. Izzat Mansour
30. Jamal Said
31. Kifah Mustapha
32. Mohamed Abbas
33. Mohamed Abu Amaria
34. Mohamed El Shorbagi
35. Mohamed Akram Adlouni
36. Mohamed Al Hanooti
37. Mohamed Jaghlit
38. Mohamed Qassam Sawallha, aka Abu Obeida
39. Mohamed Salah
40. Munzer Taleb
41. Muin Shabib
42. Nader Jawad
43. Omar Ahmad, aka Omar Yehia
44. Omar El Sobani
45. Palestine Committee
46. Rashid Qurman
47. Rasmi Almallah
48. United Association for Studies and Research, aka UASR
49. Walid Abu Sharkh
50. Walid Ranu
51. Yasser Saleh Bushnaq
52. Yousef Saleh, aka Ahmed Yousef
53. Zaher Salman, aka Osama Abdullah



ATTACHMENT A

IV. The following are individuals/entities who are and/or were members of the Palestine Section of the International Muslim Brotherhood:

1. Abdallah Azzam
2. Abdel Rahman Abu Diyeh
3. Ahmed Nofel
4. Ali Mishal
5. Hammam Saeed
6. Hani El Jasser
7. Imad Abu Diyeh
8. Islamic Action Front
9. Issa Mohamed Ahmad
10. Jawad Al Hamad
11. Kandil Shaker
12. Khairy Al Ahga, aka Abu Obeida
13. Khalid Taqi Al Din
14. Mohamed Abu Fares
15. Mohamed Eweida
16. Munir Elashi
17. Muslim Brother, aka Ikwan Al Muslimi
18. Mustafa Mahsur
19. Rageh El Kurdi
20. Ziad Abu Ghanimeh

V. The following are individuals who are and/or were leaders of HAMAS inside the Palestinian territories:

1. Abdel Aziz Rantisi
2. Ahmed Yassin
3. Ibrahim Al Yazuri
4. Imad Aqel
5. Ismail Abu Shanab
6. Ismail Haniya
7. Mahmud Al Rumahi
8. Mahmud Zahar, aka Abu Khaled
9. Muhammad Taha
10. Salah Shehadah



ATTACHMENT A

VI. The following are individuals who are and/or were leaders of the HAMAS Political Bureau and/or HAMAS leaders and/or representatives in various Middle Eastern/African countries:

1. Ibrahim Ghoshe
2. Imad Alami
3. Khalid Mishal, aka Abu Walid
4. Mousa Abu Marzook, aka Abu Omar
5. Jamal Issa, aka Jamal Abu Baker
6. Mohamed Siyam

VII. The following are individuals/entities who are and/or were members of the US Muslim Brotherhood:

1. Abdel Rahman Alamoudi
2. Gaddor Ibrahim Saidi
3. Islamic Society of North America, aka ISNA
4. Muslim Arab Youth Association, aka MAYA
5. Nizar Minshar
6. North American Islamic Trust, aka NAIT
7. Raed Awad
8. Tareq Suwaidan

VIII. The following are individuals/entities that are and/or were part of the Global HAMAS financing mechanism:

1. Al Aqsa Society
2. Abdel Rahim Nasrallah
3. Association de Secours Palestiniens
4. Comiti De Bienfaisance et de Secours aux Palestiniens, aka CBSP
5. Interpal
6. Jersusalem Fund, aka IRFAN
7. K & A Overseas Trading
8. Khairy Al Ahga, aka Abu Obeida
9. Palestine Relief and Development Fund
10. Palestine and Lebanon Relief Fund
11. Palestinian Association of Austria
12. Sanabil Foundation for Relief and Development



13. Soboul Al Khair

ATTACHMENT A

IX. The following are other individuals/entities that Marzook utilized as a financial conduit on behalf and/or for the benefit of HAMAS:

1. Bashir Elashi
2. Gaddor Ibrahim Saidi
3. INFOCOM
4. International Computers and Communications, aka ICC
5. K & A Overseas Trading
6. Khairy Al Ahga, aka Abu Obeida
7. Mohamed Salah
8. Munir Elashi
9. Nadia Elashi
10. Omar Salah Badahdah

X. The following are individuals who were HLF employees, directors, officers and/or representatives:

1. Abdel Jabar Hamdan
2. Ahmed Agha
3. Akram Kharoubi
4. Amal Alafranji
5. Amin Shweiki
6. Anees Shaheen
7. Asaad Abu Sharkh
8. Ayman Ismail
9. Basman Elashi
10. Dalell Mohamed
11. Ekram Taweel
12. Fatimeh Odeh
13. Fawaz Hamad, aka Abul Abed
14. Ghassan Harmas
15. Hanadi Natsheh
16. Hazim Elashi
17. Hoda Abdeen
18. Hussein Al Khatib

List of Unindicted Co-conspirators - Page 9



ATTACHMENT A

19. Islam Siam
20. Jamal Al Khodary
21. Kamal Al Tamimi, aka Abu Islam
22. Khalid Al Masri
23. Mervit Al Masri
24. Mohamed Dahroug
25. Mohamed Eid Misk
26. Mufid Mukhalalati
27. Muhammad Muharram
28. Kifah Mustapha
29. Mohamed Anati
30. Mohamed El Shorbagi
31. Omar Kurdi
32. Raed Awad
33. Ramzi Abu Baker
34. Rasmi Almallah
35. Seham Al Quatros
36. Sharif Battiki
37. Siham Al Masri
38. Taqi Al Din
39. Zuhair Elbarasse

XI. The following are HAMAS members whose families received support from the HLF through the HAMAS social infrastructure:

1. Adel Awadallah
2. Abdel Rahman Arouri
3. Abdel Aziz Rantisi
4. Ahmed Yassin
5. Ismail Abu Shanab
6. Ismail Haniya
7. Jamil Al Baz
8. Kamal Naeem
9. Khalil Al Quqa
10. Khamis Zaki Akel
11. Naser Ghazi Edweidar
12. Salah Eldin Nijmi
13. Salah Othman



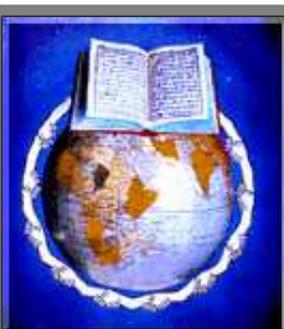
ATTACHMENT A

14. Salah Shehadah
15. Yasser Hassanat
16. Yasser Namruti
17. Yehia Ayyash

* The names listed herein are spelled in the manner most commonly seen, or phonetically, however it should be remembered that such names are subject to multiple spelling variations.

Exhibit 5:

Islamic Voice – Obituary of Mahboob Khan



[News from
Islamic World](#)

[Community
Roundup](#)



[Editorial](#)

[Reader's Comments](#)

[Notings](#)

[Features](#)

[Bicentenary of
Tipu Sultan](#)

[Qur'an & Science](#)

[Qur'an Speaks](#)

[Hadith](#)

[Children's Corner](#)

[Our Dialogue](#)

[Women in Islam](#)

[Religion](#)

[Why I Embraced
Islam](#)

[Comparative
Religion](#)

[Matrimonial](#)

[Subscription](#)

[Guest Book](#)

Islamic Voice

MAY 1999

MONTHLY * Vol 13-05 No:149 * MAY 1999/ SAFAR 1419H
email: editor@islamicvoice.com

COMMUNITY ROUNDUP

[Tipu Bicentenary : Harmony March and International Seminar](#)

[West Bengal Muslims Demand for Reservations](#)

[Muslim Girl has the Right to Choose her Husband](#)

[MEWA's Vocational Centre Boosting Employability](#)

[Maymar's 4th Clinic in Slums](#)

[Book on Tipu Sultan](#)

[Sirajul Hasan Re-elected Jamaat President](#)

[RCEAM to hold an International Conference](#)

[Ghalib's Haveli to be Preserved](#)

[Australian Scholarships](#)

[New Course in AMU](#)

[Obituary](#)

Tipu Bicentenary : Harmony March and International Seminar

BANGALORE: The Karnataka government will hold an international seminar and organise a harmony march in the memory of Tipu Sultan among a series of programmes planned to begin on May 15 in observance of the bicentenary of the martyr king of Mysore.

The function will make a start at Gumbaz, the mausoleum of the fallen

Mr. Samad was also editor of Tamil Daily, Manichudar and fortnightly, Manivalakku. He enjoyed high reputation as a Tamil writer in literary circles of Tamil Nadu and his speeches in Tamil language left the audiences spellbound. He was president of the Muslim Educational Association of Southern India (MEASI) and founder president of the Organisation of Muslim Educational Institutions and Associations of Tamil Nadu (OMEIAT).

In a message, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi said in Mr. Samad's death, he had lost one of his old friends. Former Kerala minister E. Ahamed and national secretary of the IUML said Mr. Samad was a towering personality and his death was an irreparable loss to the IUML.

Mahboob Khan

Mahboob Khan, the Madras-born leader of the Muslims in Bay Area of California died of a heart attack on April 16 in his factory at Sunnyvale. Khan was one of the founders of American Muslims for Global peace and justice and the Muslim Community Association of Bay Area. During his last days, Dr. Khan was engaged in relief work for the people of Kosava and Iraqi. He was to.

Dr. Khan was one of the founders of Muslim Students Association of America in 70's which later became the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA).

He is survived by wife Dr. Malika Khan, sons Suhail Khan and Sajid Khan and daughters Sumaiya Khan and Sana Khan.

[Top](#)

Exhibit 6:

Muslim Community Association of Santa Clara –
Obituary of Mahboob Khan

Santa Clara, Calif. Community Mourns Death of Muslim Leader, Dr. Mahboob Khan

Dr. Mahboob Khan, former chairman of Muslim Community Association of Santa Clara County, and a visionary leader who helped found the Granada Islamic School in Santa Clara, passed away in Santa Clara on Friday, April 16, 1999 after suffering a heart attack at work at the age of 60. Dr. Mahboob was also well known for his work in establishing the Muslim Community Association Mosque in Santa Clara. He also served on the Majlis a'Shura of the Islamic Society of North America and recently helped found the American Muslims for Global Peace and Justice. Dr. Mahboob is survived by his wife, Malika, three sons, Suhail, Salman, Sajid and two daughters, Sumiya and Sana.

Dr. Mahboob was well respected by the entire community and his fellow employees at Advanced Micro Devices. He was always concerned about the suffering of his fellow human being and in spite of his heart condition maintained a committed schedule towards helping others. Lately, he was involved in bring peace with justice to Kosovo. Just minutes before his sudden death, he was active in the campaign that declared Monday April 19, 1999 as Kosovo Telephone Campaign day. The last e-mail read as follows:

"Monday, April 19

Telephone Campaign Day

Please call your local representatives, Senators and the White house and urge them to:

1. Recognize independence of Kosova
2. Provide arms to Kosovars for Defense
3. Help Relocate the refugee's back to their homes
4. Try war criminals including Milosovic"

A silent Memorial Service for Dr. Mahboob is scheduled between 11:00 a.m. and 1:00 p.m. on Monday, April 19, 1999 at 1000, Scott Blvd., Santa Clara (408) 984-1000 at , the Muslim Janaza will be at the Muslim Community Association in Santa Clara, 3003, Scott Blvd., (408) 970-9333 at 1:30p.m. And the Funeral Procession will leave for burial at 1761, Laughlin Road, Livermore, Ca 94550 at 2:00 p.m. Condolences may be offered to the family between 8:00 and 9:30 p.m. also at the MCA Center on 3003, Scott Blvd., Santa Clara.

Narrated AbuSa'id al-Khudri (Sahih Muslim,I:79): "I heard the Messenger of Allah as saying: He who amongst you sees something abominable should modify it with the help of his hand; and if he has not strength enough to do it, then he should do it with his tongue; and if he has not strength enough to do it, (even) then he should (abhor it) from his heart and that is the least of faith."

Dr. Mahboob acted upon what he believed in and his life of action hs been and will continue to be an inspiration to the community. His untimely death leaves a void that will be very difficult to fill. May Allah Subhan wa Tala rest his soul and give courage to his family to bear the loss. Ina Lillah hai wa inallah hai raja oon.

[Biodata of Dr. Mahboob Khan Cemetery](#)

[Directions to Livermore Muslim](#)

[Muslim Community Association of Santa Clara](#)

Exhibit 7:

Ikhwan.net – Muslim Brotherhood Obituary
of Mahboob Khan

الموضوع: اغتيال التقنيون المسلمون والعرب بطرق تظهر طبيعية مسلسل يومي صدق أو لا تصدق

#14

Dr. Mahboob Khan د محبوب خان دينامو اسلامي

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عرض مشاركة مفردة

16:23 ,24-06-2001

سند الإسلام

Registered User

الملف الشخصي

رقم العضوية :	472
تاريخ التسجيل :	Jun 2001
المشاركات :	882
الحالة :	

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Help Relocate the refugee's back to their homes .3

”Try war criminals including Milosovic .4

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Dr. Mahboob acted upon what he believed in and his life of action has been and will continue to be an inspiration to the community. His untimely death leaves a void that will be very difficult to fill. May Allah Subhan wa Tala rest his soul and give courage to his family to bear the loss. Ina Lillah hai wa inallah hai .raja oon

Bio of Dr. Mahboob Khan. Ph.D

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helped establish the Muslim Students Association (MSA) which subsequently became the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA). He was the Vice President of MSA, the West Zone Representative, and served on the .Majilis a'Shura for ISNA

After one year in Denver, Dr. Khan and his family moved to southern California in 1975 to accept a position in electrical engineering with Rockwell International. There, Dr. Khan was one of the founders of the Islamic Society of Orange County (ISOC) which eventually included an Islamic center, mosque, and elementary school. He served as the President of the ISOC before moving to San Jose, California in 1980 to accept a position with Fairchild Semiconductor. Dr. Khan later became a manager at Advanced Micro .(Devices Inc. (AMD

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إغلاق هذه النافذة

Exhibit 8:

Stephen Schwartz – The Muslim Student Association,
A Wahhabi Front

The Muslim Student Association: A Wahhabi Front

By: Stephen Schwartz / [NationalReview.com](#)

Monday, March 10, 2003

The camel's nose of radical Islam is under the tent.

What is the real nature of the [Muslim Students' Association of the U.S. and Canada](#) (MSA)? This octopus-like entity has infiltrated numerous college and university campuses in North America, and has taken the lead in corralling young Muslims to defend the fascist dictator Saddam Hussein. According to MSA, the correct position for Muslims in America involves their marching alongside neofascists and Stalinists, with the legions of "useful fools" who flock to bogus "peace" demonstrations.

When its leaders speak to mainstream media, MSA presents itself as a campus-service organization not much different from other collegiate faith groups. But the reality is very different, and deeply sinister. MSA is a key element in the Wahhabi lobby, and a cornerstone of the conspiracy by Saudi-backed extremists to control American Islam, as well the public discourse about Islam in America.

Above all, MSA now seeks to present itself as moderate and opposed to terrorism, even though its chapters have distributed the propaganda of Osama bin Laden on its websites, along with publicity-recruiting campaigns for Wahhabi subversion of the Chechen struggle in Russia.

To best understand the MSA and its history one should turn to the work of Hamid Algar, a Western Muslim scholar of impeccable academic credentials, who also happens to be a ferocious critic of the U.S. and Israel. Algar, a member of the University of California-Berkeley faculty, is the biographer of Ayatollah Khomeini and among the leading historians of Islamic spirituality alive today.

But although he is no friend of President Bush or Ariel Sharon, Algar has described with stunning accuracy the nature of the MSA. In his brief work [Wahhabism: A Critical Essay](#), published in 2002, he writes: "Some Muslim student organizations have... functioned at times as Saudi-supported channels for the propagation of Wahhabism abroad, especially in the United States. The Muslim Student Association of the U.S. and Canada was established in 1963, one year after the Muslim World League [MWL] with which it had close links." Let us note here that the MWL was established by the Saudi regime as an extremist Islamic equivalent of the old Communist International or Comintern, and that its cadres included numerous Islamist "revolutionaries" from the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and from Pakistan.

Algar continues, "Particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, no criticism of Saudi Arabia would be tolerated at the annual conventions of the MSA... Its numerous local chapters would make available at every Friday prayer large stacks of the [MWL]'s publications, in both English and Arabic... Although the MSA progressively diversified its connections with Arab states, official approval of Wahhabism remained strong." Algar notes that in 1980 the organization published a translation, which was actually a text puffed up to give it more substance, of writings by Ibn Abd al-Wahhab, the 18th century founder of the dispensation named for him, which is presently the state sect in the Saudi kingdom.

With some sarcasm, Algar points out "it might appear at first sight puzzling that students pursuing a higher education should be attracted to a Wahhabi reading of Islam... they found in Wahhabism a 'rationalized' Islam, stripped of the niceties and ambiguities of juristic reasoning, the complexities of theology, and the subtleties of Sufism" [Islamic spirituality]. He calls attention to MSA's role in the creation of the Islamic Society of North America, or ISNA, which is best described as a branch of the Saudi religious militia operating to impose Wahhabi conformity on all of American Islam.

In addition, the MSA has strong ties with the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), established in 1972 and directed from the Saudi capital, Riyadh. WAMY's U.S. offices in Northern Virginia have been a central target of the federal investigation of terrorist funding and money laundering by Islamist groups following the horrors of September 11th.

The foremost aim of the Wahhabis is always to impose a single voice on Muslims. Right now, this means projecting the image, in U.S. media as well as on campuses, that all right-thinking Muslim believers consider an attack on Saddam and his regime to be aggression against Islam. This is a lie. Thousands of Iraqi Shias, Kurds, and other Muslims in the U.S. support the Bush project for the liberation of Iraq from the fascist regime, and for the broader liberation of Islamic societies from the grip of tyranny and terrorism, leading to a new epoch of democracy, prosperity, and stability.

This month, Shia Muslims in the New York area will use their commemoration of Ashura, the main Shia holiday, as an opportunity to express loyalty to America, support for the removal of Saddam, and opposition to Saudi-funded terrorism — which has always aimed first to kill Shia Muslims. But you won't hear that from MSA chapter leaders on our campuses — just as you won't hear from International ANSWER, the Stalinofascist cabal that organizes pro-Saddam marches, about the crimes of the Butcher of Baghdad. Like the new breed of out-front Jew-baiting Stalinists, and the revived isolationist Judeophobes who see the hand of Sharon pulling President Bush's strings, MSA stands for the "peace" of the grave — surrender to tyranny abroad and promotion of treason here at home.

Stephen Schwartz, an author and journalist, is author of *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*. A vociferous critic of Wahhabism, Schwartz is a frequent contributor to *National Review*, *The Weekly Standard*, and other publications.

Exhibit 9:

Washington Report for Middle East Affairs – Seven Muslim Organizations Establish National Coordination Council

- ▶ ABOUT WRMEA
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- ▶ WRMEA AD CAMPAIGN
- ▶ MIDDLE EAST BOOK CLUB
- ▶ PALESTINIAN ARTS & CRAFTS
- ▶ JOIN OUR EMAIL LIST
- ▶ CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS
- ▶ LINKS
- ▶ KEEP TRACK OF AIPAC
- ▶ U.S. & LOCAL NEWS



WASHINGTON REPORT ON MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS

Home > Backissues > 0398 > Muslim-American Activism: SEVEN MUSLIM ORGANIZATIONS ESTABLISH NATIONAL COORDINATION COUNCIL

Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, March 1998, Page 56

Muslim-American Activism

SEVEN MUSLIM ORGANIZATIONS ESTABLISH NATIONAL COORDINATION COUNCIL

Seven national Islamic organizations took a major step in December toward providing coordinated advice to America's six million Muslims on political issues and candidates with creation of a national Coordination Committee. Members of the newly created Coordination Committee and their national headquarters are the American Muslim Alliance (AMA), Fremont, CA; American Muslim Caucus (AMC), Dallas, TX; American Muslim Council (AMC), Washington, DC; Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), Washington, DC; National Council on Islamic Affairs, New York City; and the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), Los Angeles.

The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), roof organization for some 600 local groups, is not a political organization but it sent its representative, Mahboob Khan, to the AMA-sponsored organizational meeting in Sunnyvale, CA to signify support for the unity process.

The seven organizations agreed to coordinate their activities on the basis of four principles: 1) unity of purpose; 2) division of labor; 3) auto-coordination; and 4) mutual consultation. They also agreed to create institutional mechanisms for a regular exchange of information.

Preliminary discussions about the move, which has great national political significance, took place among AMA, American Muslim Council and CAIR representatives during a meeting in Chicago last Aug. 31.

Then AMC executive director Abdurahman Alamoudi formally proposed formation of a Council of Presidents of major Muslim political organizations at the AMA national convention last October in St. Louis and followed this up with an article in the December 1997 issue of the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. The first formal meeting of the newly created Coordination Council will be held in Dallas on March 22, 1998.

Imam W. Deen Mohammed and his nation-wide Islamic following also are moving in the same direction. He and his colleagues formed the Coalition for Good Government (CFGG) on Oct. 29, 1997 in Charlotte, North Carolina. The *Muslim Journal*, in its issue of Jan. 2, 1998, described his proposal as a "clearly articulated...political vision for Muslim Americans."

Muslim North Carolina State Senator Larry Shaw, a member of CFGG, subsequently informed the AMA that he is recommending that CFGG join the newly-formed Coordinating Committee.

Readers interested in learning more about the national Coordinating Committee should contact AMA's national office at (510) 582-8478.

—Dr. Agha Saeed

Exhibit 10:

Chicago Tribune – Terrorists Evolved in U.S.

Terrorists evolved in U.S. ; 2 Egyptians set stage for attacks

[North Sports Final Edition]

Chicago Tribune - Chicago, Ill.

Author: Andrew Martin and Michael J Berens, Tribune staff reporters

Date: Dec 11, 2001

Start Page: 1

Section: News

Text Word Count: 2596

Document Text

One was the frail son of wealthy Egyptian parents, a former medical student who rejected a life of money and status.

The other was the street-savvy high-school dropout who favored James Bond movies and became so adept with the finer points of terrorism that he wrote a training manual.

Nearly 15 years ago, this unlikely duo--Khaled Abul-Dahab and Ali Mohamed--established the first U.S. outpost for what would evolve into Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda network.

The duo operated under the flag of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, a terrorist organization that set the stage for bin Laden's attacks on America and eventually merged with Al Qaeda.

Starting in California and moving to Brooklyn, they tapped into a network of Egyptian immigrants--cabdrivers, doctors, government employees, pilots and a gas station owner--who shared their religious zeal and were willing to join in their terrorist schemes.

Mohamed, who became a top military trainer for bin Laden, was among the first to teach U.S. recruits how to communicate in code, build bombs from garden-store materials and pose as "normal" Americans by shaving their long beards and avoiding mosques. At a terrorist camp in Afghanistan, he also taught how to target buildings for explosions.

Abul-Dahab established himself as a one-man communications hub, shuttling money and bogus passports to terrorists around the world from the tranquility of his California apartment. He even enrolled in a California flight school in an ultimately unsuccessful scheme to use a bomb-laden glider in a terrorist attack.

By the time they were arrested in 1998, Abul-Dahab and Mohamed had aided in a half-dozen terrorist attacks that left hundreds dead, including the 1995 bombing of the Egyptian Embassy in Pakistan and the 1998 explosions at U.S. Embassies in Africa.

"We didn't fully understand how extensive and dangerous the Egyptian Islamic movement had become in America until it was too late," a senior FBI agent assigned to a Midwest terrorism task force said. "We're still learning how the Egyptians, time and time again, were the brains behind bin Laden's muscle."

Abul-Dahab, now 38, was sentenced to 15 years in an Egyptian prison for his role in the Egyptian Islamic Jihad's attempts to overthrow the Egyptian government; Mohamed, now 49, pleaded guilty to participating in the 1998 embassy bombings in Africa and is awaiting sentencing in a New York jail.

Though the two have been in prison for three years, federal authorities renewed their investigations of both men in the wake of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. The Egyptian government recently released to the FBI thousands of pages of previously sealed military court documents, including interrogation transcripts, from Abul-Dahab's trial. The Tribune obtained some of those records and had them translated from Arabic.

The new records, as well as U.S. court documents spanning a half-dozen terrorism trials, provide a glimpse into the role both men played in the birth and evolution of Islamic terrorism in America.

Unlikely duo's history

Ali Mohamed arrived in Santa Clara, Calif., in 1985 prepared to play a role he had been practicing for years.

He had enrolled in the Egyptian army after three years of high school but became disgruntled after 13 years in the service because he wasn't appreciated by his superiors, according to Egyptian court records. It was during his last years in the Egyptian army that he secretly joined the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, which aspires to overthrow the Egyptian government and turn the country into a fundamentalist Islamic state.

While in Egypt, he also contacted the Central Intelligence Agency and volunteered to be a spy but was dumped by the

CIA as unreliable after a brief tryout, a senior government official told the Tribune.

Mohamed arrived in California alone but carried with him the full financial weight of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, which was looking to expand outside Egypt because of a government crackdown on terrorist organizations, law-enforcement sources said.

He became a citizen and applied to the U.S. Army, where in 1986 he was assigned to the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center in Ft. Bragg, N.C.

Abul-Dahab's path to terrorism began when he left medical school under the urging of radical Islamic students. He had hoped to go directly to Afghanistan, pick up a gun and fight Soviet invaders, who had occupied the country since 1979. But Mohamed, whom he had met in 1984 in Egypt, persuaded him to join him in California instead.

During a 1998 interrogation by Egyptian authorities, Abul-Dahab recalled Mohamed's advice: Come to America but be patient. There is a bigger plan.

Once in the U.S., Abul-Dahab found he was working as a stealth fighter rather than as a gun-toting commando. He drove a used Volvo, worked as a restaurant dishwasher and later held menial jobs at a used car lot and a computer company.

But from his apartment, Abul-Dahab dispatched money to terrorists throughout the Middle East, some of it from American sympathizers-- including two American doctors of Egyptian descent--and some of it from other terrorists, according to his statements to Egyptian investigators. In one instance, Abul-Dahab said he transferred money from Mohamed to Pakistan that was used to finance the 1995 bombing of the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad, which killed 17 people.

Another time, Abul-Dahab transferred \$3,000 to Mohamed to help him pay the legal fees of a colleague imprisoned in Canada; the money was from bin Laden, Abul-Dahab told investigators.

He also acted as a telephone operator for the Jihad network, using a three-way calling feature on his phone to connect terrorists in far- flung countries. "Out of honesty, I usually pressed a button to allow them to talk without listening to their conversation," Abul-Dahab told investigators. "I had an honest upbringing."

But not all the calls were business. Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, the leader of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, called Abul-Dahab four times, twice to wish him a "happy feast." Another suspected terrorist, an Algerian, called Abul-Dahab to ask him to track down an Egyptian family so he could ask for their daughter's hand in marriage, according to his statement to Egyptian investigators.

Operated from both coasts

With Abul-Dahab in charge of the Santa Clara base, Mohamed turned his attention to the East Coast.

As a supply sergeant at Ft. Bragg, he developed a reputation as an aggressive, confident but egotistic soldier, according to his military supervisors. Because of his Middle Eastern background, Mohamed also filmed training videos about Muslim culture to be used by U.S. soldiers heading overseas, but the segments were deemed too boring and never shown, his supervisors later testified.

Even in the U.S. Army, Mohamed maintained his secret life.

Authorities believe he stole classified documents and maps by the armload. On weekend leaves, he secretly traveled to New York and New Jersey and distributed the material to a group of Egyptians who were forming their own terrorist base.

Their fledgling operation was centered at the Al-Farooq Mosque in Brooklyn, where a tiny first floor held the offices of Alkifah Refugee Services. It was created in 1987 to provide financial assistance to orphans and widows from the Soviet Union's decadelong occupation of Afghanistan.

However, the Alkifah center began recruiting and training American Muslims to fight in Afghanistan. A sister office in Pakistan--called the Services Office and funded by bin Laden--shepherded the men to the front lines.

But by the time the Soviet-Afghan war ended in 1989, the Alkifah center had evolved into a training ground for terrorists, as radical Egyptians muscled into control. Their leader was a blind Egyptian cleric named Sheik Abdel Rahman who is considered the spiritual leader of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and is currently in jail involving a conspiracy to kill Americans by bombing New York landmarks.

Training recruits

It was about this time that Mohamed began commuting north to teach classes to the Alkifah recruits. They met in a Jersey City apartment, where Mohamed instructed the recruits on everything from making bombs to using a compass, according to federal court records.

The court records do not make clear how many recruits were taught by Mohamed, or how often he commuted to the northeast to hold classes. However, the recruits from the Alkifah center began plotting and carrying out attacks against America.

For instance, an Egyptian named El Sayyid Nosair, who worked as a boiler mechanic in New York City's criminal courts building, carried out on Nov. 5, 1990, what is now considered the first shot in the Egyptian terrorists' campaign against the U.S. Nosair was accused of firing a .357 Magnum slug into the head of a radical rabbi, Meir Kahane, who had just completed a speech at a midtown Manhattan motel.

Nosair had acted as Mohamed's host during the army sergeant's visits to the northeast, and he is identified in court records as having attended Mohamed's classes. After the shooting, police discovered binders full of military manuals and "jihad materials" in Nosair's basement, some of it stolen from the U.S. Army by Mohamed.

The documents included military training schedules and a topographical map of Ft. Bragg, the locations of military forces in the Middle East, and a military guide with drawings on how to commit assassinations and create bombs.

Nosair was later convicted of plotting attacks against New York City tunnels and landmark buildings from his jail cell, a failed scheme that included Sheik Abdel Rahman and nine others affiliated with the Alkifah center.

Several other men who received weapons and explosives training at the Alkifah center were convicted for their roles in the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, though it was not clear if they participated in Mohamed's classes.

For Mohamed, the Alkifah center served a purpose greater than simply providing a platform to show off his military know-how. It provided an entree to bin Laden, whom Mohamed met during several trips to Alkifah's sister office in Pakistan.

Shared philosophies

Bin Laden, the son of a wealthy Saudi Arabian family, had used his inherited fortune to finance the Afghan fighters during their war with the Soviet Union. When the war ended, he began assembling his own army of former Afghan fighters--called Al Qaeda--to purge the Islamic world of influences he deemed corrupt, including U.S. military forces stationed in the Middle East.

Bin Laden shared many of the same philosophies as the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, which sought to purge the trappings of Western society from Egypt. The two groups worked closely together for years, beginning in the early '90s, and formally merged in about 1998 when they began calling for attacks against America and Israel, which they considered the leaders in a worldwide campaign to destroy Islam.

Bin Laden's No. 2 man

Al-Zawahiri, the leader of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, is now considered bin Laden's No. 2 man. He is believed to be hiding with bin Laden in the mountains of Afghanistan, though there have been recent, unconfirmed reports that al-Zawahiri was injured or killed by U.S. bombs.

From the time he left the army in November 1989 and returned to California, Ali Mohamed maintained close ties to bin Laden and al-Zawahiri.

Along with Abul-Dahab, he served as a host for al-Zawahiri during two fundraising trips to America, the first in the early 1990s and the second in late 1994, court records show.

They escorted al-Zawahiri to at least three California mosques, where he was introduced as Abdel Muez, a doctor for the Red Crescent charity who was raising money for refugees in Afghanistan, according to court records and interviews. The real purpose of the visits, which included other unnamed mosques across the country, was to raise money for the Egyptian Islamic Jihad.

Mohamed also crisscrossed the globe and established himself as one of bin Laden's top military operatives. He helped bin Laden move from Afghanistan to Sudan, trained Al Qaeda operatives in Afghanistan in explosives and how to set up terrorist cells and bribed Algerian officials to help spring an Al Qaeda colleague from prison, court records show.

Mohamed traveled to Somalia in 1993 at a time when Al Qaeda was training Somali tribes fighting the United Nations' forces. While Mohamed admitted to training fighters in "war zones," he did not disclose his role in Somalia, according to court records.

In the fall of 1993, following the blast at the World Trade Center, San Francisco FBI agents conducted the first of two interviews with Mohamed, whose name had surfaced in connection with the Alkifah center. But agents could not prove he had committed any crime.

Mohamed, who remained under investigation for the next four years, admitted to the FBI that he had helped train fighters against the Soviets, that the Al Qaeda hoped to overthrow the government in Saudi Arabia and that he knew bin Laden. However, he denied links to any terrorist group or act.

Scouting U.S. targets

Months after his first brush with the FBI, Mohamed traveled to Sudan to talk with bin Laden. Mohamed would later describe the meeting during a court hearing following his arrest in 1998.

Mohamed said he had been scouting out dozens of possible U.S. targets.

"I took pictures, wrote diagrams and wrote a report" detailing U.S. targets for bin Laden, he said. "Bin Laden looked at the picture of the American Embassy [in Nairobi, Kenya] and pointed to where a truck could go as a suicide bomber."

Mohamed said bin Laden then ordered him to establish a cell in Kenya. There, Mohamed set up a fishing business and sold scuba diving equipment, luxury automobiles and diamonds as a cover and to generate income. More than a dozen other people in three countries rounded out the network.

Bin Laden wanted to strike two embassies simultaneously for maximum shock value, according to statements by Al Qaeda informants. The embassies in Tanzania and Nairobi were particularly vulnerable, the group deduced.

On Aug. 7, 1998, blasts delivered by bomb-laden trucks that crashed through embassy barriers ripped apart the two U.S. consulates, killing 224 people and injuring thousands.

On the day of the embassy blasts, Mohamed was back in Santa Clara, Calif. By then, he had made 58 trips from America overseas, court records show

How-to manuals

Mohamed's terrorist lessons did not stop when he went to prison in 1998.

He had left behind dozens of how-to manuals, including an 18- chapter, 180-page manual that served as the blueprint for assassinations and bombings that he had patched together from his experiences with the Egyptian jihad and from stolen U.S. training guides.

The FBI does not know if any of the Sept. 11 hijackers used the manual, called Military Studies in the Jihad Against the Tyrants. However, many of their tactics come straight from Mohamed's lessons, such as how to blend in as law-abiding citizens in a Western society.

Written in first-person in the late 1980s, the manual contains heavy doses of religion and terrorism history but clearly was written for those with scant education, providing a step-by-step tutorial on the proper way to hold a gun, make bombs from common materials and brew poisons from plants.

During the last decade, the manual has been updated by other terrorists and moved to computer disks. But the teachings of Mohamed are still echoed in most every Al Qaeda plot.

In Chapter 2, which details the characteristics of a faithful terrorist, Mohamed writes, "He has to be willing to do the work and undergo martyrdom for the purpose of achieving the goal and establishing the religion of majestic Allah on earth."

[Illustration]

PHOTO; Caption: PHOTO: Ali Mohamed pleaded guilty to conspiring in the 1998 embassy bombings in Africa and is awaiting sentencing in a New York jail. AP file photo.

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Abstract (Document Summary)

From his apartment, [Khaled Abul-Dahab] dispatched money to terrorists throughout the Middle East, some of it from American sympathizers-- including two American doctors of Egyptian descent--and some of it from other terrorists, according to his statements to Egyptian investigators. In one instance, Abul-Dahab said he transferred money from [Ali Mohamed] to Pakistan that was used to finance the 1995 bombing of the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad, which killed 17 people.

Exhibit 11:

San Francisco Chronicle – Al-Zawahiri
Solicited Funds Under the Guise of Refugee Relief

Top bin Laden aide toured state

SPECIAL REPORT: Al-Zawahiri solicited funds under the guise of refugee relief

Lance Williams, Erin McCormick, Chronicle Staff Writers

Thursday, October 11, 2001



Two confessed members of a Silicon Valley terrorist cell say they brought Osama bin Laden's top aide to the Bay Area several years ago to raise money for terror attacks, according to documents and interviews.

Ayman al-Zawahiri, who is bin Laden's chief deputy and a suspect in a long list of terrorist crimes that includes planning last month's attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, visited the United States in the 1990s on covert fund-raising trips, the two men have told authorities.

Traveling with a stolen passport supplied by the local terrorists and using a fake name, al-Zawahiri, who has called on Muslims to kill "Americans wherever they are," visited mosques in Santa Clara, Stockton and Sacramento as part of a coast-to-coast fund-raising mission, according to these accounts.

Al-Zawahiri may have raised as much as \$500,000 in America, according to a Silicon Valley acquaintance of one of the terrorists. Most of it was donated by U.S. Muslims who were told the money would aid refugees of the Afghan-Soviet war of the 1980s, said this man, who asked not to be identified because of personal safety concerns.

Instead, according to the confessed terrorists, the money went to Egyptian Islamic Jihad, implicated in dozens of terrorist attacks, from the 1981 assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to the 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Al-Zawahiri is a Jihad leader who brought the group's most violent elements into bin Laden's al Qaeda organization.

In the defiant videotape that the al Qaeda terrorists released after U.S. bombing of Afghanistan began Sunday, al-Zawahiri was seated next to bin Laden and spoke of America's "crimes against the nations of Muslims."

A Silicon Valley physician and civic leader told The Chronicle that in 1989 or 1990 he had been introduced to al-Zawahiri and accompanied him to local mosques. The civic leader, Dr. Ali Zaki, said he had been duped into assisting al-Zawahiri and had not been told his real name or the true purpose of his fund raising.

Money raised in the United States by al-Zawahiri helped finance two other ambitious terror operations, according to the confessed terrorists: the 1995 bombing of the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, which killed 17 diplomats, and the training of pilots for a planned spectacular hang-glider assault on an Egyptian prison to free jailed Jihad members. That attack never occurred.

Authorities learned of al-Zawahiri's fund raising in the Bay Area from Ali Mohamed, 48, and Khalid Abu-al-Dahab, 37, Egyptian-born U.S. citizens who have confessed that they served for a decade as Islamic Jihad operatives while living in Silicon Valley.

Mohamed is a former U.S. Army sergeant who has been identified as bin Laden's "California connection" and a trainer of his bodyguards.

Last year, he pleaded guilty in U.S. District Court in New York to conspiracy charges for helping bin Laden and al-Zawahiri plot the U.S. Embassy bombings that killed more than 200 people.

Mohamed said in court that he had twice brought al-Zawahiri to the United States in the 1990s to raise money for Islamic Jihad. Terrorism experts say they believe he provided more detail in private briefings to investigators.

Dahab is a former Egyptian medical student turned Silicon Valley car salesman who was known in Santa Clara as Khaled Mohamed.

He was arrested in Cairo in a 1998 government sweep aimed at crippling Islamic Jihad, and he is serving a 15-year prison term meted out by a military court. Egyptian authorities say Dahab confessed to serving as a terrorist operative while living in Santa Clara, transferring funds raised in the Bay Area to Jihad cadres abroad and facilitating communication between Jihad leaders in Egypt and those in terrorist camps in Afghanistan.

He said he and Mohamed had brought al-Zawahiri to California in 1995 to raise money for terrorist operations, according to accounts of his confession.

The Chronicle learned the story of al-Zawahiri's U.S. fund raising from court records, interviews with knowledgeable sources and Arab-language news accounts of Egyptian court proceedings. Steven Emerson, an author and national security expert, provided research material.

Experts said the existence of the Santa Clara terrorist cell -- and its role in bringing al-Zawahiri here -- showed both the boldness of America's terrorist enemy and the nation's vulnerability to infiltration by terrorist groups.

"The very fact that someone like Zawahiri came to the U.S., that in itself should be quite stunning to many Americans," said Khalid Duran of Washington, D.C., a terrorism expert and author who has written about the Santa Clara cell.

"He is the No. 2 man, bin Laden's right-hand man, and in a way even more. He is like his teacher, his mentor."

In addition to fund raising, al-Zawahiri was in the United States "to see whom he could recruit here, what could be done here -- preparing the establishment of a base," Duran said.

Harvey Kushner, a professor of criminology at Long Island University and international terrorism expert, said that for years radical Islamic groups had raised money in the United States under the guise of refugee relief.

"That way they end up with money that's fungible and ostensibly raised for a legitimate purpose," he said.

"Then, it ends up being used for a bombing or something like that.

"A lot of (donors) didn't know where the money was going; some knew exactly where it was going."

Egyptian islamic jihad

According to documents and interviews, al-Zawahiri, 50, is the scion of a wealthy Egyptian family and grandson of one of the founders of the Arab League.

He was trained as a surgeon, but his medical career was sidetracked by his involvement in Islamic Jihad, a radical movement that has mounted a violent challenge to Egypt's moderate stance in cultural and foreign affairs.

Islamic Jihad has denounced the Egyptian government for everything from making peace with Israel to its attempts to stamp out the practice of female circumcision, according to a review of the group's communiques.

For more than two decades, it has sought to overthrow the government and convert Egypt into a Taliban-style fundamentalist Islamic state. Its most spectacular act was murdering Sadat, architect of Egypt's peace initiative with Israel.

Dozens of Jihad members, including al-Zawahiri, were arrested. He spent three years in prison on weapons charges. Then he went to Afghanistan, where he served as a medical officer for the Islamic guerrillas in the Afghan-Soviet war. He befriended bin Laden, a wealthy Saudi who was in Afghanistan financing and training the guerrilla fighters who drove the Soviets out in 1989.

Bin Laden and al-Zawahiri became increasingly anti-American after the United States defeated Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and they began advocating a jihad, or holy war, to drive America from the Middle East.

Al-Zawahiri emerged as Islamic Jihad's leader, and he repeatedly sent Jihad fighters on missions sponsored by bin Laden.

Among the actions the two are suspected of masterminding: the 1993 ambush of U.S. Army Rangers in Somalia, which left 18 Americans dead; the bombings of the Egyptian Embassy in Pakistan in 1995 and the U.S. embassies in East Africa in 1998; and this year's attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

In 1998, al-Zawahiri signed a bin Laden fatwa, or decree, calling on Muslims to kill Americans worldwide as part of a holy war against "Jews and Crusaders."

Terrorists' trails

The two confessed terrorists who brought al-Zawahiri here also had long-standing ties to Islamic Jihad.

Mohamed told U.S. authorities he had joined Islamic Jihad in 1981, while he was serving as a major in the

Egyptian army. He said he had left the army and emigrated to the United States in 1985, obtaining U.S. citizenship after marrying a Santa Clara woman whom he met on his flight to America.

Mohamed spent three years in the U.S. Army, then returned to Silicon Valley,

where he attended Santa Clara's An-Noor mosque and worked as a security guard and at a home computer business. Through Islamic Jihad, he said, he had joined bin Laden's al Qaeda. Each year, he said, he spent months abroad, training bin Laden's fighters in camps in Afghanistan and the African nation of Sudan. While in Africa, he scouted the U.S. Embassy in Kenya, target of a suicide bombing in 1998.

Dahab said he had been drawn into Islamic Jihad after befriending Mohamed in Egypt.

According to an account of his confession published in the Arabic-language newspaper Al-Sharq al-Awsat, Dahab quit medical school in 1986 and followed Mohamed to the United States, renting an apartment in Santa Clara.

Within weeks of arriving, Dahab met and married an American woman. That marriage collapsed within a month, court records show. Dahab wed another American woman, but that marriage also ended in divorce within a year.

A third marriage, to another American, produced four children and helped him win U.S. citizenship, according to the source who met him at the mosque in Santa Clara.

Dahab worked as a maintenance man at Kaiser Hospital in Santa Clara and as a salesman at a Silicon Valley auto dealership, according to records and interviews.

He also assisted Mohamed on Jihad tasks, according to accounts of his confession.

One involved a planned hang-glider attack on the Liman Turra Prison complex near Cairo to liberate Jihad leaders, some of whom had been locked up since the Sadat assassination. According to the plan, Jihad hang-gliders would swoop off a nearby mountain into the prison grounds, setting off explosives and causing a panic to allow the jailbreak to occur.

In about 1990, on Mohamed's orders, Dahab said, he took hang-glider lessons in San Francisco.

"After I completed a course on the flying of gliders in the United States, (Mohamed) asked me to travel to Afghanistan with a model glider to train the Egyptian elements present there," he said.

The plan was later dropped, and Dahab returned here and served as a Jihad telephone operator, receiving calls from terrorists throughout the Arab world and patching them through to Jihad members in Egypt, he told authorities.

According to accounts of the confession, Dahab said that in 1995, he and Mohamed had brought al-Zawahiri into the United States. The terrorist leader traveled under the alias of Abd-al-Mu'izz, using a forged passport that Mohamed had obtained.

Dahab and Mohamed introduced al-Mu'izz to leaders of the An-Noor mosque in Santa Clara. Duran, the

terrorism expert, has written that parishioners there were cool to the fund-raising pitch. Omar Ahmad, spokesman for the mosque, said that he couldn't find anyone there who remembered al-Zawahiri's visit and that Dahab's account had come as a surprise to mosque members.

The terrorist spent weeks in the country, Dahab said, and raised far more money at other mosques in Northern California, Texas and New York: hundreds of thousands, Dahab told authorities.

According to accounts of his confession, Dahab said al-Zawahiri had used money raised on the tour to pay for the bombing of the Egyptian Embassy in Islamabad.

Discrepancies exist regarding the timing and number of al-Zawahiri's U.S. visits. According to Arab press accounts and terrorism experts familiar with the case, Dahab's confession describes a single U.S. visit in 1995. Sources who were interviewed by the FBI say the agents were convinced the visit occurred that year. In court, Mohamed said he twice had brought al-Zawahiri here in the 1990s, but didn't specify dates.

But the 1995 visit was heatedly denied by another person Dahab identified as facilitating al-Zawahiri's visit -- Zaki, the South Bay physician and civic leader.

In accounts of the confession, Dahab said that Zaki and his brother, a New York pharmacist, had accompanied al-Zawahiri on his 1995 fund-raising tour. Dahab also said Zaki had paid for shipping the hang-glider to Afghanistan.

In an interview, Zaki said he knew of only one U.S. visit by al-Zawahiri -- in 1989 or 1990, at a time when the Afghan struggle against the Soviets was either still under way or only recently over. The United States had strongly backed the Afghan freedom fighters, he pointed out.

Zaki said he had been introduced to "Dr. Mu'izz," al-Zawahiri's fake name, by Mohamed and Dahab, whom Zaki said he knew because both worshipped at the same mosque. He provided limited help for what he believed was a charitable cause, he said.

"I have been investigated by the FBI, and I testified before the grand jury for the bin Laden case, and I explained to them, (al-Zawahiri) might have been (here) in the mid-'90s, but the only time I met Mr. Zawahiri was in 1989 or 1990, and he came with a different name as a representative of the Red Crescent, which is equivalent to the Red Cross," he said.

Zaki said he had learned the terrorist connections of Mohamed and Dahab -- and the true name of "Dr. Mu'izz" -- only after the Santa Clara men were arrested.

He also denied knowingly helping to finance the hang-glider mission. He said Dahab's confession had been made under torture and that the man had falsely implicated him.

"If any of this were true, I would have been indicted," he said.

Zaki's attorney, former U.S. Rep. Pete McCloskey, said Zaki had fully cooperated with FBI agents and a U.S. grand jury that questioned him about al-Zawahiri after Mohamed and Dahab were arrested.

He described Zaki as a law-abiding and religious man who would never knowingly support terrorism and

who had done nothing wrong.

"This is not a man of violence . . . this is not a man who would jeopardize an American future," McCloskey said.

A terrorist's career path

Ayman al-Zawahiri's career as leader of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad has carried him from suspected involvement in President Anwar Sadat's 1981 assassination in Egypt, through several fund-raising trips to the United States, to the No. 2 spot in Osama bin Laden's terrorist organization, al Qaeda.

-- 1951-74: Al-Zawahiri is raised in a wealthy Egyptian family and earns his medical degree at Cairo University.

-- 1981: He is convicted of weapons charges in conjunction with Sadat's assassination and serves three years in an Egyptian prison.

-- Mid-1980s: He opens a medical clinic for rebels in Afghanistan, where he meets bin Laden and becomes one of his closest associates.

-- Late 1980s: Al-Zawahiri emerges as the leader of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, while he and bin Laden refocus their efforts toward an international "holy war" of terrorism.

-- 1989 to 1995: He is said to visit the United States, at least once, possibly twice under false passports to raise funds for bin Laden operations.

-- 1996: He is charged with bombing the Egyptian Embassy in Pakistan with the financial support of bin Laden.

-- 1998: He resigns as the head of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad when the group shifts toward nonviolence; strengthens ties with bin Laden. The United States indicts al-Zawahiri (along with bin Laden) for the U.S. Embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania.

-- 1999: He is tried in absentia in an Egyptian terrorism trial and sentenced to death.

-- Oct. 7, 2001: He appears at bin Laden's side in a video threatening more violence, after the United States begins its retaliatory bombings in Afghanistan.

-- Oct. 9, 2001: Al-Zawahiri is named to the FBI's list of the world's "most wanted" terrorists for his suspected role as one of the planners of the Sept. 11 attacks.

Chronicle librarian Michael Tuller provided research for this report. / E-mail the writers at lmwilliams@sfchronicle.com and emccormick@sfchronicle.com.

<http://sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2001/10/11/MN119457.DTL>

This article appeared on page **A - 1** of the San Francisco Chronicle

Exhibit 12:

CAIR-CA Poster – “Build a Wall of Resistance”



EVENT

EVENT DETAILS

- **Date & Time**
Wed., Feb. 9, 2011 @ 7:00 PM
- **Venue**
EastSide Cultural Center
2277 International Blvd.
Oakland, CA 94606

[View all Campaigns & Events](#)

Know Your Rights and Defend Our Communities from Grand Juries



Exhibit 13:

Insight Magazine – DC Islamist Agent
Carried Libyan Cash

D.C. Islamist Agent Carried Libyan Cash; Before his arrest, Abdurahman Alamoudi allegedly moved seamlessly between the disparate worlds of international terrorism and Washington politics

J. Michael Waller, INSIGHT

Federal agents may have ripped the lid off an international terrorist-support network in Washington that operated to finance terrorists inside the United States and abroad, while penetrating the U.S. political system to weaken federal antiterrorism laws. The Sept. 29 arrest of an alleged senior terrorist operative living in Falls Church, Va., has burst open a case that Insight has been following since 2001: an international ring of terrorists, their financiers, propaganda networks and support structures that have infiltrated the federal government and embedded themselves into both political parties in Washington.

The recent scandals at the U.S. Naval Base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, in which a Muslim chaplain and several Arabic interpreters are suspected of committing espionage for al-Qaeda or a foreign state sponsor of terrorism, have raised public awareness of the terrorist infiltration of U.S. government institutions and may be tied to the Virginia arrest.

Investigators are probing the Muslim military-chaplains program at the Pentagon that vetted alleged terrorist spy Capt. James "Yousef" Yee to see if parts of the program were created to infiltrate the U.S. Armed Forces for terrorist purposes. The founder of that program, Abdurahman Alamoudi, 51, was arrested at Dulles International Airport near Washington on Sept. 29 as he returned via London from an alleged covert trip to Syria and Libya, both notorious as state sponsors of terrorism and bases for supposedly independent terrorist gangs. The arrest apparently was precipitated by an investigation unrelated to the chaplain issue and focused on terrorist finances. Alamoudi faces a list of federal charges related to laundering Libyan money, financing political operations in the United States with illegal foreign contributions, passport fraud and the funding of terrorist organizations and individuals from Syria to Oregon.

The chaplain and Alamoudi cases may have repercussions on a cross-section of politicians ranging from former first lady and current U.S. Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.) to senior figures in the Republican Party. Critics have alleged that the Clinton and George W. Bush administrations have pandered to some of the most militant Muslim political groups in a bid to win votes from a still-unclaimed voting bloc, throwing aside security and counterintelligence concerns and rejecting warnings from the Secret Service and CIA.

Journalist Mary Jacoby, who reports on domestic Islamist networks for the St Petersburg (Fla.) Times, tells Insight that Alamoudi spearheaded efforts to install radical Muslim chaplains inside the U.S. Armed Forces and the prison system. In 1993, through his American Muslim Council (AMC), he spun off the American Muslim Armed Forces and Veterans Affairs Council, one of three Islamic organizations to certify chaplains for the military. That same year, according to a pro-Alamoudi briefing published by aljazeera.info, "AMC supported the launching of ... the National Islamic Prison Foundation." The purpose, counterterrorism experts say, was to take over Islamic chaplain programs and install more militant Muslims to indoctrinate inmates

inside the U.S. prison system and network them after their release back into society. Sources close to the federal investigations tell Insight that more arrests are expected.

The probe could prove damaging to key allies of President George W. Bush. Federal investigators tell Insight they are concerned that one of the names that keeps coming up in the activities they are looking at is that of Grover Norquist. The influential GOP "big-tent" organizer and chairman of Americans for Tax Reform, a greatly respected conservative umbrella group, Norquist reminds friend and foe alike that he is close to the president's powerful political strategist, Karl Rove, arguably making him one of the most significant lobbyists in Washington.

Alamoudi ran, directed, founded or funded at least 15 Muslim political-action and charitable groups that have taken over the public voice of Islamic Americans (see sidebar, p. 34). Through a mix of civil-rights complaints, Old Left-style political coalitions and sheer persistence, Alamoudi helped inch the image of U.S.-based Islamists toward the political mainstream and induced politicians to embrace his organizations. He sought to secure the support first of the Clinton administration in seeking to repeal certain antiterrorist laws, but when Bill Clinton failed to deliver, Alamoudi defected to Bush, then governor of Texas. Alamoudi and other Muslim leaders met with Bush in Austin in July 2002, offering to support his bid for the White House in exchange for Bush's commitment to repeal certain antiterrorist laws.

That meeting, sources say, began a somewhat strained relationship between the self-appointed Muslim leaders and the Bush team. Some senior Bush advisers voiced caution to Rove, who is said to have disregarded such concerns, seeing instead an opportunity to bring another ethnic and religious group into the GOP big tent. A photo of the Austin event shows Bush with Alamoudi standing over his left shoulder, flanked by the former head of the Pakistani Communist Party, several open supporters of the Hamas and Hezbollah terrorist groups and other individuals Insight is trying to identify.

Canceled checks obtained by Insight show Alamoudi provided seed money to start a GOP-oriented Muslim group called the Islamic Institute, which Norquist originally chaired and which was staffed and now is led by former Alamoudi aide and AMC staffer Khaled Saffuri. A White House memo obtained by Insight prepared for coordinating Muslim and Arab-American "public-liaison" events with the White House shows that the Islamic Institute was instrumental in establishing the connection. The memo provides lists of invitees and the name, date of birth and Social Security number of each. Norquist, as the first president of the Islamic Institute, tops the list.

Alamoudi and others, including Norquist, tried to keep critics at bay by branding them "racists" and "bigots." Rove did not respond to requests for an interview about this.

The British provided the first conclusive public evidence that Alamoudi was receiving money from foreign governments to finance his political operations in Washington and apparently some terrorist operations as well.

It began on Aug. 16, when British authorities at London's Heathrow Airport discovered Alamoudi with \$340,000 in sequentially numbered \$100 bills as he attempted to fly to Syria. British officials say Alamoudi admitted he had received the money from the Libyan government (see sidebar at right).

As Insight goes to press Alamoudi is in a Virginia jail on federal charges relating to aiding and abetting terrorism, illegally funding U.S. pressure groups with laundered money from Libya and Saudi Arabia, and financing terrorists in Syria and inside the United States. Alamoudi lawyer Kamal Nawash calls the charges politically motivated. He did not address the individual allegations.

Sources say federal prosecutors are building a case that shows how Alamoudi allegedly moved between the clandestine world of international terrorism and the highly visible arena of Washington politics. Sources tell Insight that U.S. Attorney Steve Ward has developed a chart detailing Alamoudi's connections across the entire spectrum from political pressure groups in Washington to hard-core terrorists in Oregon, to Libya, Saudi Arabia and Syria, and even to a terrorist summit held in Beirut with al-Qaeda.

"He [Alamoudi] funded terrorists, he laundered money for terrorists, he openly advocated for terrorists," a federal counterterrorism official tells this magazine. "He built political front organizations for terrorists. He gave generous amounts of money to politicians of both parties. He worked in the Clinton White House and the Bush White House. He acted as an agent of influence for terrorists in the United States to undermine the nation's security and counterterrorism laws. Alamoudi is a big catch, and he has led us on a trail that will certainly lead to more arrests." Federal law-enforcement sources say they might not have been able to bring the case to court without the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001 and other legal tools.

The evidence suggests that Alamoudi is the hub of a hard-core, terrorist-support infrastructure. Special Agent Brett Gentrup of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) unit of the Department of Homeland Security cites a transcript of a telephone call in which Alamoudi discussed the tactics of a 1994 terrorist operation against a Jewish center in Argentina that took 86 lives. "Even though we are very sorry for the death of the innocent," Alamoudi said in support of the attack, "you have to choose the target so as not to put the Muslim in an uncomfortable position."

The FBI submitted evidence showing that Alamoudi's American Muslim Foundation (AMF), a charitable offshoot of the AMC, funded two suspected terrorists in Oregon who were arrested a year ago. Ahmed Bilal and Patrice Lumumba Ford received payments from the AMF's Portland, Ore., branch as they conspired to aid the Taliban regime in Afghanistan that at the time provided safe haven to Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda organization. Bilal recently pleaded guilty to conspiracy to aid the Taliban, and Ford faces charges of materially aiding al-Qaeda and conspiracy to wage war against the United States.

The Alamoudi arrest is prompting federal law-enforcement services to take a closer look at foreign-funded political groups connected to Alamoudi that have been agitating against tough counterterrorism laws. Those organizations consistently have denied all connections to terrorism and have denounced their critics, including writers at this magazine, as being motivated by racism and bigotry.

Those denunciations, federal agents say, have had a chilling effect on counterterrorism investigations, due to concerns that the FBI is bifurcated between agents in the field and headquarters. Aggressive and apparently fruitful detective work has yielded a crop of high-quality terrorist suspects nevertheless. But agents and Washington insiders say this has been met

with equally aggressive and fruitful political-warfare campaigns by supporters of the alleged terrorists who denounce "insensitivity" of federal agents to those Islamists and Arab-Americans who fall under suspicion.

FBI agents claim that some senior bureau leaders in Washington have bowed to pressure to pander to certain allegedly protected groups, especially those that enjoy political access to the White House. This, in turn, has discouraged some field agents from doing their job [see "FBI Polarized by 'Wahhabi Lobby,'" July 22-Aug. 4]. Even so, the probes of Alamoudi and others have continued. Nawash, one of Alamoudi's attorneys, insists to Islam Online that Alamoudi "has no links whatsoever to violence or terrorism," and that he "supported the U.S. war on terrorism." Yet Nawash himself has been cautious about appearing to be too close to Alamoudi. Just a month before Alamoudi's arrest Nawash, a Republican candidate for the Virginia state Senate, returned two \$5,000 campaign donations from Alamoudi and his wife, saying it would not be in his best interests to accept the contributions at that time.

The United States alleges that Alamoudi lied on his U.S. Customs declaration form about where he had traveled during his last trip abroad. According to an affidavit in support of the federal criminal complaint, the documentary evidence shows that Alamoudi visited Libya from Sept. 19-25, using an extra U.S. passport and a Yemeni passport and "concealing the fact that he had been to Libya from United Kingdom officials." Prosecutors also say Alamoudi failed to report trips to Lebanon from Aug. 29-Sept. 2, Syria from Sept. 2-8, Yemen from Sept. 8-13, Syria from Sept. 15-16 and Egypt from Sept. 16-18.

During his detention with British authorities, Alamoudi said specifically that he intended to launder the Libyan money back into the United States through Saudi banks, according to a summary provided by Homeland Security Special Agent Gentrup: "Alamoudi told officers that he intended eventually to deposit the money in banks located in Saudi Arabia, from where he would feed it back in smaller sums into accounts in the United States." According to reports of the questioning, Alamoudi said he believed it was against the law for anyone to bring more than \$10,000 in cash to the United States at any single time, and used the Saudi cutout. In reality, U.S. law sets no limits on cash entering the country but does require the bearer to report amounts of \$10,000 or more.

"Alamoudi was adamant that this was the only such transaction in which he was involved," according to prosecutors. However, under further questioning by the Special Branch of New Scotland Yard, Alamoudi "conceded he had been involved in other similar cash transactions involving amounts in the range of \$10,000 to \$20,000."

Insight first reported that Alamoudi helped start the Islamic Institute with two \$10,000 checks and that the institute had received a number of checks in the amounts of \$5,000 and \$10,000 from banks in Saudi Arabia. Saffuri initially denied that the Islamic Institute had received money from Saudi Arabia until Insight published copies of two checks to his organization from Saudi banks [see "Correspondence," Oct. 15-28, 2002]. He then acknowledged the checks from Alamoudi, but said that one was a "loan."

J. Michael Waller is a senior writer for Insight magazine.

British Special Branch Report: Alamoudi Received Cash From Libyan 'Jihad Fund'

British security services discovered Abdurahman Alamoudi's terrorist finance connection when the operative visited London last August. On the morning of Wednesday, Aug. 13, Alamoudi received a call at his Metropole Hotel room from a man speaking Libyan-accented Arabic, saying he had "something" to deliver.

According to an affidavit by Special Agent Brett Gentrup of the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement unit of the Department of Homeland Security, the Libyan went to Alamoudi's room, handed him a briefcase containing \$340,000 in cash, then left without saying a word. Alamoudi emptied the 34 bundles of consecutively numbered \$100 bills into his luggage and abandoned the briefcase.

Three days later, officials at London's Heathrow Airport detained Alamoudi as he attempted to board a flight to Syria. Customs agents seized the money, while New Scotland Yard's Special Branch and the National Terrorist Financial Investigations Unit held Alamoudi for questioning. Officials discovered Alamoudi in possession of two U.S. passports as well as a Republic of Yemen passport.

According to a summary of the Special Branch report, Alamoudi said it was a "constant struggle" to finance his American Muslim Foundation. "He further stated that in order to alleviate this problem, he approached the Libyan ambassador to the United Nations in 1997." A subsequent meeting with the envoy, Abuzed Omar Dorda, included discussion of Alamoudi's political clout in Washington and Libya's desire to gain the release of assets frozen in the United States since the 1986 terrorist bombing of a Pan Am jumbo jet over Lockerbie, Scotland.

"According to the report of the Special Branch investigation, Alamoudi stated to interviewing officers that the Libyan ambassador suggested he [Alamoudi] could receive an unspecified share of any assets he may succeed in releasing," according to the federal criminal complaint.

"According to the [New Scotland Yard] report, Alamoudi then had a series of meetings with White House officials" about the frozen Libyan assets. "Alamoudi said that at a further meeting with the Libyan ambassador it was suggested to Alamoudi that, in order to mitigate the funding problem, he contact the Tripoli-based Libyan Islamic Call Society.

"During the interview, Special Branch asked Alamoudi to justify why, as an American citizen, he was willing to negotiate with a country linked to terrorist attacks and subject to American government embargo. Alamoudi explained that as the Libyan regime had by then renounced terrorism, he felt obliged to 'bridge the gulf between his adopted country and an Islamic state.

"Alamoudi remarked that he has traveled to Tripoli on at least 10 occasions, usually to negotiate with the president of the 'Islamic Call Center' [sic]. Alamoudi stated that on his last visit to Libya, he finally negotiated funding for his organization through the Islamic Call Society."

The World Islamic Call Society (WICS) is a front of the Libyan government that "was established by Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammar Al-Qadhafi," according to the State Department's official International Religious Freedom Report of 2002. "It is the outlet for state-approved religion, as well as a tool for exporting the revolution abroad." The Libyan dictator personally funded WICS via his Jihad Fund. An official 1991 State Department report, Patterns

of Global Terrorism, states that Qadhafi used the philanthropic reputation of WICS as a front for terrorist support.

Evidence seized in March 2002 raids under the Treasury Department's "Operation Green Quest" indicates that "Alamoudi became a member of the World Islamic Call Council in 2000," according to Special Agent Gentrup. British agents discovered that one of Alamoudi's U.S. passports contained two Libyan visas issued in Canada, and that his Yemen passport, issued on Aug. 15, 2001, "identified several entry and exit stamps related to Alamoudi's visits to Libya," Gentrup testified. "The stamps indicate Alamoudi has been traveling to and from Libya regularly since May 2002 through July 2003 with the length of stay averaging approximately five days." Alamoudi also apparently kept a "clean" U.S. passport in an attempt to conceal his trips to Libya from U.S. authorities. His telephone records show he called the Libyan financial attache in New York City and that he had the cell-phone number of Libya's then-ambassador Abuzed Omar Dorda.

The State Department Consular Office says U.S. passports have not been valid for visits to Libya since 1981 without special State Department validation, and that Alamoudi neither had sought nor been granted such validation, but that one passport contained a Libyan visa issued from Canada.

The Background of Abdurahman Alamoudi

Name: Abdurahman Muhammad Alamoudi aka Abdul Rahman Al-Amoudi; Abdurahman Mohamed Omar Alamoudi.

Born: 1952, in Ethiopian-occupied Eritrea.

Citizenship: Immigrated to the United States in 1979. Naturalized U.S. citizen, 1996. Also holds a passport of the Republic of Yemen.

Membership: Muslim Brotherhood.

U.S. affiliations: Founder and former executive director, American Muslim Council (AMC); founder and president, American Muslim Foundation (AMF). The FBI alleges that he still runs the AMC.

Other affiliations: Board member, American Muslims for Jerusalem; board member, Council on National Interest Foundation; board member, Interfaith Impact for Justice and Peace; head, American Task Force for Bosnia; founding trustee, Fiqh Council of North America Inc.; D.C. regional representative, Islamic Society of North America; board member, Mercy International; acting president, Muslim Students Association of U.S. and Canada; executive assistant to the president, SAAR Foundation (raided by federal authorities in 2002); secretary, Success Foundation; director, Talibah International Aid Association; board member, Somali Relief Fund.

Alamoudi firsts: Founder and first endorsing agent of the Muslim chaplains program for the U.S. Department of Defense; provided seed money and staff to help influential conservative leader Grover Norquist found the Islamic Institute (also known as the Islamic Free Market Institute).

Federal charges: Illegal transactions with a terrorist regime; passport fraud; conspiracy to fund terrorists directed against U.S. forces in Iraq; material support for terrorists in the United States; more pending.

Sources: Department of Homeland Security, FBI, Center for Security Policy.

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Exhibit 14:

Alamoudi & Gov. George W. Bush



MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD C
Documentation

Exhibit 15:

Alamoudi & President Bill Clinton and
Vice President Al Gore



MUĞLİM BROTHER
Documentation

Exhibit 16:

New York Post - Hamas Goes to Foggy Bottom

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HAMAS GOES TO FOGGY BOTTOM

[All Editions]

New York Post - New York, N.Y.

Date: Sep 15, 1998

Start Page: 32

Text Word Count: 512

Document Text

Why have several American propagandists and front groups for Muslim terrorist organizations been invited to two State Department ceremonies today?

The groups - among them the American Muslim Council (AMC), the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) and the Muslim Public Affairs Council - are to attend events inaugurating the department's new Office of International Religious Freedom.

CAIR co-sponsored the Brooklyn College slimefest in May at which a speaker called for a jihad against "the Jews, descendants of the apes." The group has also denounced the arrest of Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, the World Trade Center bombing ringleader, as an anti-Muslim hate crime - even as one of its board members, Siraj Wahaj, was described by U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White as a possible conspirator in that bombing.

The AMC has championed Hamas, which it insists is a "charitable" group with no links to terror. Its leader, Abdulrahman Alamoudi, told a 1996 pro-Hamas convention in Chicago: "If we are outside this country, we can say, 'Oh, Allah, destroy America.'" He was the chief fund-raiser for deported Hamas leader Mussa Abu Marzook, and joined CAIR in denouncing the "anti-Muslim" sentences handed down by Federal Judge Kevin Duffy in the World Trade Center case.

FBI Director Louis Freeh says Hamas, the most vicious of the Palestinian terror groups, raises "substantial cash funds from the United States to areas in the Middle East where we can show Hamas receipt and even expenditure of such funds" - fund-raising by front groups masquerading as charitable or civil-rights organizations.

Why are these people - these anti-American anti-Semites - being welcomed by the State Department?

The problem is that such groups have been legitimized - both by government and the media - as civil-rights groups fighting anti-Muslim discrimination and stereotyping. Unfortunately, their definition of such discrimination consists of anyone who writes about the existence of - or tries to investigate - radical Islamic terrorist groups and their allies on these shores.

Case in point: In June, prosecutors seized properties and \$1.5 million in cash from bank accounts in the name of Mohammad Salah and the Quranic Literacy Institute.

The institute claims its sole purpose is to translate sacred Islamic texts; Salah says he is a computer analyst for the group. But federal prosecutors maintain that Salah has been an important financial agent and courier for Hamas since 1991, using the institute to send hundreds of thousands of dollars to the West Bank terrorist outfit. The feds have linked his weapons purchases to specific terror attacks in Israel.

Salah served five years in an Israeli prison after admitting he had purchased weapons for Hamas, recruited potential suicide bombers and received training in poisons, chemical weapons and remote-control explosive devices. (He now claims his confession was "coerced.")

Arab-American groups have denounced these grand-jury investigations as - what else? - religious discrimination. But prosecutors maintain they are just the tip of the iceberg in what appears to be a massive Hamas money-laundering operation conducted in this country using Islamic charity groups.

Like the ones getting red-carpet treatment at the State Department today.

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Abstract (Document Summary)

The AMC has championed Hamas, which it insists is a "charitable" group with no links to terror. Its leader, Abdulrahman Alamoudi, told a 1996 pro-Hamas convention in Chicago: "If we are outside this country, we can say, 'Oh, Allah, destroy America.'" He was the chief fund-raiser for deported Hamas leader Mussa Abu Marzook, and joined CAIR in denouncing the "anti-Muslim" sentences handed down by Federal Judge Kevin Duffy in the World Trade Center case.

The institute claims its sole purpose is to translate sacred Islamic texts; [Mohammad Salah] says he is a computer analyst for the group. But federal prosecutors maintain that Salah has been an important financial

Exhibit 17:

Islamic Institute Memo Advertising Rally in Washington
Co-sponsored with Alamoudi and Other Muslim
Brotherhood Groups



Vol 8 / Issue 2

Printable Acrobat file of this document

BUSH ADDRESSES SECRET EVIDENCE IN DEBATE

Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush spoke on the issue of secret evidence in Wednesday's presidential debate. The debate, held in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was the second of three debates scheduled between Governor Bush and Vice President Al Gore. In response to a question on racial profiling, Bush's response included the statement that: "Arab-Americans are racially profiled in what's called secret evidence. People are stopped, and we got to do something about that. My friend, Senator Spencer Abraham of Michigan, is pushing a law to make sure that, you know, Arab-Americans are treated with respect." This was in reference to Senate bill S.3139, the Secret Evidence Repeal Act of 2000, introduced by Senator Abraham (R-MI) on September 28, 2000.

Secret evidence is an issue that the Islamic Institute has previously raised with the Bush campaign. We would like to commend Governor Bush for his stand on this issue. His mention in the debate of this problem of major concern to Arab and Muslim Americans demonstrates his respect and recognition of our growing community here in the United States.

MARCH AND RALLY IN WASHINGTON AGAINST ISRAELI AGGRESSION

On October 23, 2000, there will be a march and rally in front of the White House in Washington, D.C., to protest Israel's aggression against the Al-Aqsa Mosque and its escalating use of violence toward the Palestinian people. The march and rally are being organized by the National Task Force for the Crisis in Jerusalem (NTFCJ), a coalition of national American Muslim organizations of which the Islamic Institute is a part. The march begins at 11:00am at Freedom Plaza, and will move to Lafayette Park in front of the White House where a rally will begin at 12:00pm.

It is highly important that the Muslim community in the U.S. demonstrates a show of solidarity by attending this event. A strong presence will emphasize the call of American Muslims for peace and justice in Jerusalem and Palestine. Buses are being chartered nationwide to bring supporters to Washington. For further information, contact the Islamic Institute via phone or e-mail, or the American Muslim Council at (202) 789-2262.

Members of the NTFCJ are: the American Muslim Council, the American

Muslim Alliance, American Muslims for Jerusalem, the Council on American Islamic Relations, the Islamic Circle of North America, **the Islamic Institute**, the Islamic Society of North America, the Muslim American Society, the Muslim Public Affairs Council, and the Muslim Student Association. 

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Do all your online shopping at the Islamic Institute Marketplace located on our website! You can purchase books, movies, music and more! Just go to www.islamicinstitute.org "Marketplace" link located at the bottom of the page. Every purchase helps raise funds for the Institute.

Exhibit 18:

Check from Alamoudi to the Islamic Institute

1100
6814/5W
08/27

ABDURAHMAN M. ALAMOUDI
1212 NEW YORK AVENUE NW, 202-789-2262
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, DC 20005

2/8/99

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Islamic Institute \$10,000 DOLLARS

Ten thousand 00/100

FOR *be in*

A. Almond

⑆051001414⑆ 4310095112⑆ 1100

1102
6814/01
08/27

ABDURAHMAN M. ALAMOUDI
1212 NEW YORK AVENUE NW, 202-789-2262
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, DC 20005

4/4/99

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Islamic Institute \$10,000 DOLLARS

Ten thousand 00/100

FOR *be in*

A. Almond

⑆051001414⑆ 4310095112⑆ 1102

Exhibit 19:

DOJ Press Release – Alamoudi Sentenced to
Jail in Terror Financing Case



Department of Justice

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 2004
WWW.USDOJ.GOV

CRM
(202) 514-2008
TDD (202) 514-1888

ABDURAHMAN ALAMOUDI SENTENCED TO JAIL IN TERRORISM FINANCING CASE

WASHINGTON, D.C. - A U.S. citizen has been sentenced to 23 years in jail on charges related to his activities in the United States and abroad with nations and organizations that have ties to terrorism, the Department of Justice announced today.

Aldurahman M. Alamoudi, a naturalized U.S. citizen who was born in Eritrea, was sentenced to 276 months in jail by District Judge Claude M. Hilton in federal court in Alexandria, Virginia, this morning. On July 30, 2004, Alamoudi pleaded guilty to three federal offenses: one count of violating the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), which imposes terrorism-related 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.

As part of a plea agreement, Alamoudi agreed to cooperate fully and truthfully in any and all investigations, including an ongoing investigation into a plot to assassinate an ally in the war against terrorism. Under the terms of that plea agreement, Alamoudi also agreed that he should be sentenced under the terrorism provision of the federal sentencing guidelines, and he agreed to forfeit all proceeds from his illegal dealings with Libya, which total at least \$910,000, including \$340,000 seized from him in the United Kingdom.

Alamoudi became a naturalized citizen in 1996. He is the founder and former executive director of the American Muslim Council (AMC), the founder of the American Muslim Foundation (AMF), and was an influential member of other Islamic political and charitable organizations.

Court documents filed in conjunction with his plea agreement describe how, from November 1995 to September 2003, Alamoudi devised a scheme to obtain money from Libya and other sources overseas for transmission into the United States without attracting the attention of federal immigration, customs and law enforcement officials. Alamoudi admitted to participating in a comprehensive scheme to conceal prohibited financial transactions related to Libya, his travel to Libya, and financial transactions designed to evade currency reporting requirements, among other things.

Alamoudi made at least 10 trips to Libya, many lasting as long as five days. According to court documents, while in Libya, Alamoudi participated in meetings with Libyan government officials. Initially, during a meeting on March 13, 2003, Alamoudi and Libyan government officials discussed creating "headaches" and disruptions in Saudi Arabia. As the scheme continued, however, Alamoudi learned that the actual objective was the assassination of Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah. Alamoudi participated in recruiting participants for this plot by introducing the Libyans to two Saudi dissidents in London and facilitating the transfer of

hundreds of thousands of dollars of cash from the Libyans to those dissidents to finance the plot.

Alamoudi has been in U.S. custody since his arrest shortly after arriving at Washington Dulles International Airport on Sept. 28, 2003. Alamoudi intentionally withheld information about his Libya travel in response to a question from a Customs officer about which countries he had traveled to his itinerary.

“The government’s investigations are designed to prevent acts of terrorism by obtaining cooperation and developing intelligence,” said Attorney General John Ashcroft. “The sentence handed down in the Alamoudi case today shows that the system works: a terrorist facilitator has been sentenced to jail and we have reason to expect that through his cooperation, we will obtain intelligence that will assist us in our ongoing efforts to advance these critical investigations.”

“This is a clear victory in the war against terrorism,” said U.S. Attorney Paul J. McNulty of the Eastern District of Virginia. “Terrorists need money to operate, and the defendant was caught in the act of financing their deadly schemes.”

Michael Garcia, Department of Homeland Security Assistant Secretary for U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), stated: “The sentence handed down today reflects the seriousness of Alamoudi’s crimes. His conviction is the result of an extensive joint investigation by ICE, the FBI and IRS, in which agents tracked suitcases stuffed with cash, unearthed Swiss bank accounts, and documented meetings with shadowy figures around the globe. This case demonstrates how ICE is applying its legal authorities under the Joint Terrorism Task Force umbrella to address threats to our homeland.”

“The ability to detect and analyze complex financial information from numerous sources is essential to the government’s fight against terror,” said Nancy Jardini, Chief, IRS Criminal Investigation. “The IRS has committed extensive civil and criminal resources to shut down terrorist financing from domestic sources, including charities.”

The case is being investigated by agents of the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, Department of Homeland Security, Criminal Investigations at the Internal Revenue Service, and the Washington Field Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Assistant U.S. Attorney Gordon D. Kromberg and Special Assistant U.S. Attorney Steven P. Ward, on detail from the Tax Division of the Department of Justice, prosecuted the case.

###

04-698

Exhibit 20:

Boston Globe – Madrid Bombers,
'You love life and we love death'

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'You love life and we love death'

The Boston Globe

By Associated Press | March 14, 2004

A transcript of the videotaped message claiming that Al Qaeda carried out the Madrid bombings. The tape was translated from Arabic into Spanish by the Spanish government:

"We declare our responsibility for what happened in Madrid exactly 2 1/2 years after the attacks on New York and Washington. It is a response to your collaboration with the criminals Bush and his allies.

"This is a response to the crimes that you have caused in the world, and specifically in Iraq and Afghanistan, and there will be more, if God wills it.

"You love life and we love death, which gives an example of what the Prophet Muhammad said. If you don't stop your injustices, more and more blood will flow and these attacks will seem very small compared to what can occur in what you call terrorism.

"This is a statement by the military spokesman for Al Qaeda in Europe, Abu Dujan al Afghani."■

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Exhibit 21:

Transcript – “Is Shariah Consistent
with the US Constitution?”
A Debate with Frank Gaffney and Suhail Khan

Is Shariah consistent with the US Constitution?

Center for Security Policy | Oct 17, 2008

The following is a transcript of a debate sponsored by The Harbour League on the subject, "Islam: a Religion of Peace? Is Islamic Law ("Shariah") Consistent With A Religion Of Peace – And The U.S. Constitution?" Eli Gold, president of The Harbour League, introduced the participants. Moderating was Mark Hyman; for the affirmative was Suhail Khan and presenting the negative was Frank Gaffney, president of the Center for Security Policy.



The Harbour League was founded in 2005 as an organization to promote conservative and free market dialogue on the state level. In looking at this question, "Is Islam a Religion of Peace?" the League wanted specifically to look at whether Islamic law, Shariah, is consistent with a religion of peace and with the US Constitution.

MARK HYMAN: Thank you, Eli. Good evening, ladies and gentlemen and welcome to The Harbour League's debate. Islam: A Religion of Peace. Is Islamic law consistent with a religion of peace and the U.S. Constitution. I first wanted just to offer a couple of words before we get into the actual debate. I was flattered when I was asked earlier this year to join the board of trustees at the Harbour [League] and that's primarily because of the mission of the organization itself – that's to research, analyze and promote conservative public policies related to Maryland and the nation. And it's work grounded in intellectual discussion and debate. Which is refreshing when you consider the silliness we see in today's cable news shows, the national news networks, or in the daily pages of the newspapers and the weekly news magazines that treat conservatism with ridicule and derision. Tonight is an example of the type of program that the Harbour League offers. Two gentlemen, informed, impassioned about their respective positions take center stage tonight in front of a standing room only audience. It is a topic worthy of debate, evidenced by the fact that we have media presence. This is why I ask of you tonight, each of you found on your chair an application form. We certainly encourage all of you to join the Harbour League. We also encourage all of you to make a charitable, tax-deductible contribution to the Harbour League. Two weeks ago, we'd have gladly accepted your stock offers. [LAUGHTER] Tonight, that's all up in the air.

This is the format for tonight's debate. Mr. Frank Gaffney, Mr. Suhail Khan will each have ten minutes for their opening remarks. Each will have five minutes for rebuttal. Then, there will be

opportunity for Q and A. I may or may not ask any questions. But I certainly as the moderator reserve the right to ask follow [up] questions for the audience if they ask. After the Q and A session is done, each individual will have five minutes for closing remarks.

Now, this is the very important part for you, the audience. I will recognize people for Q and A one at a time. And when you ask your question, the first thing I want to see is a little thought bubble forming over your head and it will be filled with no more than two sentences and a question mark at the end of it. No statements, no arguments, no debate, no soliloquy, simply a question. If you fail to follow the rules, we'll pass you by and go to someone else. I also ask the audience to refrain from applause or outbursts. Unless it's applause and outbursts of adulation for the moderator, for that's acceptable. [LAUGHTER]

In the interest of time, I will give a brief biography for each of our speakers for this evening. Originally from Boulder, Colorado, Suhail Khan graduated with a BA in political science at the University of California at Berkeley in 1991. He received his JA from the University of Iowa in 1995. He is a veteran Capitol Hill staffer and is currently serving as assistant to the secretary for policy under US Secretary Mary Peters at the US Department of Transportation where he was awarded the Secretary's Team Award for 2005 and the Secretary's Gold Medal for Outstanding Achievement in 2007. He served on the Board of the American Conservative Union, Indian-American Republican Council, and the Islamic Free Market Institute.

Frank Gaffney is the founder and president of the Center for Security Policy in Washington, D.C. He holds a Master of Arts degree in international studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. And he has a bachelor of science in foreign service from the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. From August of 1983 until November 1987, Mr. Gaffney was the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear Forces and Arms Control Policy under Assistant Secretary Rich Pearl. He is the lead author of the book *War Footing: Ten Steps America Must Take To Prevail In The War For The Free World*.

And now for our debate. Islam: A Religion of Peace? Mr. Suhail Khan, will start with the affirmative.

SUHAIL KHAN: Thank you, Mark, for the introduction and I want to say I'm very grateful to all of you at the Harbour League and to my friend, Eli Gold, for the opportunity to speak to you this evening.

My name is Suhail Khan. I'm a Reagan conservative, a Muslim, and I'm an American. I believe that every American has a right to live their life as they see fit. Free from government interference or dictators. I believe the government should not discriminate against anyone because of their color of their skin, because of their ethnic heritage, or their faith or their religious beliefs. Last May, Eli kindly invited me to attend an event featuring Herb London. And while the evening's topic was America's Secular Challenge, regrettably, Mr. London attacked Islam and Muslims using the very argument the secular left uses to attack religion in general.

After the lecture, Eli suggested I give a talk about Islam and Muslims and we both agreed a debate would generate the most interest and open discussion. But I was disappointed that so many were unwilling to participate in our honest debate. A local radio show host who rants for hours on how Islam is evil backed out on participating in a discussion, admitting he didn't know enough about the subject. He knew enough to hate, but not enough to learn. Funny enough, he offered to moderate the discussion. Robert Spencer, who has written hate-filled screed after screed on Islam and Muslims, after initially agreeing to debate, soon backed out.

When I spoke at the Council for National Policy last year, a woman asked me whether my religious beliefs and practice was consistent with our Constitution. Her question was sad. The first amendment is quite clear, that all Americans are free to worship as they wish. No one is disqualified from citizenship or high office because they are Catholics, Jews, Muslims, or Mormons. During the great immigrant waves of 1900, a rabbi once said of our melting pot, all names are American names. How wonderfully true. So, too, are all faiths. All are American faiths. Every faith in the world is found in our nation. All are protected by the constitution. Bigotry is un-American. Racism is un-American. America is made up of men and women of all faiths. Women have lived in America--Muslims have lived in America before we were America. More than one in ten African slaves brought to the colonies were Muslim. Alex Haley's *Roots* tells the story of Kunta Kinte, a Muslim slave brought to Maryland in 1767. Morocco, a Muslim nation, was the first country in the world to recognize American independence from Britain. Muslim doctors, scientists, businessmen and farmers have immigrated to the United States over the past two hundred years. Many like me have been blessed to have been born here.

The founding fathers excluded religious texts from the constitution, knowing fully that one day, Catholics, Jews, Muslims, and even atheists could conceivably secure a good office. Indeed, when the first Muslim was elected to Congress last November, Keith Ellison of Minnesota, a descendant of slaves, he swore his Oath of Office on a copy of the Koran, the Muslim scripture that belonged to Thomas Jefferson. Today, more than six million Muslim-Americans are proud to live, work and serve our country. And like their fellow Americans, they serve in uniform. Both in the armed forces and as first responders. Arab and Muslim-Americans have served their country in every war since the American Revolution. And over six thousand serve today and have done so with honor. In the audience, I want to recognize company first sergeant Jamal Bidahi [SPELLED PHONETICALLY] who has served over twenty years in the US Marines and has done so with distinction, defending our country in missions from Beirut in 1983 through Enduring Freedom.

American-Muslims share much in common with their fellow Americans of the Jewish and Christian faith, people who are honored as people of the book in the Koran, having received divine revelation, including the Torah, the Psalms, the Gospel and answering all to the same God, the God of Abraham. The late Pope John Paul the Second and Pope Benedict have reached out to the Muslim world to condemn religious bigotry. So have the National Association of Evangelicals. Over the years, I've had the opportunity to work with Catholics and Evangelical Protestants, Orthodox Jews and others on issues of shared concern, including free religious expression, education, and national security.

Is Islam a religion of peace? For the vast majority of the faithful in the Muslim mainstream, living their lives, raising their families, going to work, serving the uniform, starting small businesses, paying their taxes, playing by the rules, the answer is a resounding yes. In recent years, and especially since the horrifying events of 9-11, racists have falsely claimed that my faith commands its followers to violence. Some, like Spencer, have taken [UNCLEAR] and out-of-context quotations from the Koran to suggest that Islam sanctions violence or terrorism. Certainly Bin-Laden has tried to make the same claim.

The good news is that there are over a billion Muslims and a relatively small number of extremists. In my faith, as in the Jewish tradition, the taking of even one innocent life is akin to the murder of all humanity. Suicide, as in Christianity, is strictly forbidden. Some Americans believe that the Muslims did not condemn the terrorism of 9/11. In fact, there were many strong condemnations. But you won't find them on the websites that promote hate against Muslims. That would muddle their message. I have passed out a compilation of a series of denunciations of terrorism by Muslims.

Sadly, demonizing Muslim-Americans is a threat to our national security and indeed our American way of life. Some have questioned the loyalty of Muslim-Americans. Some have called for the barring of all Muslim-Americans from public service. And others have even proposed that we criminalize the practice of Islam with twenty years in prison.

This has affected me in a very personal way. For some years now, these racists have tried to invade, to publish outright lies and falsehoods about me, my family, and other Muslim-Americans serving in our country. Not [UNCLEAR] attacked my father's memory, for example, had the decency to even try and call me and get the facts straight. They wanted their hate. Not the truth. While honest journalists have dismissed this smear campaign, some have been fooled into publishing these lies. And in most instances have published retractions or simply removed the falsehoods outright from their webpages.

But we've seen this before. The same things that are being said about Muslims were said about Catholics. About people of the Jewish faith. And about Mormons. Anti-Catholic sentiment became so bad in the 1840s and 50s that the Davidist movement of the time whipped anti-Catholic mobs to violence. The burning of Catholic businesses and the killing of Catholics. As recently as even 1950, Paul Branchard wrote *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, a book where he ominously warns of a Catholic plan to take over America and the world. The oldest hatred, of course anti-Semitism has been present since the Roman Empire and we've seen anti-Semitism, as well.

And now the haters are attacking Muslims and Islam. Like those who warned against a nefarious plot by Papists to control American schools, banks and the government, the haters ominously warn us of the dangers of Shariah law. Or a cultural jihad where, God forbid, if you let Muslim TSA employees wear skirts, the next thing you know, we'll be stoning adulterers. I've handed out a column where Robert Spencer says exactly that. I guess we must protect the constitution from women wearing pantsuits.

I think it's good that America accommodates all faiths. Yesterday's bigots objected to a New York school giving students Jewish holidays off. Today's bigots object to Muslims working with employers to trade holidays to take Muslim holidays off. You can only imagine what the haters think of Congress taking two days off last week for Rosh Hashanah.

The newest target of hate is Islamic finance. Islam, like Catholicism, objects to usury or interest on loans. Europe and the U.S. have allowed Muslims to enter voluntary agreements where they pay the same taxes as everyone else, no special favors, the taxes are the same, but the haters don't like it because Muslims do it. The guy leading the charge is David Yerushalmi – a guy who hates Muslims, blacks, women, Asians and liberal Jews. Objecting to Islamic finance has nothing to do with terrorism or anything, but it has everything to do with hate.

And in their zeal to attack Muslims, some of them attack others. Spencer, for example, has said that Muhammad was betrothed to a girl when she was nine. Eli points out that Isaac was betrothed to Rebecca when she was three. Spencer's bigotry easily morphs into anti-Semitism. Spencer has written in celebration of the Crusades. [During] the first Crusade, you will recall, the Jews of Europe and the Middle East were murdered by the thousands. The fourth Crusade, the followers of the Greek Orthodox faith were killed along with the Muslims. Cal Thomas, in a recent column, asked how can the president say that we all worship the same god when Muslims deny the divinity of Jesus? In seeking to divide Muslims and Christians, Thomas attacks Jews as worshipping a different god.

MARK HYMAN: One minute.

SUHAIL KHAN: And after claiming we should invade their countries, kill their leaders and convert them to Christianity when referring to Muslims, Ann Coulter declared Jews need to be perfected by becoming Christians. Anti-Muslim bigotry is simply anti-Semitism on training wheels and we've seen this time and time again. And it should be no surprise that after a flood of books criticizing Islam, we now see a flood of books criticizing religion in general. Christopher Hitchens when asked, after 9-11, whether Islam was the enemy, said yes. And Judaism and Christianity are the others. And this anti-Muslim rhetoric leads to real violence. Time and time again, in California, in Texas, in Dallas, Muslims or people perceived to be Muslims have been attacked and many times because of some of the anti-Muslim rhetoric they've read in newspapers and columns. Such bigotry – and this is bigotry, plain and simply – is giving in to our terrorists, demonstrating to our enemies that we are willing to respond to their hate with hate of our own and giving in to the fear, succumbing, and succumbing into prejudice.

We should be thankful that our president has stood against this and may take to heart the words of President George Washington when he wrote in the 1790s to a Jewish congregation, that Americans would give to bigotry no sanction, to persecution, no assistance.

MARK HYMAN: Thank you, Suhail. [APPLAUSE] And the negative, Mr. Gaffney.

FRANK GAFFNEY: Good evening. Well, that certainly set the predicate for tonight's conversation. I was one of those who jumped at the chance to debate Suhail, so I hope I will do

an adequate stand-in for those who were unable to make it. I come at [this topic], I'll be frank with you, from a national security perspective. I'm not a Koranic scholar. I doubt there are any Koranic scholars in this room. But I'm not one.

But I am one who I think has studied the subject enough to be able to identify a very significant nexus between the texts, the traditions, the practices of authoritative Islam and our national security interests and, yes, the constitution of the United States. The nexus comes about in the form of something Suhail touched on. A program that's theo-political-legal in character, that the authorities – the recognized authorities – in Islam call Shariah.

I am here to discuss the implications of Shariah for both our security and our Constitution which [as Slide 2 shows] makes very clear that it is the supreme law of the land in the United States. It does not countenance having other laws that supplant it or displace it, to say nothing of [any] that would have the effect of its violent overthrow.

The origins of Shariah are to be found in the Koran which Muslims regard as the word of God, or Allah – although much of it is, in fact, the product of scholars and caliphs who generated it hundreds of years after Muhammad's death.

Of particular importance to this debate is a principle found in the Koran and embedded in Shariah law. The principle called "abrogation." [Slide 3] According to the recognized Islamic authorities, Allah made plain in the verse of the Koran known as Sura 2:106, the earlier passages of his revelations to Mohammed would be replaced by "something better." Hence, the chronology of the Koran is all-important.

[Slide 4] This is a generally accepted breakout of the chronology of the Koran. There are four periods represented by these columns – early Meccan, middle Meccan, late Meccan and Medina. These periods, broadly speaking, are captured in the experience of Mohammed in Mecca for the first three and in Medina for the last. And it's interesting that in almost every case the texts that are referred to – Suhail mentioned some of them, at least in passing – that are peaceable, that are tolerant, that refer favorably to People of the Book, fall into the three periods of the early part, the Meccan part.

But the problem is, according to the principle of abrogation, what counts is what came after. Namely, the Medina period. And by and large, the texts from the Medina period are not tolerant, are not peaceable and are not favorable or accommodating [to others], certainly to People of the Book.

Specifically, I'd like for the purposes of this brief overview to talk a little bit about the last two according to this generally accepted chronological breakout. [Sura] 9 and 5. Number 9 talks about something called "jihad." [Slide 5] Note that [Sura] 3 talks about whoever seeks a religion other than Islam will never have it accepted of him which results in [Sura] nine, it's a directive which says "fight and slay unbelievers wherever ye find them and lie in wait for them in every stratagem of war." And "fight those who believe not in Allah nor the last day be that if they are People of the Book." That's the last word of the Koran on the subject of jihad.

[What] about interfaith relations? This speaks to is there compulsion [in religion.] According to [Sura] 2 at the beginning of the Medina period, "Let there be no compulsion in religion." Sounds okay. [Slide 6] [But Sura 5 says] "But whoever seeks a religion other than Islam, will never have it accepted of him." "Take not the Jews and Christians for your friends and protectors. They are but friends and protectors to each other and he amongst you that turns to them for friendship is of them." "Verily, Allah guideth not the unjust."

[That is] the last word on interfaith relations. So as these slides make clear, the earlier passages that are often cited as evidence of Islam being a religion of peace and tolerant of other faiths, in particular those of People of the Book, [namely,] Christians and Jews, have in both cases been abrogated in favor of what are believed to be divine directives to use violent means where necessary to assure the triumph of Islam over other faiths and, indeed, the world.

This is not selected quotation of passages of the book. This is according to Shariah. According to the adherents to Shariah, according to the recognized authorities of Islam, all of them. All four schools of Sunni Islam and the one or two, depending on who's counting, of Shia Islam, all of them, agree on the principle of abrogation and its definitive, final words having been "something better" than the more peaceable stuff that was said [by Allah] under very different circumstances to Mohammed back in Mecca.

Those schools all agree on the following points:

One, that it is God's will that Islam will rule the world.

Second, that jihad is an obligation of all Muslims, whose purpose is to achieve the global governance of a caliph (or ayatollah in the cases of the Shia) pursuant to Shariah. Those who don't adhere to Shariah, to the Muslim community, are apostates. A crime punishable by death.

[Third,] where possible, jihad is to be pursued with terror-inducing violence. Where it is not practical, "soft" or "stealth" jihad is to be employed, backed where possible by the threat of violence – or, in fact, the use of it elsewhere.

MARK HYMAN: One minute, please.

FRANK GAFFNEY: I'm not going to get through all of this. But let me conclude with a key piece.

In 1928, an Egyptian by the name of Hussan al-Banna created an organization called the Muslim Brotherhood for the purpose of promoting on an international basis soft or stealthy jihad until such time as the conditions were ripe for violence.

His purpose was memorialized in a 1991 memorandum introduced into evidence by the U.S. government in the Holy Land Foundation trial. It's entitled "An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group – the Brotherhood – in North America." It was written by a senior operative of the group. The essence of it is in this quote. "The Muslim Brotherhood must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand jihad in eliminating and

destroying Western Civilization from within. And sabotaging its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated and Allah's religion is made victorious over all other religions."

MARK HYMAN: Time, please.

FRANK GAFFNEY: Interestingly enough, this memorandum identifies virtually every one of the prominent Muslim-American organizations in America as Muslim Brotherhood front organizations or friendly organizations. It is an enemy within, a Fifth Column, that is promoting an explicitly jihadist program aimed at the destruction, the seditious destruction, of the Constitution of the United States and its replacement by Islamic rule that we are up against, ladies and gentlemen, and we best be alive to that danger. Thank you.

MARK HYMAN: And this will be the five minute rebuttal.

SUHAIL KHAN: Thanks, Mark. I'll say a few things in response. First of all, you know, I thought it was telling that Frank admitted that he's not an expert on Islam or Shariah and yet he proceeded to tell me what Islam and Shariah are all about. It was interesting, first I'll say that the important thing about the theory of abrogation is that only Frank and the anti-Muslim crowd seems to believe in. There are scholars in the United States that do know about Islam and the Muslim faith but don't in any way subscribe to the teaching that Frank has, uh, has proposed here this evening. The only people I know that, that believe in that are the terrorists. And Frank Gaffney and his cohorts.

Anybody can go to any of the holy books and as a friend of mine said, each religion has its issues, and pick out selectively different verses and try to make them sound horrible. In Numbers, for example, we read in, in Verse 31, "Behold, these call the sons of Israel through the counsel of [UNCLEAR] to trespass against the Lord to the matter of [UNCLEAR] the plague was among the congregation. Now, therefore, kill every male among the little ones and kill every woman who has known man intimately. But all the girls who have not known men intimately, spare them. Spare it for yourselves." And again, in Joshua, we read, in Verse 21, "They utterly destroyed everything in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox and sheep and donkey with the edge of a sword." And of course, the Bible, the Old Testament is replete with verses that, in some cases explicitly, are very violent and some would say exhort the followers of either faith to violence.

The verses that Frank points out in the Koran, first of all, as he noted by his own chart, were during a time of war, and the Prophet, peace be upon him, was commanding his followers, in a time of war for those that were making war on Muslims to defend themselves. That was very specific to a specific timeframe. It was not that all Muslims should kill all Christians and Jews or all pagans or whatever religion there might be.

If that were the case, when India was ruled by Muslim rulers for centuries, then you would have had all the Hindus and all the Christians there killed, which they weren't. India, still to this day remains, a predominately Hindu country and the Muslims are in the minority. So either they

weren't going to Sunday school or that is not the case when it comes to Islam and its treatment of other Muslims.

Now, are there some extremists who believe that theory? Yes, and we need to defeat them. We need to stop them. But generally speaking, the vast number of mainstream Muslims do not subscribe to any type of belief like that. Because when they read the Koran, like I do, you read the entire context and you know those verses were specific to a time of war.

Secondly, when it comes to Shariah, Frank called it a black box, which somehow some mysterious scholars out there who are trying to define Islam for everybody else and [make] people, whether they're Muslim or otherwise, follow it blindly. That's not the case. Shariah means "the way" in Arabic. And it's an interpretive law that governs the protection of religion, life and property for Muslims. And it's specific to Muslims. There is no strict static set of laws in Shariah. Sharia is a system of law that is interpretive. And my friends in the Jewish community will appreciate this because, much as in the Jewish faith, you have an interpretive law, there's the old saying, that when you have two rabbis, you have three scholars, you have three opinions. Well, the same thing goes for imams.

For example, Islamic finance. The experts on Shariah who do know about Islam and Shariah got together in the United States and said Muslims can buy their homes with interest, no problem, because you need, you need to buy a home to live in. You need something, you need to put a roof over your heads for your family, and the American society is based on interest and so it's, therefore, we have no problem with that. Interpretive law. Not the draconian type of law part, that interpretation of law that Frank wants to make it out to be. Now are there people in Afghanistan who do that? Absolutely, and we need to stop them. But that, I would argue, is the minority. The vast majority of the world's billion Muslims who live peaceably, live peaceably with their neighbors, whether Jewish, Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, do not subscribe to these violent precepts or beliefs.

MARK HYMAN: One minute, please.

SUHAIL KHAN: The last thing I want to say in closing out on this issue is going to terminology. Terminology is so important. And you heard Frank use terms like the Islamic terrorists or the jihadists, etc. These terms are very nefarious and they conflate religion with a political movement. And the [UNCLEAR] we, we certainly know that Bin-Laden and other types of terrorists are trying to do that. But they want to take Islam. They want Islam to be theirs. They want to have these medieval, narrow interpretations of Islam. And the only people who believe it are not the Muslims. The Gallup organization did a poll of over a thousand Muslims around the world and when they came to terrorism, the vast majority of people who actually supported terrorism did so for political reasons. Those who opposed it did so for religious reasons.

The [Muslim] people who know their religion are against terrorism. And terms like jihadist or Islamist only validate the actions of the terrorists. And they do not in any way describe the religion. And that's why the President and Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff and people in the military stand against using terms like Islamist or jihadist because they don't want to validate the enemy – like bin Laden wants us to do. So that's why we call terrorists, terrorists

or murderers because that's exactly what they are. I don't want to give one inch of my religion to people that murder in the name of faith. And no one else should. Thank you.

FRANK GAFFNEY: I'm actually going to finish my [opening] remarks and then I'll rebut in the Q and A and closing comments.

The focus of the soft jihad being perpetrated by the Muslim Brotherhood has three purposes. [The first] is to dominate the Muslim population. Particularly in societies like America where, as Suhail says, most Muslims do not want to live under Shariah, do not want to have to live under the repressive, brutal regime that's imposed upon Muslims in places like Saudi Arabia and Iran. And the Sudan. And in the Taliban's Afghanistan.

The strategy is to segregate the Muslims; to promote a sense of victimhood -- this idea, as Suhail said, that there are many of them [in America] that are being attacked -- [is] a laughable proposition; radicalize them; and recruit them to jihad. [It's] a classic totalitarian strategy [that] is being promulgated in; mosques; prisons; the military; schools and campuses; unions -- [Suhail] mentioned switching out Labor Day for Eid in Shelbyville, Tennessee, a hotbed of Muslim activism; our government; and most recently what's left of Wall Street. There are serious questions about Shariah-compliant finance, because I believe this is very much part of the stealth jihad [the Islamists] wage against our country.

A second focus is intimidating opponents. We've heard much about bigotry and racism. There's not been a single rebuttal [tonight] of the scholarly work that Robert Spencer has done. There hasn't even been a rebuttal of what I've just said. Except to suggest that [Suhail] knows more about his religion than somebody who is serious about it and has worked hard to understand it using the recognized authorities and their texts. Which [Suhail] has not done. Because if he had, he would be laughed out of your average mosque -- even the non-Wahhabi ones -- when he purports to say nobody believes in this abrogation principle. That's simply preposterous. Simply preposterous.

And I would ask anyone, our friends in al-Jazeera most especially, who is interested in getting to the bottom of this, to check out the Reliance of the Traveler, for example. One of the most authoritative, if not the most authoritative reference work on the Muslim faith. There's no question about my being correct on this and him being wrong.

Thirdly, the idea, the objective here of these Brotherhood types in America and in other Western societies is to create parallel societies. [Their] society, for example, that would have its own set of laws, [namely,] Sharia. Notwithstanding the Constitution of the United States. Notwithstanding [the] solemn requirement [in] Article 6 that it [is] the supreme, the only law of the land.

This is done through establishing preferential arrangements for Muslims in the name of religious accommodations: a [separate] legal code [and] courts, territorial no-go zones and political benefits. None of which in the beginning seem terribly dramatic. [For example,] we've got a Muslim dress code -- pantsuits for TSA. Who could object to that? Except that it's about

Shariah, folks. It's about insinuating Shariah by creating separate arrangements, which then are extended inexorably as their beachheads grow further and further.

This is, in short, utterly at odds, with the Constitution of the United States, its precepts, freedoms, and institutions. The good news is that most Muslims, at least here, still don't want to go there. But they are being inexorably encouraged, and in some cases intimidated, into following the line of the Brotherhood. And to the extent that we have government officials who have taken a solemn oath to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States, some of whom are Muslims, I submit they have a special responsibility to reject Shariah and the Muslim Brotherhood organizations [that are] stealthily trying to impose it on all of us. To do otherwise, to fail, to act in the face of seditious behavior

MARK HYMAN: One minute.

FRANK GAFFNEY: which is a felony offense under the US Constitution and code. It is a felony offense known as "misprision of treason."

We need the help of all patriotic, law-abiding, tolerant Americans who are Muslims in fighting our mutual enemy, Shariah-adherent Islamists in this country and elsewhere. A key test of which camp they are in is whether they acknowledge the true nature of authoritative Islam Shariah and the threat it represents to our country and Constitution and work against, not with, the groups seeking to impose it, this seditious agenda, on us and undoing our Constitution. Thank you.

[APPLAUSE]

MARK HYMAN: Thank you, Mr. Khan and Mr. Gaffney. One hour from now, I only hope that Barack Obama and John McCain have the same passion that these two have shown tonight. Anybody who watched that debate ten days ago, what a sleeper. So hopefully you guys can inject some passion into the folks in the Belmont University tonight.

SUHAIL KHAN: I'll try.

MARK HYMAN: All right, first of all, by a show of hands, who anticipates or would like to ask a question? See that makes my job easy. Cause I have a whole list of questions I don't need to go to. So

why don't I go ahead and start off if you raise your hands and remember my rules – I want to see a thought bubble over your heads with no more than two sentences and question mark at the end or else we're going to move on. So I'll start off up front.

WOMAN: Okay. Do you want me to come up there, Mark, or--

MARK HYMAN: Or just, you can stand up, we can, just speak loud.

WOMAN: I have a, a question for Frank. Talking about numbers. And I'm bad at math, too. Could you help me out here?

FRANK GAFFNEY: [UNCLEAR]

WOMAN: That's exactly right. So if there are roughly four to six million Muslims in our country, arguably, let's just pretend that's a good number and twenty-five percent of those are African-America, roughly thirty percent are Asians, so you end up with about twenty-five percent Arab in our, in Muslims. Most of them go to mosques. So we're talking about eight hundred thousand people. If they're all, you mentioned the [Muslim] Brotherhood, the other organizations, where are these guys? I mean, how come we've not been blown up here? How come we haven't had, if there are that many of them and they're that angry and they're that anti-American, where are they all?

And, and my other question is, you did a study on, you looked at a hundred mosques out of the two thousand, which is roughly five percent. Extrapolated that three quarters of the people were what you would term as Islamists. How do you get to that number? I mean, did you go into the mosque and ask them? I mean, how do you come up with this number of this many people that you claim have this attitude? So number one, you know, where are they and why aren't they doing anything? And number two, how could you, how does anybody possibly know what's in their heads and how did you get that information for your report?

FRANK GAFFNEY: Thank you. Good questions both. Could everybody hear them?

MARK HYMAN: Cause we're not repeating that question. [LAUGHTER]

FRANK GAFFNEY: If I'm right, and first of all, that's ridiculous that there's six million Muslims in America. I don't believe that for a moment. I think it's, by the census, probably [closer to] 2 million. So your numbers shrink even further from what you suggested. The problem is, those of us who live in this corridor of the United States may remember what two guys with a sniper rifle and a weird car did to millions of Americans.

If you want to do harm here, if you want to blow things up, we are the most open, the most vulnerable society in the world. So your question is a good one. Why haven't more things been blown up since 9/11?

Well, in fact, there have been a number of efforts to do that. Fortunately, the government has, using powers that were generally resisted by the Muslim Brotherhood front organizations, been able to stop them. I suggest something else is at work here, though. Robert Spencer, who has been mentioned here several times by Suhail in a very defamatory way and by me in a complimentary way, has a new book coming out shortly called *Stealth Jihad*, which I hope everyone will read. Whether you're on Suhail's side or on my side, it's a very important insight into why the Brotherhood [believes] that they can, for the moment, make more progress using stealthy techniques, soft jihad techniques, than they can by blowing things up. They blow things up here, we tend to blow things up over there. That's netted out not-positive for a lot of these bad guys. So that's my answer to the first question.

On the mosques, the report that you refer to has not been fully and finally released. It's still a work in progress. There have been about two hundred of these mosques that have had on-site inspections done. The advantage of using the methodology that's been used is, if you're looking for Shariah adherence, it's very evident. People dress in a certain way, people carry themselves with their beards and their jewelry, and their clothes in a certain way. They follow, in other words, what is a very strict regimen – though Suhail doesn't seem to be familiar with it – a very strict regimen that is being [followed] in approximately seventy-five percent of the mosques in the United States, based on this sample. More are being investigated every day. We hope to have an even more full sample set. But let's just say that it's off by a factor of two. It's only thirty-five percent of the mosques in America that are practicing a virulent form of Shariah and seem to have a pretty high correlation – as Shariah dictates – of support for jihad. That's a problem all by itself. And it [gets back] ultimately to the [first] part of your question which is, at some point, the stealth jihad gets sufficiently far advanced that violence is accepted as workable again. And that's what we need to prevent from happening.

MARK HYMAN: Can you stand up please?

WOMAN: Okay. You were saying that we shouldn't use the words like jihad, too different, I'm not a, I'm not an Islamic scholar and, no offense, but I'm not really particularly interested in the proper interpretation of Islam or any other religion, to tell you the truth. I really, you know, the 9-11 survivors that [UNCLEAR] blowing things up--

SUHAIL KHAN: Absolutely.

WOMAN: And all that kind of thing, but I wanted to know if you're saying Islam is [never] a religion of peace, because I'm not going to doubt that. But if you're saying that it [always] is, it seems to me that the terrorists who are claiming to use your faith to support their acts – even if they're doing it wrongly – the people who are using the words are just doing it to acknowledge that this is happening and it sounds like you're suggesting that we not use any words, saying like "Islamic terrorism" and then we see no connection. We see no connection

MARK HYMAN: And your question

WOMAN: like it's all random.

MARK HYMAN: Your question is?

WOMAN: Can you acknowledge a) that it sometimes is not a religion of peace and b) when people [UNCLEAR] use it for violence, I mean, don't you think that the people you should be criticizing are the Muslims doing that and not the people making the observations? Those are my questions.

SUHAIL KHAN: Okay, okay, I got it. [A] couple of comments. First, I would never say that some have not misinterpreted Islam in the call for violence. Absolutely. The terrorists are doing

that right now. The terrorists who attacked us on 9-11, they attacked all of us. They attacked me. I was in the White House that day, they attacked my country. I stand against that. But I don't want to give them my religion. Just as terrorists in the past have attacked in the name of other faiths, whether they be Christian or Jewish or whomever, I don't want to give them [my] faith. Faith is something that is interpreted by their followers and my argument is that the vast majority of mainstream Muslims in the United States and in the world, do not follow that extreme interpretation of Islam that bin Laden and his cohorts do. They are the extremists. They are the minority.

But the vast majority of Muslims that Frank conflates as engaging in this soft jihad, uh, just because they want to wear a headscarf or dress in traditional clothing or want to go to church on Friday just as people go to synagogue on Saturday and church on Sunday, that somehow because they're strict in the adherence to their faith, that that somehow makes them suspect. That is what I call anti-Semitism with training wheels. Because really what they're saying is that anybody who practices their faith is, is suspect. And in this case, today it's Muslims. Yesterday it was Jews. The day before that it was Catholics. Right here I have a whole book, published in 1950, about the plan for the Catholic takeover of our country. It's a very well-written book. Very reasonable, smart guy, Paul Blanchard, he spends a lot of time saying he's not a bigot. I bet most Catholics are good people. But he spends a lot of time in the book saying that Catholics have a secret pernicious plan to take over our country through the banks and the school educational, uh, system, etceteras. And now this is laughable. And a few years from now, Frank's theory about the soft jihad and the vast majority of Muslims that live in this country who have peaceably served their country like Jamal in the back there are not engaged in a soft jihad. They're living their life under the Constitution like all of us.

WOMAN: But the word, my question was about the word--

MARK HYMAN: No, no, we'll, actually I'm a practicing Roman Catholic, I'd like to borrow the book afterwards. [LAUGHTER] Uh, can we get some geographic diversity here? Uh, uh, looking for another question for Frank. You had a question? All the way in the back, yes sir?

MAN: Yeah--

MARK HYMAN: Please.

MAN: Hi, my question is, if Shariah is so contrary to the Constitution cause it supplants the law of the land, do you share, do you also believe that the Catholic ecclesiastical courts, the Jewish courts, and even the Methodist ecclesiastical courts are also contrary to the Constitution cause they're [UNCLEAR] contrary [UNCLEAR]

FRANK GAFFNEY: This is one of the efforts at moral equivalence that we often hear from apologists for Shariah. I think there's no equivalence, to be perfectly honest with you. Catholics, whenever the defamation of them in the past, Jews, Methodists, Baptists, Hindus, Zoroastrians, I

believe without exception, acknowledge that there is a supreme authority, a national authority within which they practice their faiths. That is not true of Sharia.

And I just have to say that this isn't a matter of conflating. There is a tradition within Islam – authoritative Islam. And when you hear Suhail continue to say things that are simply not true, [about] his faith, it raises the question of whether he simply doesn't know his faith as he professes to do and I have to assume he's studied it seriously, but none of what he's just said is true. The recognized authorities of Islam, all of the schools, all of the schools – he may find a person in this country who has no standing within the community. [But] his father, for example, would not have said what he just said.

SUHAIL KAHN: Thanks, Frank.

FRANK GAFFNEY: His father's successor in [their] Wahhabi mosque out in California would not have said what he just said. They understand the authoritative teachings of the faith [that] involve supplanting any laws other than Islam. They involve placing a religious authority the world-over. Now, I can't be accused of defaming the faith if this is what the faith says itself. It's not bigotry to point it out. It's taqiyya to suggest it is bigotry. And I submit to you that we've got to have in this country at least [the latitude to discuss this]. It's going away in Britain, it's going away in France, it's going away elsewhere in the world under the Brotherhood's efforts, the Organization of Islamic Conference's efforts, to ban free speech whenever a guy like, well, maybe Suhail, takes offense at what is said about Islam. That would be the end of the Constitution of the United States. Certainly it's freedom of speech protections on which I think everything else is built. And I personally am not going to go quietly if they're going to try to impose that upon us in this country. Especially under excuses that this is in fact just sort of like Jewish courts and Catholic ecclesiastical law. It's simply not.

MARK HYMAN: Question for Suhail? Hands. Gentlemen standing all the way in the back.

MAN: This is for Suhail. My question is this. The questions being asked are asked as if they are [subjective] when the fact is these are issues of fact. Almost all Islamic law is translated into English for over thirty years and all you've ever had to do was read it. Would you suggest that you were basically saying [UNCLEAR] written by Muslims or are you [UNCLEAR] get it anywhere, in any mosque, go get them and go read them and find out what the answer is. My question is, do you think that's a fair thing to do? Seven years into the war on terror, asking questions, they are simply an indication of mindless institutional endeavor, seven years into it decided [UNCLEAR]

SUHAIL KAHN: Yeah. No, that's a good, that's a good question. To answer your question, if you were to read a text on Islamic law, it's an interpretive law. So if, [UNCLEAR] if you read a text on Islamic law, I think that's a great idea. People should do it, just as you would read a text on Christian law or Jewish law to learn. But you would never have a definitive answer on Islamic law as you would on Christian law or Jewish law because it's, it's interpretive. It's interpretive.

So for example, if you read a book on medieval Christian law, you would probably take umbrage at some of the things said in that book. Likewise if you read, because it's contextual. It's contextual. Islamic law is interpretive. And if you, if you, as you do have Muslim scholars in this country who interpret the law, they interpret it for the land that you live in. Now, you have to remember that having said that, that Islamic law in any way, shape or form, whether it's for buying your home, or what you're going to wear, when you, you know, when you go to church or things like that, that's going to apply to people in their personal lives.

The U.S. Constitution is the supreme land of our country. And we have an establishment clause that clearly says the U.S. government will never establish any one faith over the other. That is the protection. So that's what we need to remember, that, as Americans, we don't want to establish any one faith. At different times, at different times in history, Judaism was interpreted violently, Christianity was interpreted violently, the Sri Lankan Tamil Tigers who engage in suicide bombing interpret their faith against majorities in Sri Lanka in a violent way.

It's sad that God has been called down in every side of a fight and I'm sure God wearies of it. But we as human beings should remember that we live in a country of laws under the U.S. Constitution where no religion or religious law is going to take precedence over another.

Number two, the last thing I want to say [is] about taqiyaa. Taqiyaa is brought up by people who want to say basically that Muslims can say anything they want in defense of their religion, even if they have to lie. Taqiyaa was not a principle that is accepted by all Muslim scholars, number one, definitely not by all Muslim schools of thought. Taqiyaa was a concept that was developed by Shia scholars which are the vast [minority] of the Muslim faith because of the persecution they faced at the hands of the majority Sunnis. And they said that you can't, if you're being persecuted, at times of death, you can say I'm not a Muslim, I'm not a Shia, whatever to defend yourself. That same principle was also espoused by Mamonides in Spain. When Jews were being persecuted by the Christians, he had the concept of a Jewish taqiyaa, the same type of concept that, if you're Jewish and you're going to be put to death because you're Jewish, by Christian inquisitors, you can say, I'm not Jewish. God knows the truth. And that was a very limited type of response for people that are being persecuted and Islam is not unique, even the minority opinion to have that type of theology.

FRANK GAFFNEY: Well, this is not a matter of interpretation. This again suggests either an ignorance of the faith or the practice of taqiyaa and I'd like to [note Suhail's] acknowledge[ment] that at least it is an accepted practice by some in the faith. I believe it is an accepted practice by Sunnis, as well as Shia. It's certainly being practiced. But the point is, the interpretation of this faith stopped about twelve hundred years ago. There was a consensus of the scholars, the "gates of ijthahad" are closed. And I don't know where you've been, but that's the authoritative view. I've got to stop reading your faith's authoritative texts. That's what you're suggesting. Believe me, I appear to have read more than you have, Suhail, and that's what really is astonishing to me.

SUHAIL KHAN: [OVERLAP] --Frank.

FRANK GAFFNEY: I've got to get on The Reliance of the Traveler, which is recognized as an authoritative text by al-Azhar and the Saudi clerics and many of the Brotherhood organizations that [Suhail has] been associated with for many years. This isn't me making it up. This is [what] was mentioned by the questioner, [things] anybody can get their hands on, anytime they want to. And the people who keep telling you otherwise, don't want you to know the truth.

I'm not going to assign any particular motivation to that, maybe [Suhail] can clarify it. But all I'm telling you is, when you hear that this is "interpretive," and it's all sort of special cases depending on the nation and its rules, [that's] simply not true.

Under Islam, the beauty of Shariah, the beauty of [its] program is that [it is] going to be a source of world peace because it is absolutely monolithic. It is going to be imposed and everyone will submit to it either by becoming practitioners of the faith if they choose to or by having to accept a "Dhimmi" status, or by dying. Those are the three choices that all of the schools [endorse] and that's where this leads us if we don't recognize it as such and counter [it].

[One] last point. The establishment clause is just one of the pieces of the Constitution that clearly is incompatible with Shariah. My point is they're trying to impose Shariah in a way that is inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States. Don't tell me the Constitution is going to protect us against it unless we actually use it to protect us against it – and prevent this seditious program from being insinuated in our country.

MARK HYMAN: Amazingly, Frank and Suhail actually carpooled together. [LAUGHTER]

SUHAIL KHAN: That's why we were late.

MARK HYMAN: Actually, this gentlemen's been so patient here. Question for...?

MAN: For Frank.

MARK HYMAN: Please.

MAN: I'm not an expert in the Koran either but I've spoken with a number of theologians and missionaries who are and they seemed in agreement, at least the ones I've spoken with, the passages you labeled as latter Meccan are actually –

FRANK GAFFNEY: Medina.

MAN: Medina, I'm sorry – are actually denouncements of sort of a quasi-Christian cult known as the [UNCLEAR] and that the interpretation that you're reading becomes not so much from the Koran but from [UNCLEAR] and the Wahabbi doctrine. With that in mind, don't you at least

see a glimmer of hope that the recent announcement that the Turkish scholars are going to be editing the Medina?

FRANK GAFFNEY: Look, I can find hope in all kinds of things. But I'm reluctant to find hope in the suspension of fact and its pursuit. And I don't believe for a moment – and Suhail continues to insist, as do most people who are promoting this lie – that it's just al-Qaeda and minority [of Muslims] on a tear. That they've got this whacked interpretation of a religion and there's no talking to them because they're crazy and they're terrorists and we don't want to complete them, as you say, with having something to do with Islam.

But what I'm telling you – and he's not – is that they are actually reflecting authoritative Islam. The people who are the guys who run the faith, who run its institutions, who hold sacred its interpretations, its texts, its practices are indistinguishable from the people that he's describing now as terrorists who somehow have some lunatic ideas [about] Islam. With the greatest of respect for the interfaith dialogers, and their numbers are legion, I don't believe they are studying up on this either. And to the extent that they're seeking desperately to find some ray of hope in the gloom of the factual evidence that I'm talking about here, I think they're mistaken and frankly they're misleading you.

MARK HYMAN: We're running out of time here. But we have a question over here for Suhail. Gentleman on the left.

MAN: I think that the question should be just a little bit different. Instead of "Is Islam a religion of peace?", the question should be: "Is Islam possibly compatible with the modern world?" It's not just the Christians and Jews, there is nowhere in the world that you can reconcile Islam with modern practices and modern lives there. And this is leading to what's really a clash of civilizations. And short of complete separation, I mean apartheid; you're going to have war.

SUHAIL KHAN: I would agree with that. I don't agree that there's a clash of civilizations, I believe that it's a clash of civilization with those against civilization. The terrorists are against civilization. Malaysia is a majority Muslim country. In Malaysia, women are equal to men and they are practicing Muslims. The women wear their headscarves, they go to the mosque, but they are the most educated, even better than men, in Malaysia. When I was in Malaysia, they complained that the men tend to be a little lazy. Women are leading institutions.

In the Muslim world, we've had three, at least three Muslim countries that have elected Muslim women leaders. Turkey, Bangladesh, Pakistan. So there are countries that have medieval interpretations of their faith, including Afghanistan. But the vast majority of Muslims again are very compatible with modernism and with democracy. Iraq, for example, is a predominately Muslim country that instituted Shariah law there, even though the U.S. is there. But that's what that means. Shariah law means that they [UNCLEAR] for people to eat kosher-types of food, what we call halal, women can wear scarves in public, etceteras. They don't have a draconian interpretation of Islamic law like say Afghanistan does. There they have integrated their Islamic principles with democracy. They have a parliament, they have a president, they have a prime minister. And it's completely cohesive, it's completely cohesive. The same goes for Malaysia, the same goes for other countries.

So Shariah itself is not antithetical to democracy or modernism, because, again, it's interpretive. Frank seems to be reading all these whack-job websites put up by terrorists and/or people who hate Muslims, saying this is what Muslims are saying, and no matter how much Muslims like me say that's not the truth, he says, I don't know my faith. Or he seems to say that my dad, you know, would know better. Who, my dad, a high-tech engineer, very modern, came to this country with his freedom, well, of course, Frank decided he must be a Wahhabi because he goes to mosque, God forbid, on Friday.

And I promised I would answer the issue about terminology. I said about terminology that to call terrorists, because they do something in the name of their faith, it only validates them, I think is wrong, it's because it gives them the religion that we don't want to give them. And we've heard it before, remember when people were against communism in the 20s and 30s, many misguidedly called it Jewish bolshevism. Winston Churchill called it Jewish bolshevism in order to conflate Judaism with communism. He was wrong then and those that say Islamic terrorists now are Jihadists are wrong now. That's the simple answer there. That they are doing it in the name of their faith, we shouldn't give it to them because they are not manifesting true religious belief.

MARK HYMAN: Now, I'm told we're running out of time, but I'm a dangerous man. I'm a television personality with a microphone. So I'm going to squeeze in one more question for each of our guests. And this gentlemen is about to explode. Okay, your question is for, for...?

MAN: Suhail. Very short question. Telling people that Shariah law is peaceful, I believe, the only way to do that is to provide one example [that clearly and unambiguously of Shariah law text for Islam that clearly and unambiguously stands against any of the following concepts: a) death for apostates, b) beating women and stoning them to death, c) calling Jews pigs and monkeys and d) declaring jihad or wars against non-Muslims to subjugate them to Islam, e) enslavement of female war prisoners and raping them as in Darfur, f) fighting Jews before the end-days and killing of all of them and g) killing gays. Provide one single evidence, by one single book, not two, believe me, one single Shariah book that stands clearly and unambiguously against these concepts, I will come with you and say Shariah law is peaceful.

SUHAIL KHAN: Absolutely. Absolutely. Let me comment. There are, there are several Islamic scholars, first of all, you're a little [UNCLEAR] again, these medieval interpretations of [OVERLAPPING VOICES] Absolutely, absolutely. And there are modern ones: Khaled Abou el-Fadl, a graduate of Yale University, University of Pennsylvania Law School and a PhD. graduate of Princeton University, currently at UCLA, is developing a book on Shariah. And Sheik Hamza Yusef, whom Frank called a Wahabbi. He is developing a book on Shariah and he also has a seminary —

MAN: They don't exist.

SUHAIL KHAN: They do exist. And they have Shariah and they have developed Shariah specific to the American context. They are graduates of the schools in the Muslim world and they're graduates of schools here in the United States. And just as I said, they have taken the

interpretation of Islamic texts, the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed, peace be upon him, and they have integrated that into a Shariah-compliant, constitutionally compliant program for American Muslims to live their lives under the Constitution, in no way abrogating the Constitution, and in no way running up against the Constitution, but just living their lives under the free principle that all of us Americans can do to practice our faith freely. That is what their principles are.

I always want to remember that you can always take negative quotes from the Koran and put, the quotation that Frank, you know, when I went to Sunday school I would see them there every weekend, we learned do not contend with the People of the Book, Christians and Jews, except in the fairest way. Those are the controlling verses. "Be they Muslims, Jews, Christians, those who believe in God in the last day and who do good deeds have their reward with the Lord. They have nothing to fear and they will not sorrow." Which is why, when the Jews are being persecuted in Spain at the hands of the Catholic church at the time, where did they go? Muslim countries, Morocco, Iran. And to this day, there are Jewish communities living in those countries. Now, have they been persecuted subsequently? Absolutely. In the name of politics. People might use religion to do it, but again, it's not something that represents the faith, it represents the ugliness of politics.

FRANK GAFFNEY: None of the people you mentioned have any standing.

SUHAIL KHAN: They absolutely do.

FRANK GAFFNEY: They turn to the authoritative practices of the faith. They do. If what you say is true – and these are books that haven't been written yet.

SUHAIL KHAN: They have been written. They have been written.

FRANK GAFFNEY: Well, they haven't been published yet. They haven't been authoritatively affirmed yet.

SUHAIL KHAN: They have.

FRANK GAFFNEY: They are not going to be anything other than apostates if they actually –

SUHAIL KHAN: To you, to you they will be.

FRANK GAFFNEY: [are exposed] within your Muslim

SUHAIL KHAN: Look, al Qaeda maybe. But not to everybody else.

FRANK GAFFNEY: I'm talking about Al Azhar in Egypt. I'm talking about the grand muftis of Palestine. I'm talking about the Wahabbis in [Saudi Arabia]. And, by the way, just so we're clear. It is absolutely the case that there are lots of Muslims, I said it in my remarks, who don't want to live under Shariah. Many of them are lucky enough to live in places where the Arab influence has not yet become dominant.

But you look at Malaysia. It is in the throes of being taken over by the Wahhabis. And it will be the case when that happens, as it is happening in Turkey, as it is happening in Indonesia, as it is happening in the Philippines – [where] the moderate practice of the faith, which bears some resemblance to what he's talking about, not any resemblance to the authoritative practice, but nonetheless the way hundreds of millions of Muslims have practiced the faith – it will be extinguished. Because it is not consistent with Shariah and when the Wahhabis are done with [them], and the Brotherhood is done with them, they will all be compliant with Shariah.

MARK HYMAN: Methinks it's going to be a really quiet car ride home for the guys [LAUGHTER] And I need one more question to balance it out for Mr. Gaffney. Yes, please sir.

MAN: Yeah, Frank, I mean, dialing back to this issue, and I promise, Mark, I will make it very quick and there is a question here. You know, it just seems to me that there's a flaw in your logic inasmuch as, you know, you equate the extreme views of certain scholars with their approach to religion with pushing out the moderates in that religion. I mean, according to my own faith, I'm not really Jewish because I don't practice the same way as the Lubavichers in New York. And so I want you to comment on that aspect of it which is the fact that there are extremists in any faith who study the faith quite a bit more than anybody else, but they're not controlling everybody else. And I wonder how you sort of equate that. Number two, jumping back to this issue of constitutionality, again there are extremists in every faith who would do things that would subvert, there are extremist evangelicals who would subvert what the high court has said is a fourth amendment right to privacy in terms of blowing up abortion clinics. Do you think that they're – the Evangelical Christians who want to blow up abortion clinics – are subverting the constitution?

FRANK GAFFNEY: Well, there you go again. [LAUGHTER] The moral equivalence between lunatics who are blowing up big abortion clinics in the name of their faith and a faith that is waging jihad against the world, I mean, it's not even apples and oranges. [OVERLAPPING VOICES]

SUHAIL KHAN: Cause you're not, Frank. In the end, your, cause they would say, the people who are blowing up these clinics would say that it is their faith and they are being taught, by, by certain scholars who know more about the Bible than you and I do. Who are interpreting this – wait, that's what you're getting at here. That's the —

FRANK GAFFNEY: No. The reason I would be able to answer your question, and then you tell me whether I am or not is, I disagree with your proposition. You're suggesting, as Suhail is doing, as in fact Islamists do all over the world, that for the purposes of waging soft jihad, it's just extremists. You don't need to worry about the mainstream. But what I'm saying to you, and I apologize that this hasn't been sufficiently clear, what I'm saying to you is the "mainstream" adheres to these views. It is the authoritative version of the faith. And you can listen to Brotherhood folks, you can listen to pathologists, you can listen to interfaith dialogers till the cows come home. And it doesn't alter the very fundamental fact that the gentlemen at the back of the room pointed out and that is, this is something that lends itself to absolute proof. Just look at the authoritative texts.

Don't take [Suhail's] word for it, because either he's dissembling or he doesn't know. And I'll let you be the judge. And I'm telling you, not on the basis of some whack-job's website but on the basis of his faith's authoritative texts. And authoritative practices as they have been settled in all of the schools. I don't know if this means anything to the non-Muslims in the room, but these are the guys who determine the faith in all of the schools of Sunni Islam and all of the schools of Shia Islam.

SUHAIL KHAN: Not so.

FRANK GAFFNEY: So, when he says not true.

SUHAIL KHAN: It's not true.

FRANK GAFFNEY: Again, find out, folks. You can do this. And I'm simply saying to you, your country is on the line. If you don't do it and you listen to this siren song, you will wake up some fine day and discover that you're a dhimmi. If you're lucky, maybe you'll have the chance to convert. Or worse, you'll just be dead. And that's not a pretty picture and I'm not a racist or a bigot for saying it, though he and his friends have often said so.

MARK HYMAN: All right, we're going to wrap it up with five minute closing comments. We'll start off with Suhail.

SUHAIL KHAN: Thank you, Mark. Basically what you've heard tonight is that there are two world views.

Resembling two world views, and you have a choice to decide which world view you want to follow. One wishes to protect America, her people, her values, her land, her Constitution, her reason for being. Those of us who adhere to that world view, we have opposed any and all attacks on America and Americans and we will defend our country to the death. We defend Americans of all faiths for their freedom, in their freedom. We oppose murderers who attack us and whatever, whatever their claimed religions or reasons they might have, we will defend our country. That's one world view.

And there's another world view. A different world view. That's bin Laden's. He wants to divide America and the Muslim world. He believes America and Islam should be at war. There is a fifth column in the United States that agrees with bin-Laden. They share this world view. They join

in this unholy desire to foster hatred between Muslims and all Americans. We must stand united against bin-Laden, as I said, and we need to stand against the racists who share that same world view. They are wrong and they will be defeated.

There's a book I'll recommend. Who Speaks For Islam? Frank seems to be the one who wants to interpret who that is. Let's, let's read the people who've actually done the study. There was an extensive Gallup poll throughout the Muslim world and they pointed out that for Muslims overseas who support violence, they do so for secular or political reasons. The vast majority, over 91%. Those Muslims most opposed to violence and terror cite their faith as the reason for opposing violence. It is religion that is the answer, not the problem.

Robert Pate in his study of terrorism in the world, *Dying To Win: the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*, the central fact is that overwhelmingly, suicide terrorist attacks, he cites ninety-five percent are not driven by religion as much as they are by a clear strategic objective to compel the withdrawal of military forces from a territory. He cites Lebanon, Kashmir, Sri Lanka, Chechnya and the West Bank. Years ago, we saw the kamikaze pilots. It's politics people, not faith.

These facts are known to the United States government and this is why our president and military leaders opposed confusing fighting a political foe with promoting hatred for an entire faith. These facts are known to the bigots. And they have their own agenda which does not include protecting or strengthening America.

Americans of all faiths, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, Mormon, Hindu, bring strength to America and are protected by our constitution, included in our national fabric. The historian Gerald Early once said that there are three things that are uniquely American: Jazz, the Constitution and baseball. Well, baseball is a great metaphor for what we're talking about today.

Our national pastime only truly became so when all Americans regardless of race or faith were allowed to participate freely. Hank Greenberg, in 1930, began playing for the Detroit Tigers. And despite virulent anti-Semitism from other players and fans, he became one of the game's all-time greats and a member of the Baseball Hall of Fame. And on April 15th, 1947, Jackie Robinson, the grandson of slaves, stood on the shoulders of greats like Greenberg and broke the color barrier when he took the field for the Brooklyn Dodgers. That evening, at 1574 50th Street, in Borough Park, Brooklyn, a family gathered for the seder, a feast of Passover, "Why is this night different from all other nights?" asked the youngest male in the centuries old tradition. And before the father could respond, the boy answered his own question. Because a black man is in the major leagues.

Today, I tell you we are at a similar crossroad. We'll continue to be a shining city on a hill as Ronald Reagan called us when all Americans may freely – freely – participate in our democracy. And I'm confident [UNCLEAR] will prevail. Why? Because America is a great nation. We're a beacon of hope. And time and time again, we've overcome hate and ignorance to welcome new Americans into our great national fabric. And despite the organized campaign of hate, I'm proud the same is happening for Muslim-Americans everyday.

MARK HYMAN: One minute, please.

SUHAIL KAHN: Even after 9/11 and all the lies and hysteria, true Muslims have been elected by their fellow Americans to serve in Congress, both from majority non-Muslim districts. President Bush appointed Americans like me and, despite all the lying and the shameful attacks, the president has stood with me and not with the racists who attacked me.

I'm an American, an American who is optimistic, Frank, about our future. A future where all Americans, regardless of race, ethnic origin and faith – or no faith at all – can join and work together to promote our right of free expression, a political vision of shared concern and of personal faith. Our forefathers boldly proclaimed, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. They are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights. Among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." As people of faith, Jews, Christians, Muslims, as Americans, we should join together to promote life and liberty – political, religious, economic liberty – for all people.

This is what I had hoped Mr. [UNCLEAR] would have discussed when he was here and those of us who wish us harm must be defeated, no doubt about it. But in doing so, we should work with all freedom-loving people in this important cause. Likewise, we should resist the call to respond to the hate of our enemies with the bigoted hatred of our own making. We are Americans and we take great pride in the fact that regardless of ethnic or religious heritage, we stand united as one people. As Americans. As Americans, we are united in defending our cherished liberty in the many long days ahead. Thank you.

[APPLAUSE]

FRANK GAFFNEY: Well, that's a very elegant closing comment, And I actually agree with much of it.

I agree that we are in fact confronting, in the form bin Laden and his ilk, a radical, a totalitarian, a dangerous ideology that is bent on our destruction.

I agree that there a Fifth Column, Suhail's term, inside the United States, [only it's] working to advance exactly that agenda.

I agree that they must be fought ruthlessly and successfully because everything we hold dear, and I take Suhail at his word that he holds dear all the things that I hold dear, we ought to want to see survive.

And that won't survive if this ideology, which embraces explicitly, by its terms – not mine, not Robert Spencer's, not whack-job websites' – by its terms, Shariah law and accepts as its express purpose establishing that law over the whole world. Not just here. Not just in Malaysia or Indonesia or the Philippines or Western Europe. But the whole world.

Don't take my word for it, that's what they say. And it's not just bin Laden who says it.

And I must say, I would feel infinitely better about our conversation tonight, infinitely more encouraged by particularly that wonderful rousing patriotic, love-America closing if Suhail hadn't spent the entire evening denying what I am saying about Shariah.

Because that's kind of a test, folks. If you don't acknowledge what this Fifth Column is animated by, if you don't recognize that it's not just bin Laden and whack jobs on that side, terrorists who don't really, according to Suhail, have anything to do with Islam – except they have everything to do with Islam. They wrap themselves in the mantle of Islam. And rightly or wrongly, so do the authoritative interpreters and practitioners of this faith.

Now there are many in this room, I recognize them from past associations, who have developed a friendship for Suhail. And he's a likable fellow. He articulates beautifully what we all hope to see and obtain from patriotic, law-abiding, tolerant Muslims in this country. But you will not find such people denying the reality of Shariah as defined by the authorities, and practiced, sadly, by millions of their co-religionists. Not all of them. Certainly not all of them in this country.

And as I said in my opening remarks, our only hope – especially if this gentleman [in the audience] is correct that we're in a clash of civilizations – our only hope is that we are able to enlist those Muslims who are genuinely tolerant or genuinely law-abiding, who genuinely want to live side-by-side with People of the Book, who genuinely appreciate the uniqueness, the extraordinariness of our Constitution, and the form of government and the opportunities that it has presented us. [We need] those Muslims [to] join us in defending everything we hold dear, against those who adhere to Shariah and who have stated in the form of the Muslim Brotherhood's 1991 directive, in al-Banna's writings and in the authoritative texts that their duty, their obligation as Muslims is to destroy everything that I've just talked about.

MARK HYMAN: One minute, please.

FRANK GAFFNEY: So you, ladies and gentlemen, have troubled yourself to come out and listen to this. You can walk out of here tonight saying, well, the guy who was Muslim says the guy who wasn't is all wet. And you can let it go at that. Or you can do what al-Jazeera may do and you can take my quotes and you can [construe me as] some sort of rabid hatemonger.

Or you can go do what your civic duty requires. And that is to go study up on this. Go expose yourself to these facts, which are knowable, which are readily available. If you want to, get them from Robert Spencer, because he's [readily accessible]. If you don't, go to the [Islamic authorities], go to the texts that they themselves use, translated conveniently, by the Saudi government, into English. For your edification. Actually, for your submission.

But this is the moment, ladies and gentlemen, because the soft jihad is progressing inexorably. And it can be dismissed and people like me who are pointing it out can be called racists and bigots. But it's up to you to decide. It is your civic duty, if you love this Constitution, as I'm sure you do, if you care enough about finding out what the truth is to not only bestir yourself to get out to wherever the hell it is we are today, [LAUGHTER] but to find out what the truth is, then I urge you to do so. And if you do, I will bet you dollars to donuts, you will come out recognizing that I'm right and [Suhail's] wrong. Thank you.

[APPLAUSE]

MARK HYMAN: This much I can promise you. Tonight's presidential debate will be anticlimactic in contrast to what we have witnessed tonight. Please give a round of applause to both of our debaters. [APPLAUSE] I'd like to thank Suhail Kahn and Frank Gaffney for their participation not only in their remarks, but also in the Q and A session. I'd like to thank the Harbour League for hosting such an important event. I'd like to remind all of you, again, the Harbour League would love to have you as members, certainly welcome your tax-deductible contribution. The web address is theharbourleague.org. And on behalf of the Harbour League, thanks for coming this evening. Have a good night. And please travel safely. Thank you.

Exhibit 22:

Hamza Yusuf on TV, Truth,
and Technomania



Do not pursue
material things too much
or else you will be
absorbed by the world
[at-Tirmidhi]

Hamza Yusuf on TV, Truth, and Technomania

June issue of "The Message" Magazine

This interview of Imam Hamza Yusuf was conducted in Calgary, Alberta during Islamic Awareness Week organized by the Muslim Students' Association (MSA) of the University of Calgary. The interviewer was Sr. Randa Hammadih. It was compiled by Sr. Randa and Br. Ibrahim Danial.

RANDA HAMMADIEH: In your travels in the Muslim world, what cultural practices did you notice that struck you as being different from those of the West?

HAMZA YUSUF: In the West, there is a strong separation between young and old. In Muslim tradition, on the other hand, youth continues until the age of 40. This is the idea of "shababiya." In the Western civilization, the idea of adolescence is purely a social construct. The generation gap in the States isn't necessarily universal to all cultures although the US is doing a good job of exporting their monoculture all over the world. This happens because people are being exposed to the television and movies of the dominant culture. So you will see US cultural phenomena now all over the world.

RH: What are your thoughts on Muslim youth and public education of today?

HY: I think modern school is a negative experience. I believe you can learn more out of school than in it. There is now a universal education system, whether you are in an Arab country, China or somewhere else. This universal education is only going to vary according to the political atmosphere of the given country. For example, in Iraq, the indoctrination is probably more obvious whereas in the US it is just more subtle. School is an artificial construct to socialize individuals into a group identity. The whole idea of a "school of fish" is that everyone swims together whereas traditional Islamic education was completely individualized. What it did was give people all those tools (in the West called "liberal arts") such as grammar, rhetoric, and logic, through which people could actually think and use their brains.

In public high schools, you are not given tools, you are given information and data. In fact, a metaphor that is used in education today is that you're basically a hard drive that needs to be written with a given software. You will

then fulfill whatever are the social needs of the society. Schooling today is designed only to matriculate people into the logic of the system itself. Then people end up in meaningless jobs doing meaningless work, and never really think about what type of society they're contributing to.

RH: If there was one thing in your travels in the Muslim world that left a distinctive impression upon you, what would it be?

HY: What a horrific condition the Muslim countries are in! The Muslim world is now like a rape victim. Colonization was like the raping trauma, and the Muslim world has never been able to get up and go on with life of the Muslim world in its entirety by European powers, who for centuries were seen as backward and barbaric, has had really devastating effects.

Now in the Muslim world, Muslims seem to dress in pale imitation of Western people. Some look like caricatures of Western people. This is indicative of the state of some Muslims who aren't very inspiring anymore. The whole world once looked up to the Muslims as models.

RH: What do you say to Muslims who seem to glorify the past when they were at their peak?

HY: This is all pathetic nostalgia for returning to the glory of the past and its romanticism. The past has nothing to do with us. That was them. We are a whole other people. It's not our past, it was their present. Now it's over. That's why the Quran has this concept of letting go of your fathers, and not being proud of your fathers because they are not you! You have to create your own future. Don't be like an old war veteran. However, it is important to have some historical continuity because the Qur'an says "Look at the people who went before" as the way of learning lessons.

One thing that is wrong with some modern Muslim mentality is the idea of "If we do what they did, we will be glorious." Someone asked me, "How can we get an empire back?" There is this idea that Islam is all about glory. No! It's like you exercise to maintain your health, but the exercise is not your goal. It's just the means to achieve your goal. In the same way that if you seek the contentment of Allah, one of the side effects of that is that Allah elevates you and gives you "tamkeen," but that is not the goal. It's just a side effect.

Now you don't hear people talk about Allah very much, just about Islam. The Quran says, "To your Lord is your goal." The path of coming to know God results in victory because of your struggling for truth. One of the things about sincerely struggling for truth is that Allah gives you victory by the nature of the struggle. It follows that by the nature of the struggle itself, you gain worldly success. You see, worldly success has nothing to do with the intentions. Because if those are your intentions, then you will never gain worldly success. In fact, Allah will give the "kafiroon" success over you. If

the people of truth are not seeking truth, but instead the benefits of truth (merely the side effects), then they will never achieve them.

RH: Then how should Muslims look at life?

HY: Life is mundane. Life is praying, getting up for Fajr and day-to-day chores. All this "glory" some aspire to is just an abstract in the mind. And the reality of it is even the kings of the past had to get up in the morning and go through daily routines. Life is by its nature perfunctory and Islam is just to harmonize it, put it into perspective, and make its goals dignified goals, instead of low, worldly goals.

RH: Now that you are residing in the US you must have had some exposure to the technological hegemony occurring. How do you view this in the light of Islam?

HY: Modern technology is just an example of when people's goals are totally distorted. Modern technology arose out of very strong corporate interests in creating the massification of society where everybody needs a TV or a stereo. This doesn't mean that Islam is against technology. Technology, by its nature, is everything that humans produce. And by our nature we do make things. Islamic technology would be very humane. To serve people as opposed to the opposite.

Muslims do not believe in progress. Progress is completely antithetical to the Islamic doctrine. Muslims believe that human society reached its pinnacle in Medina in the 7th century. This is the best society that has ever existed. The verse which says "Today We have completed your Religion..." made Umar (ra) weep because he realized that nothing is ever completed except that it begins to decrease.

If the goal of life is to establish Deen, then that is the highest progress that humans can achieve and therefore all this modern technological madness is an exteriorization of the human impulse to know. Because we have become such gross materialists, all of our intellectual and spiritual endeavors have been completely centered and focused on the outward, the "Dhahir" and the inside has been completely forgotten. Now there is even a massive interest in how we can preserve this life here, manifested by studies in cryonics, genetic engineering and cloning.

RH: So would you say human beings tend to serve modern technology rather than it serving us?

HY: Yes. Modern technology dehumanizes by its nature, because it is based on massification (a computer in every home). Everyone is reduced to sitting around looking at blinking cathode rays on a screen. There is no human exchange anymore; people just send e-mail. People get nervous if you start

talking like this because most Muslims are really embarrassed by the simplicity of the Prophet's (pbuh) life. Many don't want to admit that he lived in a house devoid of furniture; that he sewed his own shoes and collected firewood. The Prophet (pbuh) wasn't interested in improving that aspect of his life.

Improving ones standard of living has become an idol whereas I think Islam lowers your standard of living. You become content with less. When the Prophet's (pbuh) wife put a cushion in his bed he got upset. He consciously lowered his standard of living.

The truth is the whole world can't support a bunch of consumers. Western technology is based on the exploitation of the other 90 percent of the world. All our wonderful technological achievements are based on the rest of the world living in abject poverty. Through enjoying the fruits of Western technology, we are in fact participating in the destruction of indigenous cultures all over the world and the impoverishment of those people.

RH: What are your thoughts on the teenage phenomenon and its significance today?

HY: It's an artificial construct intended to sell rap, \$100 basketball shoes and \$80 jeans. It's an invention of consumer society that doesn't exist in traditional Islamic or Western cultures. People should be done with school by the time they're 15. In traditional European societies, those who studied had their bachelors by the age of 14 and were teaching at 18 at Cambridge and Oxford. This is documented. Spending 12 years in school is an artificial construct designed to occupy time-space in which the society really doesn't have the ability to allow these people to enter the workforce because it is saturated.

Teenage phenomenon destroys human society. Historically, agrarian-based societies (which the majority of Muslim countries are) view community as absolutely essential for survival, whereas in industrial societies community is a luxury.

A sickness of some Muslims today is that they've gotten into the whole age issue. Much like racism and sexism, it's identifying people with quantitative measurements. We don't know how old many of the sahabi were. It wasn't an obsession. In fact, the Prophet (pbuh) tried to break the jahali concept by putting Osama ibn Zaid as the head of an army when he was only 17. Age in Islam is about having gray hair and not having gray hair.

If you don't have gray hair you're called a "shabaab" and you're supposed to respect people with gray hair. If you have gray hair you're called "sheikh" and you're supposed to have mercy and compassion on those who don't have gray hairs. That is a much healthier way of looking at it. In Islamic knowledge, we

knew Ibn Malik was considered a sheikh which literally means "old man" when he was 17 years old. Islam doesn't box you into a category. Age is about where you are spiritually, not where you are numerically.

I think that 40 year olds should sit with 18 year olds, and in a spirit of brotherhood and sisterhood, learn from each other. The Sahabi had 15 year olds in their Prophet's majlis with 60 year olds. Muslim schools were never segregated by age. "Allah created everything and He guided it in its own specific way and manner."

We are an Ummah of labeling and labels are from Western society. In labels, everything has a name and nothing has a meaning.

RH: Given all your experiences, travels, and years, what do you know for sure about the world?

HY: Well, that there is a lot of truth to Sayidina Ali saying that "Youth is a type of madness and old age is a type of wisdom." I think that a crisis of the Muslim world is that we have an incredibly young society and there by and large ignorant, having lost their historical link, and so there hasn't been a lot of guidance from the older generation.

Many Muslim youth are confused, but as this generation of Muslims reach maturity, an interesting scenario is going to occur. As the young people in the Islamic movement in the U.S. and Canada move into their forties, there is going to be much growth and guidance for the younger people, inshallah.

We are in a really bad time, but we should see it as a temporal kind of condition. This is not the way it has always been, nor is it the way it will always be, inshallah. I know we just have to be careful as a community in the steps we take. We have to deliberate more than necessary than if we had strong guidance. We are now living in a very exciting time, a time for much potential growth, and I believe that Muslims in Canada and the US will certainly rise to the occasion, inshallah.

End of interview.



Back to Path to Islam ...

Exhibit 23:

MSNBC – Rachel Maddow Show,
Various Episodes with Suhail Khan (2010-2011)

**The Rachel Maddow Show
Various Broadcasts (2010-2011) with Suhail Khan**

SUHAIL KHAN: RIGHT JUMPS TO TERRORIST CONCLUSION

BARACK OBAMA:

We don't know all the answers yet. And I would caution against jumping to conclusions until we have all the facts.

RACHEL MADDOW:

That was either a very prescient or a very observant caution from president Obama today about the shootings at Ft. Hood. Because, today, just as the president was urging diligence and deliberation, World Net Daily, the conservative conspiracy theory factory best known for advancing the cause of the “birthers”, was charming its way into the hearts of millions with this—this headline, claiming that the alleged shooter, Army Major Nidal Hasan was an adviser to president Obama's White House transition office, implying that Mr. Hasan was on, essentially, the president's payroll, It may surprise you to learn that that's not true. Even though it's a headline on World Net Daily. I know. Hasan was not an adviser to the Obama transition. He was not an appointee to some kind of Homeland Security task force. He attended a meeting, actually, at a college. He sat in the audience and that college wrote to the new administration to give them unsolicited advice. As Spencer Ackerman [PH] put it today in the Washington Independent, quote, really, this is as stupid as saying that a guy who writes a letter to The New York Times advised editor Bill Keller. It's actually even stupider than that, considering that Hasan himself isn't known to have written anything to anyone. He sat in the audience. So, really, it's like saying that anyone who ever saw anyone else write a letter to the editor was an adviser to The New York Times. But that's not all. This is America's conspiratorial right wing today. This is World Net Daily. So of course, there's more. You might remember, last month, four Republican members of Congress held a press conference during which they demanded an investigation into the Council on American/Islamic Relations because the group was allegedly deep into a secret plot to place Muslim interns on Capitol Hill. The book on which that publicity stunt was based was, naturally, published by World Net Daily. One of the book's co-authors today came out with this insight into the motives and allegiances that he has divined about the alleged Ft. Hood shooter. Quote, Hasan is a terrorist, supporting the ideology of al-Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah, and yes, the Council on American/Islamic Relations. Joining us now is Suhail Khan, senior fellow for Muslim/Christian Understanding at the Institute for Global Engagement. He's also a former senior political appointee in the administration of President George W. Bush. Mr. Khan, thanks very much for coming back on the show.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Thank you for having me, Rachel.

RACHEL MADDOW:

What's your reaction when you hear a conservative writer equating al-Qaeda and the Council on American/Islamic Relations, which of course condemns violence and has long since specifically condemned

the Ft. Hood shootings?

SUHAIL KHAN:

It's just another instance—a sad instance—you know, we are in a national period of mourning after the tragedy of Ft. Hood where we lost so many lives senselessly, this unfortunate incident where there was violence and people were killed and wounded and it's even more sad to see that there might be some who would use and exploit this tragedy for their political partisan and, worse, for their racist ends.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Even as the FBI and the commanding officer at Ft. Hood have said, that the evidence does not necessarily suggest that this is an act of terrorism or it should be viewed that way—the arguably premature discussion about terrorism and whether or not our military has been infiltrated—it's happening not just in World Net Daily wingnut-ville, it's happening all over the place. Even in the mainstream media. Can you say anything to us about how that is playing out among Muslim-Americans serving in our military?

SUHAIL KHAN:

You know, it's just another tragedy that's heaped upon a sad incident here. You have fifteen thousand to twenty thousand Muslim-Americans who are proudly serving in our armed services in all branches. Muslim-Americans have served in our country's armed services since the Revolutionary War with distinction. And so I think in talking to my friends who are serving in uniform, they are concerned. They know that their fellow—their fellow countrymen in uniform know them and trust them and will continue to serve with them as they would—as brothers and men and women in military service. But they are concerned that there would be a backlash in the public because, unfortunately, there are people as you pointed out, unfortunately, on the internet and on television programs that are, you know, questioning their loyalty just strictly because of their faith.

RACHEL MADDOW:

You know, Suhail, there was another horrible mass shooting today. This one was in an Orlando office building. Police say in that case, the alleged gunman opened fire at a company that he'd been fired from a couple of years ago. And, of course, in that case, no one is talking about that as an incident of terrorism. It's being seen as a workplace shooting.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Right, right.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Do you think the contrast between the speculation about the motives in these shootings is important? Obviously, the timing appears to be purely coincidental. But is it instructive in terms of the different ways these have been responded to?

SUHAIL KHAN:

Well, these—absolutely, I mean, we are learning that these are not isolated incidents. That there are, as you pointed out in the break, there are, unfortunately, incidents where men in uniform have reacted violently—often violently towards their fellow countrymen in uniform, sometimes towards their family. We've seen a high incidence of suicide, unfortunately, in the military. In the last four years, we haven't seen these numbers since the Vietnam War. And so we do need to do more to study issues like post-traumatic stress syndrome. And we know that in the workplace in general, there are people like this incident, unfortunately, today in Florida where people lash out against their co-workers and shoot and harm others. And that's something, again, we need to be on guard for. But to put a religious face or to try to discriminate against whole groups of people is just sad. And again, just exploiting the tragedy for a very ugly and bigoted means.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Suhail Khan, a senior fellow at the Institute for Global Engagement and a former senior political appointee of President George W. Bush, a proud conservative who I really appreciate coming on this show. I have—there are rumors that I'm a very liberal person and I'm hard to talk to. I really appreciate you crossing the Rubicon and talking with us, Suhail.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Hey, thank you, Rachel.

SUHAIL KHAN: RIGHT-WING FEAR-MONGERING FINDS ITS TARGET

RACHEL MADDOW:

We begin tonight with what has fast become the most embarrassing non-Justin Beaver related obsession of the summer of 2010. It is the proposed building of an Islamic community center in downtown New York City. Now this story—this talking point, maybe—has quickly become a study in political awkwardness for many conservatives. [BEGIN GLENN BECK CLIPS]

GLENN BECK:

The imam from the Ground Zero mosque apparently wants shariah law in America.

GLENN BECK:

The imam of the proposed Ground Zero mosque won't even denounce Hamas as a terrorist organization.

GLENN BECK:

Let me ask you this, would a moderate imam, a peaceful Muslim, employ another imam who told an Arabic language website that quote only the Jews could have perpetrated the 9-11 attack?

RACHEL MADDOW:

Here's what I mean about awkwardness with this story on the political right. That host that you just saw there in those clips, this guy here, Glenn Beck, before spending this summer inveighing against the imam and what Mr. Beck calls the Ground Zero mosque, before this became this summer's scare story talking point, Mr. Beck himself appeared on TV with that very same imam. Not to inveigh against him, but to join him in promoting a moderate vision of Islam. Former Bush Administration official, Karen Hughes, is having the same kind of awkwardness with her own record in this story. Miss Hughes has now written an op-ed arguing that the planned cultural center of downtown New York City should be moved further away from the World Trade Center site, calling the plan to build there especially contentious, because, she says, quote, it goes to the heart of who is to blame for the attacks of September 11th, 2001. An Islamic community center goes to heart of who is to blame for the attacks of September 11th? If that does not make any sense to you, rest assured it probably does not make any sense to Karen Hughes either. Because Karen Hughes also knows the imam behind the proposed Islamic center she is arguing shouldn't be built or should at least be moved. In fact, she worked with him on Muslim outreach during the Bush Administration. They in fact traveled together side by side to promote a moderate vision of Islam.

So how's he such a radical now? What explains the sudden turnaround? What explains the fact that people who have had dealings in the past with this specific person—with the imam behind the proposed Islamic center in downtown Manhattan and know him to be a moderate and who have said so out loud, what explains why they suddenly have decided that the man is so dangerous? The difference is that now this moderate imam's community center has been declared this month's new scare white people story. So the truth about the imam doesn't matter anymore. The truth about the cultural center that they want to build downtown doesn't matter anymore. It's time to scare white people for political profit. And this formula should be pretty familiar by now. We've already been through episodes of the scare white people game recently. There was the one about Van Jones, who was smeared on Fox News as a violent convicted felon. Of course that wasn't true. But he still lost his job as a White House environmental adviser. Be afraid. Be afraid of policy wonk dorky guy, Van Jones. Of course, there was also ACORN, a mostly minority, community based organization attacked as a group of criminal thugs. Based largely on cooked-up, deceptively-edited videotapes created by right wing activists. Be afraid. Be afraid of the minority community organizing group made up of poor people. There was the completely ginned-up new Black Panthers episode. White people, be afraid of two whacked out guys who braid their beard hair and hang outside a polling station on election day a year and a half ago. We dug up the old tapes so you can be afraid.

And also, don't forget Shirley Sherrod who, thanks again, to video-editing designed to be misleading, was portrayed as a racist Obama administration official. Racist in that she was out to make sure that white people didn't get any help from the Department of Agriculture. White people, be afraid. Be afraid of Shirley Sherrod. After all of these other very recent chapters in the scare white people political playbook, a, we should have been ready for it. But, b, it's quite clear that it's time for a new one. So the Ground Zero mosque controversy was born. What's worth noting about all of these different scare white people stories is that they're not really actual news stories. I mean, no real news organizations started running with this story as actual news. The best scare white people stories are invented out of whole cloth. From inside the conservative media world. So they can be just the right kind of scary in just the right kind of way in order to drive just the right political consequences. So, ultimately, if the conservative media drives this to make it big enough, then normal news organizations pick it up, too. Sometimes because they're guilted into it by conservatives. But no non-Fox, non-conservative media outlet ever starts these things. The problem is, once they get going, some people get caught up in them. Take, for example, poor Laura Ingraham, the conservative talk show host who had the misfortune of talking about the

mosque in non-scary terms. Before everybody got the memo that this was the new scare white people story. Poor Karen Hughes, poor Glenn Beck. They've all been caught doing an about-face on this story since it has been named the new scare white people story of the summer.

But here's where it gets really embarrassing for our friends on the right. It's not just about having to walk back their earlier comments that made it seem like they're now trying to create a controversy where they admit there wasn't one just a few months ago. It's that the way, way, way, way, way, way, way right wing really wants this fake controversy to be about more than just this one Islamic cultural center in lower Manhattan at the hallowed ground that is the former Burlington Coat Factory. The really, really really, really right wing that's very excited about this story has latched on to this opportunity to make their draconian anti-Islam message try to resonate around the country. They are trying to start a nationwide protest movement not against just this one Islamic cultural center, but against all mosques. Against all Muslims. And the problem with that plan is that they are overplaying their hand. Yeah. So now instead of having this narrowly-focused ridiculous outrage over one Islamic cultural center in downtown Manhattan, generated out of whole cloth like these other stories designed to scare white people in advance of elections, instead of that—you've got a broad anti-mosque crusade. And it's kind of falling apart because the pros aren't in charge of this anymore. This thing got too big and there were too many people on the very far right wing of American politics ready to run with this in a direction that is sort of off the cliff. [ROLLS CLIP]

PAMELA GELLER:

It is a triumph. It's triumphal. We know that Islamic pattern is to build giant mosques on the cherished sites of conquered lands.

PAMELA GELLER:

We know from research done by [UNCLEAR] that four out of five mosques preach a hate and preach incitement to violence.

RACHEL MADDOW:

That was one of the driving forces behind this story. Pamela Geller of the group Stop Islamicization of America. Citing statistics live on television. Four out of five mosques preach hate and preach incitement of violence. Now, as she said, that statistic comes from a group called, ironically enough, SANE. The Society of Americans for National Existence. It was one of those groups that was named after a drunk game of Boggle. This group is famous previously for claiming that black people—black Americans, specifically, are inherently violent. And that, yes, there was discrimination written into this country's founding documents, but maybe that's why this country turned out so great. Think about it. They also say they want to outlaw Islam. Not symbolically or hyperbolically, they actually want to make it illegal to be a Muslim in America. And they've put it in writing. Here's their proposed resolution to criminalize Islam in this country. I am not making this up. I didn't Photoshop this thing. It's the real thing. And without any adults around to hit the brakes, these are the folks who are being allowed to drive the national discussion in this country on the current scare white people political tactic. Joining us now is Suhail Khan. He's the chairman of the Conservative Inclusion Coalition. He's a former aide in George W. Bush's White House. Mr. Khan, thanks for joining us again tonight. It's nice to see you.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Good to see you, Rachel.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Suhail, I know that you have a history with folks like Pam Geller. In fact, they went after you at one time. What can you tell us about that?

SUHAIL KHAN:

Well if you remember growing up those Christmas specials with the islands of the misfit toys—well, Pam Geller, Frank Gaffney, Steven Emerson, Robert Spencer, these guys are these misfits who they couldn't really make it in mainstream politics, so they kind of went away, got together, and they started kind of talking to each other about their conspiracies and their wanting to sew mistrust and hatred towards other religious minorities. And, unfortunately, after, you know, playing with themselves for a long time and putting their stories up on the internet and attacking people serving their government, serving their country, they've now morphed into something of a mainstream effort, kind of latching on to this furor around the so-called mosque at Ground Zero and have tried to get into mainstream politics and, unfortunately, they've had some attention and have had some success just because of the emotional nature of this issue.

RACHEL MADDOW:

And they—to be clear, Suhail, they have come after individual Muslims who are working in the U.S. government, outing people as if it's some sort of scandal that you could be both Muslim and serving your country?

SUHAIL KHAN:

Absolutely. And just—you started out, they feel that Islam is a threat, that being Muslim should be made illegal and a federal crime. So when they find Muslim-Americans serving in government, they want to go out there and they try to smear their name, smear their backgrounds, and sometimes in a politically sensitive time, that can be enough to ruin people's careers. You can imagine, if you're a loyal American-Muslim working in a government agency or serving your local community, and suddenly there's all these horrible stories printed on the internet, and you don't have time to, you know, respond and your family goes through incredible heartache—and this is the real tragedy of these guy's effort. And what's worse is not only are they spending time going after innocent Americans, but they're really distracting the country from the real enemy that we face that we all have to join together in fighting as Americans regardless of our background.

RACHEL MADDOW:

In terms of the radicalness of these anti-Muslim extremists—and, yeah, we're talking about Pamela Geller, we're talking about Frank Gaffney, we're talking about other people who have been out there for a long time and we've known about them—they sort of percolate up to the surface every once in a while when one of their conspiracy theories gets latched on to by a more respectable person. We're now seeing them operate in more influential circles than we've really ever seen them before. As far as you can tell, is this sort of a high-water mark for them in terms of how much access they get to mainstream conservatives?

SUHAIL KHAN:

I hope so. I hope so. For years, you know, they were kind of marginally tolerated if that—you know, when they made presentations in meetings around Washington, D.C., people would check their Blackberry or kind of, you know, talk and whisper among themselves and figure out what they're going to have for lunch. But now these guys—they've found an issue and just as you said, they're getting—they're not opposed to the mosque at Ground Zero per se, they're opposed to any mosque anywhere. They're opposed to Muslims serving their country. They're opposed to Islam, period. And they just happened to have latched onto this issue and because it's the silly season right before the elections, unfortunately, some were duped into getting involved in this issue. But thank God, the grownups have come back into the room and people like Governor Christie and Ted Olson, who happened to have lost his wife on 9-11, are standing up and saying, enough. We've got to stop this. We have a Constitution. We have individual rights of religious liberty and all Americans should be able to practice those rights freely.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Suhail, let me just ask you one last question about what sort of—I guess, responsibility in a time like this. George W. Bush spoke publicly at a time of incredible national emotion on the issue of religion after 9-11, calling for essentially tolerance and respect. And for distinguishing between radicals who do things in the name of Islam and people who are—who happen to be Muslim who practice their faith in a peaceful way. George W. Bush seems to be staying out of this argument right now. I personally was surprised to see Karen Hughes, who had been such a visible figure in this administration, in terms of reaching out to the Muslim world, decide that she wanted this cultural center moved as well. Do you expect that George W. Bush may change his mind about this or that somebody else, quite highly-ranking from the Bush Administration might step in and try to be an adult here?

SUHAIL KHAN:

I can't tell and predict what will happen. I can tell you that a lot of people from the Bush Administration, people like former solicitor-general Ted Olson, Jim Glassman, who was the head of our diplomacy at the State Department has come out and said, this is not only un-American, but this is giving us a black eye around the world. Other people—and as I said, people like Governor Christie, future heroes within American politics, are standing up and saying this is enough. And that gives me great hope, that again, our democracy, our Constitution, will be protected in the days ahead.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Suhail Khan, chairman of the Conservative Inclusion Coalition, a former aide in George W. Bush's Administration, a guy who I'm sure gets no shortage of grief just for being on this show—which makes me very grateful. Suhail, thanks a lot for joining us.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Thank you, Rachel.

SUHAIL KHAN: REPRESENTATIVES SUCKERED BY CYNICS

RACHEL MADDOW:

Last Wednesday, four Republican members of Congress held a press conference demanding that the House Sergeant at Arms investigate CAIR, the Council on American/Islamic Relations. They said they wanted an investigation because they said CAIR had hatched a secret plot to try to place interns on Capitol Hill. Muslim interns. [ROLLS CLIP]

SUE MYRICK:

Author Paul Sperry and his co-authors investigating team have unearthed a 2007 memo written by CAIR which documents their stated intentions and goals to place interns in Congressional offices.

JOHN SHADEGG:

The book which Sue referred to, Muslim Mafia, is one in a series of books that I would encourage Americans to read.

SUE MYRICK:

I did write the forward to the book.

RACHEL MADDOW:

did write the forward to the book. The being an intern while being Muslim accusations come from a new book that is published by World Net Daily. World Net Daily is the website best known for conspiracy theories about things like health care reform and like the Obama administration's secretly planning to round up conservatives to put them in concentration camps. If this were just about World Net Daily pushing another cooky conspiracy theory—this one that Muslims were trying to take over Washington starting with the intern jobs, that would be a dog bites man story about the conservative movement and its fringes in the age of Obama. But this is four sitting members of Congress pushing this idea. Joining us now is Suhail Khan, he's the fellow for Christian-Muslim understanding at the Institute for Global Engagement. He's a former senior political appointee in the administration of President George W. Bush. Mr. Khan, it's nice to meet you. Thank you for being here.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Thanks for having me, Rachel.

RACHEL MADDOW:

As I said, if this were just World Net Daily we wouldn't be covering this story. But it's four serving members of Congress. And I understand that you think these allegations are not only concerning, but that you've seen this before.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Unfortunately, we have. It's disgusting, it's sad. And we have, particularly after 9-11, the same professional bigots—is what I call them—have gone after other Muslim-Americans serving their government. In the past, it was in the Bush Administration when I was serving and now they're going after Muslim staffers starting with interns. I guess if you know how to make coffee and answer the phone, next thing you do, you'll be taking over the world, so--

RACHEL MADDOW:

Who were the professional bigots that you met?

SUHAIL KHAN:

Well, there's the authors of this book. They've been joined by others on the internet and it's really invidious because not only do they go after these innocent Americans who just want to serve their country, they're really—they're making money off of it. And that's what this is all about. Really. They've duped these members of Congress, pushed them out in traffic on these charges that are completely baseless, really to sell books. And that's what it is. It's about fear-mongering and about money. It was interesting that they actually had their press conference a couple of days before the book release. I mean, if this is really about national security, you'd go to the authorities and say, you've got to stop something. And stop it now. No, this is about going to the media and trying to sell books. It's really sad.

RACHEL MADDOW:

That was one of the important details today followed up by talking points memo—reported that these four members of Congress, after they made the demand that the sergeant-at-arms investigate CAIR for these interns, these four members of Congress didn't actually make the request of the sergeant-at-arms to investigate.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Right.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Which implies that they're more motivated by the PR effect of scare-mongering about this than they are about any real perceived harm.

SUHAIL KHAN:

That's right.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah.

SUHAIL KHAN:

And it's sad and it has a real effect. Not only does it scare members of Congress and their chief of staffs to hire Muslim-Americans who otherwise would be great and loyal Americans serving in their office and serving their country, but even those that are working there now are being called in sometimes by their chief of staff. I know one instance where this has happened. And they're being questioned and saying, hey, is any of this true? Is there any truth to it? And worse, if you're a kid out in Peoria or in California, my home state, and you're thinking about going into public service, you might say, hey, maybe I'll just, you know, stay home and stay here and work locally in the private sector. Because maybe serving my country isn't what I should be doing right now. Because who needs this kind of scrutiny? It's just really disgusting. The good news is, it's only four members of Congress. You haven't seen our—the Republican leader out there. You haven't seen Mr. McConnell in the Senate out there and joining these guys. So it's really—they've been duped by these professional racists out there and I think if we can work with them, I plan to talk to them and try to educate them about the realities.

RACHEL MADDOW:

That's a generous take towards these four members of Congress. I mean, Sue Myrick wrote the forward to this book. And it seems to me that it is important for Republican politics and conservative politics—and American politics, broadly speaking—that there be someone in leadership who is willing to call out stuff like this and who'd be willing either to discipline or bring back onto the reservation these four members of Congress who have gone this way. Do they not bear some responsibility, though, for having followed this path thus far and for having given this scare-mongering press conference?

SUHAIL KHAN:

They do. They bear responsibility and we've seen this before. I mean, you know, whether it was Jewish-Americans at the turn of the century, Italian-American Catholics, we saw the hate during the 1960 election of President Kennedy. Unfortunately, at different times in our histories, some—a very select few—have fear-mongered and tried to raise a specter of fear about different Americans, whether they be Mormons, Catholics, Jewish-Americans. And now, after 9-11, it's Muslim-Americans. And so, I think—and you saw even in this last election, there were issues raised about Mitt Romney, about Barack Obama and his faith--

RACHEL MADDOW:

Right.

SUHAIL KHAN:

It took a hero like Colin Powell, if you recall, to get up and say, stand up and say, this has got to stop. We're all Americans here and we need to stand together as Americans.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Suhail Khan, fellow at the Institute for Global Engagement, a former senior political appointee in the George W. Bush Administration—I don't have anything to do with this, but as an American, I'm sorry.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Well, thank you.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Thanks.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Thanks for having me.

SUHAIL KHAN: ANTI-ISLAM PARANOIA THE NEW McCARTHYISM

PAT ROBERTSON:

Islam is a violent—I was going to say religion, but it's not a religion, it's a political system. It's a violent political system bent on the overthrow of the governments of the world and the world domination and I think we should treat it as such. And treat its adherents as such as we would members of the communist party or members of some fascist group.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Conservative televangelist Pat Robertson, putting his own patented Pat Robertson exploitative spin on the mass murder at Ft. Hood earlier this month. A graduate of Pat Robertson's law school, a politician to whom Pat Robertson has been a great benefactor over the years was elected governor of Virginia this month. He is Bob McDonnell, he's received tens of thousands of dollars of donations from Pat Robertson. He's appeared on Mr. Robertson's televangelist TV show, the 700 Club, and when Mr. McDonnell was asked this week if he thought it was appropriate for Pat Robertson to state, as you just heard, that Islam is not a religion, but rather a violent political system, Mr. McDonnell said this. [ROLLS CLIP]

BOB McDONNELL:

You know, I've got probably fifteen thousand donors to the campaign and I can't—I can't stand and defend or support every comment that every donor might make.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Yeah, that profile in courage from Mr. McDonnell this week. There's also comments from Republican congressman Don Manzullo of Illinois who was forced to clarify statements that he made about Islam this week after his objections to the potential transfer of Guantanamo prisoners to his home state included this little gem. [ROLLS CLIP]

DON MANZULLO:

These are really, really mean people whose job it is to kill people. Driven by some savage religion.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Some savage religion. Congressman Manzullo later said that he wasn't referring to all of Islam. He apologized for any misunderstanding. Mr. McDonnell and Congressman Manzullo joined in the religious misunderstanding fest this week by the biggest celebrity of all in conservative and Republican circles, Sarah Palin. [ROLLS CLIP]

SARAH PALIN:

I think it was quite unfortunate that, to me, it was a fair, I mean, politically incorrect to not—I'm going to use the word—profile this guy, profiling in the sense of finding out what his radical beliefs were. But I say profiling in the context of doing whatever we can to save innocent American lives, I'm all for it then.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Pity the poor CIA in the middle of all of this. Pity the poor CIA, which in the midst of that political climate is unveiling its new campaign to try to recruit Arab-Americans as CIA officers. Arab-Americans whose language skills alone are considered a vital tool for American fighting terrorism. The CIA has just previewed in Michigan a new TV ad targeting Arab-Americans for recruitment which it plans to air nationwide in the coming months. That recruitment effort made all the more difficult by the fact that Republicans in Congress have kept as their top member of the intelligence committee a Michigan congressman who is accused—excuse me, who has accused the CIA of harboring al-Qaeda sympathizers. In 2006, Congressman Pete Hoekstra of Michigan co-wrote an op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal* with former Republican Senator Rick Santorum. The op-ed argued that there were people inside the U.S. intelligence community trying to help al-Qaeda. When given the chance to back away from that accusation, Congressman Hoekstra told the *New Republic* at the time, quote, to rule out the possibility that there are people in the intelligence community that are doing this to help al-Qaeda, I think, would be naïve. If you think Congressman Hoekstra maxed out on modern McCarthyism back in 2006 when he accused the CIA of harboring al-Qaeda sympathizers, take a look at what he said today on CNN.

PETE HOEKSTRA:

I'm not only worried about these types of people potentially being in the military, I'm concerned about these folks being everyday Americans around America, living among us, who may have become—or are in the process of becoming radicalized.

RACHEL MADDOW:

That's the top Republican on intelligence. And if you're enjoying this side of McCarthyism with fewer Muslims are evil, politicizing of terrorism, you will enjoy what the attorney-general was up against this week in the Senate. He was momentarily rendered speechless, in fact, by Republican accusations that there may be terrorist sympathizers now in the U.S. Justice Department. [ROLLS CLIP]

MAN [UNIDENTIFIED]:

On Guantanamo, decisions to bring detainees to the United States and afford them civilian trials is highly questionable. I want to know more about who is advising you on these decisions. There are attorneys at the

Justice Department working on this issue who either represented Guantanamo detainees or worked for groups who advocated for them.

SENATOR KYL:

The principle reason there were so few military trials is the tireless campaign conducted by leftist lawyers to derail military tribunals by challenging them in the courts. Many of those lawyers are now working for the Obama Justice Department. That includes Holder, whose firm, Covington and Burling volunteered its services to at least eighteen of America's enemies in lawsuits they brought against the American people. The witness can surely respond to what I said.

ERICH HOLDER:

I don't even know where to begin.

RACHEL MADDOW:

I don't know either. And I didn't burst out laughing in the middle of it like you did, but I was tempted. Joining us now is Suhail Khan, the fellow for Christian-Muslim understanding at the Institute for Global Engagement. He's a former senior political appointee in the administration of President George W. Bush. Mr. Khan, thanks for joining us again.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Thanks for having me, Rachel.

RACHEL MADDOW:

There are two insinuations being made now pursuant to issues of terrorism. One, that Muslims generally can be trusted. And two, that al-Qaeda sympathizers are some kind of fifth column inside the U.S. government right now. Do you see these two types of insinuations as separate issues or do you think that they spring from the same place?

SUHAIL KHAN:

They unfortunately spring from the same place. So we're just reeling from the tragedy of Ft. Hood. We all remember what happened on 9-11 and instead of pulling together as Americans regardless of our faith, there are some, unfortunately, that are exploiting these tragedies for their own—either political or sometimes really hate-filled and it really is sad and disgusting.

RACHEL MADDOW:

As a Muslim who served at a high level in the U.S. government, I know that you were faced with people who questioned your loyalties, questioned the fact that you were there. What did you go through in that regard and do you think that it affords any lessons for us in terms of the way that the issue is being brought up again now in the context of the Obama administration and terrorism?

SUHAIL KHAN:

Well, I do—I did, after 9-11, I was serving in the White House and I felt some were attacking me and it was actually bipartisan. But I got to say, the vast majority of Americans are fair and they knew the truth and they stood by me both here in Washington, D.C. and around the country and that's what made all the difference. But it's so important that we stand up and say no when people try to exploit these tragedies for their own political or hate-filled ends. It just—we can't, we've done this before, during the communist era, Jews were the victims oftentimes, we've gone after Catholics in the past, and now, unfortunately, it's fair game to go after honest law-abiding Muslims around the country and it's just not right and good honest people need to stand up against it.

RACHEL MADDOW:

When I look at ambitious—in some cases, accomplished politicians like Mr. Manzullo, like Mr. McDonnell, like Ms. Palin, like Pete Hoekstra, when I look at these folks, again, who are very ambitious members of their party, very ambitious politicians, and I see them say things like this and get away with these comments about Muslims with really no political price to pay, at least in their own party, the question I'm answering—I want answered, is whether there's something wrong in our politics. Not just is there something wrong with them individually, but whether our politics are sort of—are too tolerant of smears against Muslims.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Well, it's unfortunately, right now, it is fair game to go after Muslim-Americans, honest Muslim-Americans, and I work really hard and my friends to try and remind people that Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans have served in uniform since the Revolutionary War and every war. Thousands have served, thousands serve today. And I remember those heroes that have served in the past and continue to serve. People like specialist Kareem Sultan Khan who at age sixteen on 9-11, resolved that he was going to join the military as soon as he was of age, enlisted in the Army, went to Iraq, served honorably, earned the Purple Heart and the Bronze Star. Unfortunately, as President Lincoln said, gave that last full measure and devotion by being killed in the line of duty in Iraq and is buried at Arlington. Those are the heroes that I want to remember and I remind politicians on both sides of the aisle that these are Americans. Regardless of our faith, we need to honor their memory and honor those that are serving today by upholding our values of fairness and justice for all people, regardless of their race or their religion. And that's just the bottom line, Rachel.

RACHEL MADDOW:

Suhail Khan is a former senior political appointee under President George W. Bush. He is now the fellow for Christian-Muslim understanding at the Institute for Global Engagement. Very happy to have you on the show, Suhail. Thanks for joining us.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Thank you, Rachel.

Exhibit 24:

Antiwar.com – Radio Interview with Suhail Khan

Antiwar.com

Scott Horton, August 22, 2010

Suhail Khan: Fake Mosque Controversy Erodes GOP Support

CHRIS HAYES:

Act one of the whole New York City mosque non-traversy was tragedy. And tonight, I'm here to tell you that we have officially entered act two of the New York City mosque non-traversy. Which is of course, farce. [ROLLS CLIP]

RICK SCOTT:

Barack Obama says building a mosque at Ground Zero is about tolerance. He's wrong. It's about truth. The truth—Muslim fanatics murdered thousands of innocent Americans on 9-11 just yards from the proposed mosque. The truth—the leader of the Ground Zero mosque refuses to admit that Muslim extremists use terror tactics. The truth—the fight against terrorism isn't over. Mr. President, Ground Zero is the wrong place for a mosque.

CHRIS HAYES:

Just yards. I like that. That was Republican gubernatorial hopeful in Florida named Rick Scott. Rick Scott, of course, was last seen running a company that settled the largest Medicare fraud case with the government in history. Today he resurfaced, releasing that television ad, titled, you'll love this, Obama's Mosque. Obama's Mosque, you ask. Where is Obama's mosque? Does Obama have a mosque? Is Obama a Muslim? Please, tell me more about this Obama mosque. All right, it's not Obama's mosque. It is the proposed community center in lower Manhattan that president Obama kind of endorsed. Oh, but it's not just Rick Scott making a fool of himself over this issue. This has ricocheted from downtown Manhattan to Washington to the great state of Florida and then back up to upstate New York. The heated battle between incumbent Democratic congressman, Michael Arcuri and his Republican challenger Richard Hanna.

The Republican here, unlike so many other of his craven colleagues, came out with a statement of surprising enlightened support for the Islamic community center, affirming the First Amendment. Mr. Hanna saying, quote, it's extremely easy to understand why people are upset by this, but this country was founded by people who were running away from religious persecution. So how can we become what we have beheld and found contemptible other places? After that statement, the Democrat in this race, apparently smelling political opportunity in the water, came out in vehement opposition to the community center, saying, quote, for the sake of the victims and their families, I think another location should be chosen. That move forced the Republican, who, again, had previously endorsed the Islamic center to promptly change his mind. He also immediately reversed himself and declared that he, too, was now against the community center. If you can't sense what's coming next, then you obviously haven't been following the farcical politics very long. Because Republican Richard Hanna was then denounced as a flip-flopper by his opponent's campaign. A flip-flopper on what's apparently the most important issue of our day. Profiles in courage all around here, gentlemen. I said last night that the mass hysteria over this Islamic community center was like a long bender that we'll one day look back on and feel ashamed of when it's over. And I was wrong in one crucial aspect. Which is that it's already

embarrassing. And the bender is still not over yet. The latest organization that's blatantly trying to eek whatever political gain possible out of this is the NRSC, the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Yes, the NRSC, which is now apparently being run by a non-traversy obsessed spambot, check out this series of press releases turned out by the NRSC yesterday. Where does David Lee Fisher stand on the Ground Zero mosque? Where does Michael Bennet stand on the Ground Zero mosque? Where does Alexi Giannoulis stand on the Ground Zero mosque? And on and on and on. More than a dozen straight press releases demanding to know where these Democrats stand on the most important issue of the day. Now this is not to say there haven't been various outbreaks of sanity here. There's actually been a number of Republicans who have come forward to criticize their own party over what has unfolded. [ROLLS CLIP]

MARK MCKINNON:

Usually Republicans are forthright in defending the Constitution and here we are, you know, reinforcing al-Qaeda's message that we're at war with Muslims. I think it's a very short-term strategy with long-term consequences for the party.

JOE SCARBOROUGH:

This is madness. There are elements of our party, Mark, that are marching through the fevered swamps of ideology and I say that as an intense, hard, hard-charging, small-government conservative.

MICHAEL GERSON:

I don't think this kind of rhetoric, this broad-brush rhetoric, about Islam, I think it actually undermines the War on Terror in many ways. I think that's really playing with fire. It's very, very dangerous.

CHRIS HAYES:

These are prominent Republicans calling out fellow Republicans for how they have acquitted themselves from this whole farcical non-traversy. Today, yet more Republican on Republican backlash over this issue. This time in a letter to Republicans written by a group of prominent Arab and Muslim Americans. A letter that reads in part, quote, we are deeply concerned by the rhetoric of some leading members of our party surrounding the construction of the Muslim community center in downtown Manhattan. While we share the desire of all in our party to be successful in the November elections, we cannot support victory at the expense of the U.S. Constitution or the Arab and Muslim community in America. Joining us now is one of the signatories to that letter. Suhail Khan, he's a chairman of the Conservative Inclusion Coalition. He's also a former senior political appointee in the George W. Bush Administration. Mr. Khan, thank you so much for joining us tonight. I really appreciate it.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Thanks for having me.

CHRIS HAYES:

First of all, I wanted—I wonder, well, I guess I know the answer to this, but I'll ask it anyway. Why did you and your colleagues decide to write this letter to your fellow Republicans?

SUHAIL KHAN:

Well, for—since the days of 9-11, we've seen that there's been a simmering boil of anti-Muslim rhetoric and hate from the fringe in our country and, unfortunately, that's been there, but responsible leaders in both parties have been ignoring that fringe. But, unfortunately now, we've seen that responsibility has gone away and now the leadership is embracing some of this hateful rhetoric. And it's just disgusting and shameful.

CHRIS HAYES:

Disgusting and shameful is pretty close to how I feel about watching this unfold. Can you explain to me why this is happening now? I mean, I've really been shocked, I have to say—and there are figures like George Pataki, former governor of New York, who I never sort of took to be some big culture warrior. Newt Gingrich, even, for all my disagreements with him, I've been surprised at the role he's played. What is going through everybody's mind? Why is everybody doing this?

SUHAIL KHAN:

I think, unfortunately, it's just short-term partisan gain. That's what people are looking at. I think for eight years in the last administration under George W. Bush and for the last year and a half under Obama, we've had responsible leadership that's been reminding Americans that the attacks on our country on 9-11 were not by a whole faith community. That we shouldn't go down the dark days that we did, unfortunately, in the past with the Japanese-Americans and others by trying to paint a broad brush. Unfortunately, again, that fringe element that wants to—wants to have a war and a clash of civilizations has unfortunately taken over to a certain degree and that's why my colleagues and other responsible adults want to stand up and say enough. We need to stand up against this and we need to be united as Americans as we go forward.

CHRIS HAYES:

Your former boss, President George W. Bush, has a book that's going to come out in the fall. I think today he gave a no comment on this. I wonder if you think he's the kind of voice that could actually stand up and say, hey, this is really insane. Let's cool it here.

SUHAIL KHAN:

We would—we would welcome that. He was a voice of reason after 9-11 as you recall, reminding Americans that this was not a war on Islam, but a war on terrorists. That the terrorists tried to hijack a great faith. And time and time again, he made a very important effort to visit the Islamic centers and to remind Americans again that this is not something that we need to go down. And it would be great if he came out—if you remember even in the 2008 cycle, Colin Powell stood up when there was a lot of this chatter going on in the internet around Barack Obama, then candidate Obama, and he stood up as a man of principle and said, this has got to stop. So it would be wonderful. We're seeing some good people come out and make these positive statements. You showed those in the beginning of this segment. But we need more so that we can really kind of head this off at the pass because, as you said, it's just morphing into—from bad to worse.

CHRIS HAYES:

Final question here. I know you call yourself a conservative and I know you are a conservative, you're a Republican. To me, watching this as a—not a conservative, it seems like this isn't just incidental to conservatism. That this kind of tribalist ethos, this sort of populist nationalism against this other is actually pretty deep in what conservatism is. And I wonder if you look around and say, do I want to be on the same side as these people?

SUHAIL KHAN:

I disagree with you on that. I think, you know, the conservative principles that I've always been drawn to is individual liberty, religious freedom, the respect for personal property, for private property, state and local control and these are issues that are all at play in this controversy and I just want to remind my fellow conservatives and all Americans that—let's stick to those time-honored Constitutional principles of individual liberty and we'll be fine. I really think this is just a bigotry blip and I hope that we'll beat this and we'll rise above it as we have in the past. I just hope that we can do it quicker than later.

CHRIS HAYES:

Bigotry blip. A wonderful coinage by Suhail Khan. A hopeful one. Chairman of the Conservative Inclusion Coalition. Former Bush Administration senior political appointee. Thank you so much for your time tonight.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Hey, thanks for having me.

Exhibit 25:

Salon.com – CPAC Infiltrated by Radical
Gays, Radical Muslims

http://www.salon.com/politics/war_room/2011/01/05/cpac_infiltrated_by_gays_muslims



WEDNESDAY, JAN 5, 2011 15:14 ET

CPAC infiltrated by radical gays, radical Muslims

BY JUSTIN ELLIOTT



WAR ROOM



AP

I **noted** last week that the annual Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington is currently the target of a boycott by social conservatives over the inclusion of the gay Republican group GOProud. Now, CPAC has angered a

separate segment of the conservative movement by allowing the conservative group Muslims for America to participate.

As Politico's Ben Smith **quipped**, "Who knew that creeping Sharia was so gay-friendly?"

The conservative news site WorldNetDaily, which has been trumpeting the criticisms of CPAC, today quotes Center for Security Policy president Frank Gaffney **charging** that radical Muslims are trying to "penetrate" the conservative movement because it is "the most likely and perhaps only community in America who will stand up to and ultimately help ensure the defeat of this seditious totalitarian political program."

Gaffney has set his sights on a longtime target of his, a former Bush administration official named Suhail Khan, whom Gaffney has been writing

about since at least **2003**. Khan is on the board of the American Conservative Union, which puts on CPAC, and he tells Salon he is a supporter of the Muslims for America booth at the conference.

Khan, a former GOP Hill staffer who worked for the Bush administration in the Office of Public Liaison and the Department of Transportation, is now a **senior fellow** for Christian-Muslim Understanding at the Institute for Global Engagement, a Washington-area think tank. According to WND, Khan is linked to radicals because his "father, Mahboob Khan, leader of a large mosque in Santa Clara, Calif., had allowed Osama bin Laden's No. 2 man, Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, to raise money there."

In an interview with Salon today, Khan says this is nonsense. "Frank knows that many if not most of the things that he's asserting are not true. He knows that I'm not a member of the Muslim Brotherhood. He knows that my parents are not involved in anything like that. My dad died 11 years ago. He was a high-tech engineer in the Bay Area."

Khan jokes: "After 9/11 I was an al-Qaida operator in the White House. Now I'm a closet Muslim Brotherhood frontman operating in the conservative movement. Next week I'll be in the Green Party."

He believes Gaffney is motivated by three things: "It's raising money -- the guy raises a ton of money. Secondly, there is no doubt there is ... political hay to be made on this. This gives him relevance that otherwise he doesn't have. Finally, I think there is just good old-fashioned bigotry."

At this point, though, the anti-Muslim criticism of CPAC appears to be far less intense than the anti-gay boycott, which already has several large social conservatives **on board**. That said, the February conference is not going to be an interfaith love-fest, either. Politico **reports** that a panel discussion is planned on "Defining and Debating Shariah in America."

-- Justin Elliott

Exhibit 26:

Talking Points Memo – Right-Wingers Claim Muslim
Brotherhood Has Infiltrated CPAC



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Right-Wingers Claim Muslim Brotherhood Has Infiltrated CPAC

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The right-wing site World Net Daily and conservative columnist Frank Gaffney came up with a new reason this week to hate the Conservative Political Action Conference, arguing that it has been infiltrated by the Muslim Brotherhood thanks to Grover Norquist, the Republican group Muslims For America, and Ex-Bush staffer Suhail Khan.

In an interview with TPM today, Khan described how "every few months there's a different iteration of [Gaffney] and his cohorts' wild accusations," but it is simply untrue, and a part of Gaffney's "tempter tantrum" that he has been marginalized by the conservative movement.

As we **reported**, several social conservative groups have pulled out of the annual Conservative Political Action Conference that will take place this February, because the gay conservative group GOProud will be attending. The Family Research Council and the National Organization for Marriage were among those who backed out.

CPAC is not exactly known for its fuzzy left-wing politics. Last year's conference included appearances by Dick and Liz Cheney, Mitt Romney, and Jim DeMint, with Glenn Beck as

keynote speaker. Rush Limbaugh keynoted in 2009.

[TPM SLIDESHOWS: 'The Vast Right-Wing Conspiracy': CPAC 2010 -- Parts **One**, **Two**, And **Three**]

But in an **article yesterday** on World Net Daily called "Now look who else is infiltrating CPAC," Gaffney "told WND that Islamism has infiltrated the American Conservative Union, the host of CPAC, in the person of Washington attorney and political activist Suhail Khan and a group called Muslims for America."

Gaffney has been a go-to shariah "expert" on the right for some time -- he even **testified** against a proposed mosque project in Murfreesboro, TN, and then **said on CNN** that the purpose of mosques "is to destroy western civilization from within."

"What's going on in conservative circles should give everyone real cause for concern," Gaffney told World Net Daily. "What it bespeaks is an effort to penetrate and influence conservatives, who are the most likely and perhaps only community in America who will stand up to and ultimately help ensure the defeat of this seditious totalitarian political program."

He also implicated anti-tax conservative activist Grover Norquist in the plot: "Grover Norquist is credentialing the nemetrators of this Muslim Brotherhood influence operation. This is part of tradecraft to get people who

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have standing in a community to give it to people who lack it, so they can do what they're assigned to do in terms of subversion. We are in a war, and he has been working with the enemy for over a decade."

"The fact that it has gone on within conservative circles for this long, and may be further enabled at CPAC this year, is a travesty," he continued.

Gaffney's crusade against Norquist goes back a long way, and was perhaps springboarded by the fact that Norquist's wife is Muslim. In 2003, Gaffney wrote a long article in [Front Page Magazine](#) about Norquist's role in "enabling a political influence operation to advance the causes of radical Islamists," particularly in the Bush Administration.

Norquist is president of Americans For Tax Reform, and currently [serves](#) on the GOProud board.

Khan, a former appointee in the Bush Administration and now a Senior Fellow for Christian-Muslim Understanding at the Institute for Global Engagement, dismissed the article in a phone interview with TPM today. He described how after September 11 the claim was that he was "an Al Qaeda operative in the Bush Administration," now it's that he's a member of the Muslim Brotherhood -- "next week I'll be a closet girl scout."

"Every one of his assertions is completely untrue," Khan said, adding that Gaffney "doesn't want to let a few silly facts in the way of good story."

Khan also described how Gaffney has "become completely marginalized in the conservative movement," and describes the article as a "tempter tantrum given that he is being ignored."

One of the claims, which Khan called "laughable," was that his late father was a founding member of the Muslim Brotherhood. His father was from South India, while the Muslim Brotherhood was founded in Egypt. "It's very annoying, and especially sad that he would besmirch the memory of my late father."

As for CPAC, Khan does serve on the ACU board, and said he might spend some time volunteering in the Muslims For America booth, but he has no official role in the group.

The ACU's CPAC director Lisa DePasquale [told](#) Ben Smith of Politico: "The fact is that we will have a panel tentatively titled 'Defining and Debating Shariah in America' at this year's CPAC moderated by Cliff May of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies."

"If what Frank says were true then, Suhail Khan is much more powerful than anyone ever imagined!" she added.

Norquist did not respond to TPM's request for comment.

[h/t Right Wing Watch.](#)

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Exhibit 27:

New York Times – Muslim and Arab Republicans
Take Issue With GOP on Mosque

The New York Times

The Caucus

The Politics and Government Blog of The Times

AUGUST 17, 2010, 5:24 PM

Muslim and Arab Republicans Take Issue With G.O.P. on Mosque

By *BERNIE BECKER*

A half-dozen Republicans have signed a letter criticizing the way some members of their party have responded to the proposed Muslim community center and [mosque near ground zero](#) in Manhattan.

The letter – whose six signers include officials from both the Reagan and [George W. Bush](#) administrations – takes issue with Republicans who have called the proposed location of the center insensitive. The letter also says that, while the signers want the [G.O.P.](#) to be successful in the midterm elections, “we cannot support victory at the expense of the U.S. Constitution or the Arab and Muslim community in America.”

David Ramadan, one of the signers, indicated via e-mail that all of the six are either Muslim or of Arab descent. He also said in a short telephone interview that the group was intentionally kept small – limited to “hardcore Republican activists,” as he put it.

Meanwhile, Randa Fahmy Hudome, another of the signers, said on Tuesday that fellow Republicans had so far given her an “overwhelmingly positive” response to the letter.

Here is the text of the letter:

August 17, 2010

Dear Republican Colleague:

We are writing to you today as loyal Americans who are active members of the Republican Party. We also happen to be proud of our Arab American and Muslim American contributions to the

Republican Party.

We are deeply concerned by the rhetoric of some leading members of our party surrounding the construction of the Muslim Community Center in downtown Manhattan. These comments are not only constitutionally unsound, they are also alienating millions of Arab American and Muslim American voters who believe, as we do, in the principles of our party – individual liberty, traditional values, and the rule of law.

As you know, our party has had a long history of inclusion – beginning with our great President [Abraham Lincoln](#), whose leadership on the slavery issue was monumental, and continuing through President George W. Bush whose public statements and actions on the differentiation between Islam and the terrorists who attacked us on 9-11 were critically important. We are particularly proud to note that President Bush appointed more Arab Americans and Muslim Americans to his administration than any other president in U.S. history.

That being said, it perplexes us as to why some vocal members of our party have chosen to oppose the construction of a cultural and religious center on private grounds. Not only does the First Amendment to our Constitution protect the right of these private citizens to worship freely, it also prevents Congress from making any law respecting an establishment of religion. Our party and the leaders in our party should not be engaged in judgment issues of the location of a cultural center and a house of worship in direct contravention of the First Amendment.

While some in our party have recently conceded the constitutional argument, they are now arguing that it is insensitive, intolerant and unacceptable to locate the center at the present location: “Just because they have the right to do so – does not make it the right thing to do” they say. Many of these individuals are objecting to the location as being too close to the Ground Zero site and voicing the understandable pain and anguish of the 9-11 families who lost loved ones in this horrible tragedy. In expressing compassion and understanding for these families, we are asking ourselves the

following: if two blocks is too close, is four blocks acceptable? or six blocks? or eight blocks? Does our party believe that one can only practice his/her religion in certain places within defined boundaries and away from the disapproving glances of some citizens? Should our party not be standing up and taking a leadership role— just like President Bush did after 9-11 – by making a clear distinction between Islam, one of the great three monotheistic faiths along with Judaism and Christianity, versus the terrorists who committed the atrocities on 9-11 and who are not only the true enemies of America but of Islam as well? President Bush struck the right balance in expressing sympathy for the families of the 9-11 victims while making it absolutely clear that the acts committed on 9-11 were not in the name of Islam. We are hoping that our party leaders can do the same now – especially at a time when it is greatly needed.

While we share the desire of all in our party to be successful in the November elections, we cannot support victory at the expense of the U.S. Constitution or the Arab and Muslim community in America. As President Lincoln so eloquently stated in his famous speech: “a house divided against itself cannot stand.”

As proud and patriotic Americans, we are grateful for all the rights our U.S. citizenship allows us, and we will always do our best to not only protect our rights but the rights of all others as well. May God Bless our nation, our freedoms, and our party.

David Ramadan
Vice Chair, Ethnic Coalitions, Republican Party of Virginia

Sherine El-Abd
President, New Jersey Federation of Republican Women

Randa Fahmy Hudome
Associate Deputy Secretary of Energy, Bush Administration

George Salem
Solicitor of Labor, Reagan Administration

Suhail Khan
Chairman, Conservative Inclusion Coalition

Samah A Norquist

Senior Advisor to Arab and Muslim Outreach, U.S. [Agency for International Development](#) (USAID), Bush Administration

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Exhibit 28:

White House Access List

1.	Grover Norquist 202 785-0266	ATR 202 785-0261 fax	10/19/56 grovern@aoi.com	US	202 785-0266
2.	Khaled Saffuri 202 955-7174	Islamic Institute 202 785-0261 fax	7/28/56	US	202 955-7174
3.	Talat Othman 847 550 8444	Islamic Institute	4/27/36	US	847 550 8444
4.	Nesim Ashraf 240 350 5055/301 891 6050	Pakistani PAC	7/25/50	US	240 350 5055
5.	Azeela Ashraf 240 350 5055/301 891 6050		11/26/50	US	240 350 5055
✓ 6.	Dr. Jamal Barzinji 703 404 4422	Int'l Inst. of Islamic Thought	12/15/39	US	703 404 4422
7.	Dr. Yahyah Basha 248 435-8066	Amer. Muslim Council	2/11/46	US	248 435-8066
8.	Dr. Syed Fai 202 628 6789	KAC	4/16/49	US	202 628 6789
9.	Omar Ahmad 408 244-5992	CAIR	11/18/59	US	408 244-5992
10.	Ali Jawad 313 582-1777	Armada Oil & Gas Co.	3/29/55	US	313 582-1777
11.	Faisal Gil 202 955-7174/202 463 8400 x 324	Islamic Institute	6/2/72	US	202 955-7174
12.	Reid Wilborn 202 955-7174	Islamic Institute	11/14/77	US	202 955-7174
13.	Nazir Hossain 909 948 1782	Islamic Institute	4/10/60	US	909 948 1782
14.	Ali Berry 313 582-1777	Armada Oil & Gas Co	1/31/60	US	313 582-1777
15.	Dr. Hassan Ibrahim 202 879-6726	MPAC 202 879-6728	10/3/56	US	202 879-6726
16.	Abdulwahab Alkebsi 202 789 2262	AMC	9/25/59	US	202 789 2262
17.	Dr. Amanullah Khan 214 693-5426	AMC	10/7/48	US	214 693-5426
18.	Ingrid Mattson 860 509 9531	AMC	8/24/63	Can	860 509 9531
19.	Nedzib Secirbey 703 534-8529	AMC	4/23/26	US	703 534-8529
20.	Sulayman Nyang 202 238-2311	AMC	8/12/44	US	202 238-2311
✓ 21.	W. Deen Mohammed 708 596 6498 (Basmalah Salat)	MAC	10/30/33	US	708 596 6498
22.	Yusef Saleem 202 483-8832	AMC	2/27/47	US	202 483-8832
23.	Abraham Turami 313 581 3008/313 790 0074	Islamic Institute	2/17/60	US	313 581 3008

Exhibit 29:

The New Republic – Grover Norquist's Strange
Alliance With Radical Islam

Grover Norquist's Strange Alliance With Radical Islam

Franklin Foer, *The New Republic*

November 12, 2001

On the afternoon of September 26, George W. Bush gathered 15 prominent Muslim- and Arab-Americans at the White House. With cameras rolling, the president proclaimed that "the teachings of Islam are teachings of peace and good." It was a critically important moment, a statement to the world that America's Muslim leaders unambiguously reject the terror committed in Islam's name.

Unfortunately, many of the leaders present hadn't unambiguously rejected it. To the president's left sat Dr. Yahya Basha, president of the American Muslim Council, an organization whose leaders have repeatedly called Hamas "freedom fighters." Also in attendance was Salam Al-Marayati, executive director of the Muslim Public Affairs Council, who on the afternoon of September 11 told a Los Angeles public radio audience that "we should put the State of Israel on the suspect list." And sitting right next to President Bush was Muzammil Siddiqi, president of the Islamic Society of North America, who last fall told a Washington crowd chanting pro-Hezbollah slogans, "America has to learn if you remain on the side of injustice, the wrath of God will come." Days later, after a conservative activist confronted Karl Rove with dossiers about some of Bush's new friends, Rove replied, according to the activist, "I wish I had known before the event took place."

If the administration was caught unaware, it may be because they placed their trust in one of the right's most influential activists: Grover Norquist. As president of Americans for Tax Reform, Norquist is best known for his tireless crusades against big government. But one of Norquist's lesser-known projects over the last few years has been bringing American Muslims into the Republican Party. And, as he usually does, Norquist has succeeded. According to several sources, Norquist helped orchestrate various post-September 11 events that brought together Muslim leaders and administration officials. "He worked with Muslim leaders to engineer [Bush]'s prominent visit to the Mosque," says the Arab-American pollster John Zogby, referring to the president's September 17 trip to the Islamic Center of Washington. Says Zogby, who counts Norquist among his clients, "Absolutely, he's central to the White House outreach." Indeed, when Jewish activists and terrorism experts complained about the Muslim invitees to Adam Goldman, who works in the White House public liaison's office, Goldman replied that Norquist had vouched for them. (Goldman denies this, but two separate sources say they heard him say it.) "Just like [administration officials] ask my advice on inviting religious figures to the White House," says Paul Weyrich, another top conservative activist, "they rely on Grover's help [with Muslims]."

Norquist denies being involved in "micromanaging the specifics" of White House meetings, but admits "I have been a long time advocate of outreach to the Muslim community." In fact, the record suggests that he has spent quite a lot of time promoting people openly sympathetic to Islamist terrorists. And it's starting to cause him problems. Weyrich, echoing other movement conservatives, says he is "not pleased" with Norquist's activity. According to one intelligence official who recently left the government, a number of counterterrorism agents at the FBI and CIA are "pissed as hell about the situation [in the White House] and pissed as hell about

Grover." They should be. While nobody suggests that Norquist himself is soft on terrorism, his lobbying has helped provide radical Islamic groups--and their causes--a degree of legitimacy and access they assuredly do not deserve.

Norquist is one of the undisputed masters of Republican coalition building. And so it is no surprise that he has turned his attention to America's fast-growing Muslim population, which by some accounts now stands at seven million strong. (Although two other recent reports suggest it is less than three million.) "He's worked with [Rabbi Daniel] Lapin to bring Jews into the fold," says one Norquist associate. "That was an uphill effort. So he figured that he could turn Muslims into the obvious counterweight to the relationship between the Jews and Dems." In the last few years, Norquist has pursued a Republican-Muslim alliance with a two-track approach. With conservatives, he has emphasized that Muslims are a good demographic fit for the GOP: well-off and socially conservative. "American Muslims look like members of the Christian Coalition," he wrote in *The American Spectator* this summer. To Muslims, he has promised a sympathetic hearing for their causes. He has pushed Republican leaders to support a prohibition on the government's use of "secret evidence" in the deportation of suspected terrorists--an issue that jibes with Norquist's own anti-government agenda. And he has intimated that Muslim support for Republicans could change U.S. policy toward the Middle East. Appearing on a panel at a 1999 meeting of the American Muslim Alliance, alongside activists who complained about the "Zionist lobby" and Jewish "monopolizing" of Jerusalem, Norquist announced that "[t]oo many American politicians have been able to take their shots at Muslims and at Muslims countries."

Norquist has not undertaken this crusade alone. In the mid-1990s, he enlisted a partner, Khaled Saffuri, then working as a lobbyist and deputy director for the American Muslim Council (AMC). After receiving a master's in management science, Saffuri came to Washington in 1987 and worked his way up through the city's Arab-Muslim political apparatus, starting with a stint at the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. In 1998 he left the AMC to help Norquist found the Islamic Institute, an advocacy organization dedicated to promoting a conservative agenda that would appeal to Muslims. Saffuri served as executive director and Norquist as chairman of the board.

The Institute operated out of the headquarters of Americans for Tax Reform, from which it borrowed not just a fax machine and conference room, but an agenda. Soon the Institute was shilling for all of Norquist's pet issues--a moratorium on Internet taxation, fast-track trade negotiation authority, and personal savings accounts. It even published a paper on the Koran's compatibility with capitalism. "People should remember that Mohammed and his wife were businessmen," Norquist notes. With the help of Saffuri, who brought ties to a vast network of activists, the Islamic Institute became a nerve center for Muslim lobbying in Washington. As Norquist puts it, "They gather at the Islamic Institute to plan and debrief, when they have meetings [with administration officials]."

Through the Islamic Institute, Norquist appears to have developed close relationships with a number of Muslim leaders. When I recently spoke to the Muslim Public Affairs Council's Salam Al-Marayati, the man who fingered Israel as a potential sponsor of the World Trade Center attacks, he recited Norquist's phone number from memory. When University of South Florida professor Sami Al-Arian e-mailed *The Wall Street Journal* in response to an op-ed that tied him to

Islamic Jihad, he CC'd Norquist. Last year at its annual dinner, the AMC presented Norquist with an award for his service. As John Zogby told me, "[H]e's played the role of interlocutor. With all respect, many of the leaders are immigrants and don't have years and years of experience. Grover has filled that void."

And he has done so to their mutual political benefit. During the 2000 campaign, Norquist urged Karl Rove to focus on the Muslim vote--pointing to, among other things, the thousands of Muslims in the key state of Michigan. By all appearances, the Bush campaign heeded Norquist's advice. In an admirable departure from the usual Republican script, Bush frequently integrated mosques into his platitudes about churches and synagogues. In the second presidential debate, Bush vowed to repeal the use of secret evidence, just as Norquist had promised. Bush even named Saffuri as the campaign's National Advisor on Arab and Muslim Affairs.

When Bush won, Norquist credited the Muslim strategy. "Bush's talk about outreach and inclusion had extraordinary results--the Muslim community went 2-1 for Bill Clinton in 1996 and almost 8-1 for Bush in 2000," he told *The Washington Times*. (That statistic is almost certainly untrue, and Bush actually lost Michigan, the state where Muslims are most heavily concentrated.) Or, as Norquist put it in the *Spectator*, "George W. Bush was elected President of the United States of America because of the Muslim vote."

Norquist quickly set about turning that supposed electoral influence into legislative influence. One day after Bush's inauguration, he and Saffuri arranged for Muslim leaders to meet Newt Gingrich and Congressman Tom Davis, head of the National Republican Congressional Committee. Soon Saffuri began regularly appearing at the White House, accompanying imams and heads of Islamic organizations to discuss the faith-based initiative and concerns about law enforcement persecution of Muslims. Suhail Khan, an administration adviser who helps plan Muslim outreach, once served on the Islamic Institute's board. And at one of his regular Wednesday meetings, according to two witnesses, Norquist announced that he had lobbied to get Khan his White House post. On the afternoon of September 11, a group of Muslim leaders happened to have plans to meet the president in the West Wing to discuss their grievances with racial profiling and secret evidence. When they couldn't enter the building, along with almost everyone else, they headed a few blocks uptown and reconvened--in the conference room of Norquist's office.

But the events of September 11 have cast some of Norquist's relationships in a less flattering light. Consider first the history and recent statements of the American Muslim Council, the organization that presented Norquist with an achievement award, and whose officials attend Norquist-arranged meetings with the Republican hierarchy. In the 1990s it co-sponsored two conferences with the United Association for Studies and Research, which, according to *The New York Times*, a convicted Hamas operative named Mohammed Abdel-Hamid Salah in 1993 called "the political command" of Hamas in the United States. At a Washington rally last year, Abdurahman Alamoudi, Saffuri's boss at the AMC, declared, "I have been labeled by the media in New York to be a supporter of Hamas. Anybody support Hamas here?...Hear that, Bill Clinton? We are *all* supporters of Hamas. I wished they added that I am also a supporter of Hezbollah." In press releases and forums, the AMC has defended the terrorist-harboring Sudanese government against charges that it massively violates human rights and condones slavery. As late as June of this year, the AMC put out a press release entitled "SLAVERY IN SUDAN IS A SHAM."

The record of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)--which, like the AMC, sends members to meetings organized by Norquist and Saffuri--is no more encouraging. When interviewed by *Salon's* Jake Tapper on September 26, CAIR Communication Director Ibrahim Hooper refused to condemn Osama bin Laden. CAIR founder Nihad Awad, who appeared with Bush at the Washington Islamic Center, has argued that "[t]here is ample evidence indicating that both the Mossad and the Egyptian Intelligence played a role in the [1993 World Trade Center] explosion." And Siraj Wahaj, who has served as a CAIR board member, has been described by federal prosecutor Mary Jo White as a possible conspirator in the '93 bombing. As Harvard professor of Islamic studies Ali Asani has complained, "There is general concern among Muslim intellectuals about how not only CAIR but some of these other organizations are claiming to speak in the name of the Muslim community, and how they're coming to be recognized by the government as spokespeople for the Muslim community in the U.S."

And Norquist hasn't only developed close ties to American groups that apologize for terror. He has also flacked for at least one Middle Eastern autocracy: Qatar. Eager to improve relations with the United States, Qatar worked with Norquist and Saffuri to help portray itself as a liberal outpost in the Islamic world. In April, Saffuri sponsored the "First Annual Conference on Free Trade and Democracy" in the Qatari capital of Doha, for which the Islamic Institute received over \$150,000 in payments from the Qatar Embassy's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Account. (Saffuri says these were reimbursements for the travel expenses of congressional delegates.) A lobbyist at Norquist's firm, Janus-Merritt, has solicited pro-Qatari op-eds from at least one conservative pundit. When the emir of Qatar came to Washington, Saffuri hosted a Capitol Hill luncheon in his honor. And just three weeks after September 11, Norquist wrote an op-ed in *The Washington Times* in which he claimed that "Qatar has taken great strides to enshrine values of universal suffrage, a free press, and human rights." He continued, "[S]he really means it on being a reliable ally."

Qatar may not be Iraq, but Norquist's arguments are still laughable. Freedom House, which monitors religious liberty, rates Qatar "not free." Among countries in the Middle East--a region hardly known for its liberalism--Qatar finished in the bottom half of a Heritage Foundation "Index of Economic Freedom." Two days after Norquist's op-ed, *The Washington Post* reported on Qatar's refusal to support a widening of the war on terrorism to include Islamic Jihad, Hamas, or Hezbollah. And, just two weeks later, the foreign minister of Qatar--our "reliable ally"--announced that "[t]he attacks against Afghanistan are unacceptable and we have condemned them. It is our clear position."

Norquist's new associations--particularly his links to groups like CAIR and the AMC--have not gone unnoticed in conservative ranks. Paul Weyrich says, "I have on at least one occasion [confronted him] and he assured me that he knew what he was doing and that I shouldn't have any concerns." Another conservative says he told Norquist about the two organizations' statements on terrorism, but it didn't make an impression. "We can't knock it off; we want them on our own team," Norquist replied.

Norquist's relationships have even pitted him against the GOP leadership. After the Republican convention last year, he set up a lunch at the Capitol Hill Club for Republican Party chairman Jim Nicholson to plot strategy with Muslim leaders. But in the week before the event, angry Jewish groups provided the RNC with a set of damning quotes from representatives of CAIR,

the AMC, and some of the other invited guests. When I asked Cliff May, who was the Republican National Committee's communications director at the time, he confirmed the story. "I was approached and apprised of their backgrounds and told the chairman there's reason to be concerned." The event took place--Nicholson didn't feel he could cancel it--but not as originally planned. As one RNC source explains it, Nicholson gave a "generic five-minute talk about lower taxes and less government and said thank you for your support and got the hell out."

Since September, not surprisingly, conservatives once willing to overlook Norquist's alliances have more aggressively aired their grievances. Consider William Murray, head of the Religious Freedom Coalition. He had considered Norquist a comrade, but now makes no secret of his displeasure. "Grover has a very liberated view of Islamic nations," says Murray, somewhat hyperbolically. "So they behead people in the public square. He thinks that's their business. Hey, it's no big deal to have people beheaded for religious crimes." Weyrich, too, has made his unhappiness a matter of public record: "I'm afraid Grover's woefully naive." Even Norquist's weekly confab has become the scene of internecine fighting. At a session earlier this month, Frank Gaffney questioned the presence of terrorist sympathizers at the White House. Norquist exploded, accusing Gaffney of smearing Muslims. Later he choked up as he addressed the meeting and asked Gaffney to stand up and join him in condemning anti-Muslim bigotry. One conservative who witnessed Norquist's tirade says, "His response is powered in part by a sense that this whole edifice he's created is in danger of coming unraveled because of [these groups'] stated and abiding positions."

When I visited Norquist, he was in a similarly embattled frame of mind. He asked me to turn off my tape recorder. Any quote I wanted to use, he told me, would require his approval. There were none of his usual passionate ideological perorations. He just sat in his chair, seething. "There are some people who spit on Muslims and wouldn't like to see them have any role in American politics," he told me in a near scream. Grover Norquist's pursuit of the fabled Republican-Muslim alliance, it seems, will continue for a long time.

FRANKLIN FOER is an associate editor at TNR.

Exhibit 30:

Frank Gaffney - A Troubling Influence



A Troubling Influence

Frank Gaffney, Jr.

Center for Security Policy | Dec 10, 2003

This article appeared originally at [Front Page Magazine](#) with the following statement from David Horowitz:



Why We Are Publishing This Article

The article you are about to read is the most disturbing that we at frontpagemag.com have ever published. As an Internet magazine, with a wide circulation, we have been in the forefront of the effort to expose the radical Fifth Column in this country, whose agendas are at odds with the nation's security, and whose purposes are hostile to its own. In his first address to Congress after 9/11, the President noted that we are facing the same totalitarian enemies we faced in the preceding century. It is not surprising that their domestic supporters in the American Left should have continued their efforts to weaken this nation and tarnish its image. Just as there was a prominent internal Fifth Column during the Cold War, so there has been a prominent Fifth Column during the war on terror.

By no means do all the opponents of America's war policies (or even a majority) fit this category. Disagreement among citizens is a core feature of any democracy and respect for that disagreement is a foundational value of our political system. The self-declared enemies of the nation are distinguished by the intemperate nature of their attacks on America and its President - referring to the one as Adolf Hitler, for example, or the other as the world's "greatest terrorist state." They are known as well by their political choices and associations. Many leaders of the movement opposing the war in Iraq have worked for half a century with the agents of America's communist enemies and with totalitarian states like Cuba and the former USSR.

We have had no compunction about identifying these individuals and groups. America is no longer protected by geographical barriers or by its unsurpassed military technologies. Today terrorists who can penetrate our borders with the help of Fifth Column networks will have access to weapons of mass destruction that can cause hundreds of thousands of American deaths. One slip in our security defenses can result in a catastrophe undreamed of before.

What is particularly disturbing, about the information in this article by former Reagan Defense official, Frank Gaffney, is that it concerns an individual who loves this country and would be the last person to wish it harm, and the first one would expect to defend it. I have known Grover Norquist for almost twenty years as a political ally. Long before I myself was cognizant of the Communist threat - indeed when I was part of one of those Fifth Column networks - Grover Norquist was mobilizing his countrymen to combat it. In the early 1980s, Grover was in the forefront of conservative efforts to get

the Reagan Administration to support the liberation struggles of anti-Communists in Central America, Africa and Afghanistan.

It is with a heavy heart therefore, that I am posting this article, which is the most complete documentation extant of Grover Norquist's activities in behalf of the Islamist Fifth Column. I have confronted Grover about these issues and have talked to others who have done likewise. But it has been left to Frank Gaffney and a few others, including Daniel Pipes and Steven Emerson, to make the case and to suffer the inevitable recriminations that have followed earlier disclosures of some aspects of this story.

Up to now, the controversy over these charges has been dismissed or swept under the rug, as a clash of personalities or the product of one of those intra-bureaucratic feuds so familiar to the Washington scene. Unfortunately, this is wishful thinking. The reality is much more serious. No one reading this document to its bitter end will confuse its claims and confirming evidence with those of a political cat fight. On the basis of the evidence assembled here, it seems beyond dispute that Grover Norquist has formed alliances with prominent Islamic radicals who have ties to the Saudis and to Libya and to Palestine Islamic Jihad, and who are now under indictment by U.S. authorities. Equally troubling is that the arrests of these individuals and their exposure as agents of terrorism have not resulted in noticeable second thoughts on Grover's part or any meaningful effort to dissociate himself from his unsavory friends.

As Frank Gaffney's article recounts, Grover's own Islamic Institute was initially financed by one of the most notorious of these operatives, Abdurahman Alamoudi, a supporter of Hamas and Hezbollah who told the Annual Convention of the Islamic Association of Palestine in 1996, "If we are outside this country we can say 'Oh, Allah destroy America.' But once we are here, our mission in this country is to change it." Grover appointed Alamoudi's deputy, Khaled Saffuri to head his own organization. Together they gained access to the White House for Alamoudi and Sami al-Arian and others with similar agendas who used their cachet to spread Islamist influence to the American military and the prison system and the universities and the political arena with untold consequences for the nation.

Parts of this story have been published before, but never in such detail and never with the full picture of Islamist influence in view. No doubt, that is partly because of Grover Norquist's large (and therefore intimidating) presence in the Washington community. Many have been quite simply afraid to raise these issues and thus have allowed Grover to make them seem a matter of individual personality differences. This suits his agendas well, as it does those of his Islamist allies. If matters in dispute reflect personal animosity or "racial" prejudice, as Grover insists, then the true gravity of these charges is obscured. The fact remains that while Grover has denied the charges or sought to dismiss them with such arguments on many occasions, he has never answered them. If he wishes to do so now, the pages of frontpagemag.com are open to him.

Many have been reluctant to support these charges or to make them public because they involve a prominent conservative. I am familiar with these attitudes from my years on the Left. Loyalty is an important political value, but there comes a point where loyalty to friends or to parties comes into conflict with loyalty to fundamental principles and ultimately to one's country. Grover's activities have reached that point. E.M. Forster, a weak-spirited liberal, once said that if he had to choose between betraying his country and his friends, he "hoped [he] would have the guts" to betray his country.

No such sentiment motivates this journal. In our war with the Islamo-fascists we are all engaged in a battle with evil on a scale that affects the lives and freedoms of hundreds of millions people outside this nation as well as within it. America is on the front line of this battle and there is no replacement waiting in the wings if it fails, or if its will to fight is sapped from within. This makes our individual battles to keep our country vigilant and strong the most important responsibilities we have. That is why we could not in good conscience do otherwise, than to bring this story to light.

A Troubling Influence

By Frank Gaffney

At a black-tie dinner on November 5th [2003], nearly 300 conservative activists and politicians gathered at Washington's Mayflower Hotel to recognize a prominent fixture in their community: tax-advocate and conservative coalition-builder Grover Norquist.

The talk that evening was of the honoree's tireless efforts to advance his libertarian objective of down-sizing federal, state and local governments by reducing their revenues. He was toasted for organizing nationwide initiatives to memorialize Ronald Reagan, notably with the renaming of the capital's National Airport after the former President.

Most in the audience were surely unaware that the effect of their tribute - if not its organizers' intended purpose - was to provide urgently needed political cover for a man who has been active on another, far less laudable and, in fact, deeply problematic front: Enabling a political influence operation to advance the causes of radical Islamists, and targeted most particularly at the Bush Administration. The growing influence of this operation - and the larger Islamist enterprise principally funded by Saudia Arabia - has created a strategic vulnerability for the nation, and a political liability for its President.

The Islamist Connection: Abdurahman Alamoudi

The association between Grover Norquist and Islamists appears to have started about five years ago, in 1998, when he became the founding chairman of an organization called the Islamic Free Market Institute, better known as the Islamic Institute.¹ The Institute's stated purpose was to cultivate Muslim-Americans and Arab-Americans whose attachment to conservative family values and capitalism made them potential allies for the Republican Party in advance of the 2000 presidential election.

If successful, such an outreach effort could theoretically produce a windfall in votes and campaign contributions. Consequently, it enjoyed the early support of Karl Rove, when he was then-Governor Bush's political advisor, and who knew Norquist from their days in the College Republicans.

Unfortunately, some associated with the Islamic Institute evidently had another agenda. Abdurahman Alamoudi, for one, a self-described "supporter of Hamas and Hezbollah,"² the prime-mover behind the American Muslim Council (AMC) and a number of other U.S.-based Islamist-sympathizing/supporting organizations, saw in the Islamic Institute a golden opportunity to hedge his bets.

For years, Alamoudi had cultivated ties with the Democratic Party and its partisans, and contributed significant amounts to its candidates. These donations had given Alamoudi access to the Clinton White House and enabled him and his associates to secure the right to select, train and certify Muslim chaplains for the U.S. military.³

By the end of the 1990s, an AMC spin-off called the American Muslim Armed Forces and Veterans Affairs Council and a like-minded organization, the Islamic Society of North America, were responsible for selecting *all* U.S. Muslim chaplains.⁴ One of these appointees - Army Captain Yousef Yee - has lately been in the news. Yee has been removed from his duties ministering to Taliban and al-Qaeda detainees at Guantanamo pending military judicial proceedings for, among other alleged misconduct, mishandling classified material.

For an Islamist-sympathizer like Alamoudi, the opportunity to determine who would minister to Muslims in the U.S. military was an important strategic prize. It built upon a Saudi-sponsored initiative dating back to the time of Operation Desert Storm to convert members of the American armed forces to Wahhabi Sunnism,⁵ the religious doctrine of the Islamic radicals. It has been reported that Saudi Arabia provided more than 100 such service personnel⁶ - including Captain Yee⁷ - with free trips to Mecca to make the *hajj*. (The nature and implications of these Islamist initiatives are under investigation by the Senate Judiciary Committee's Terrorism Subcommittee, chaired by Senator Jon Kyl, R-AZ, and by the Defense Department's Inspector General.)

In the mid-1990s, Alamoudi also had a hand in the recruitment and placement of another 75-100 so-called "Islamic lay leaders" for the U.S. military. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, he arranged for "an arm of the Saudi government" called the Institute of Islamic and Arabic Sciences to train "soldiers and civilians to provide spiritual guidance when paid Muslim chaplains aren't available." The *Journal* also reports that there are signs that "the school...disseminates the intolerant and anti-Western strain of Islam espoused by the [Saudi] kingdom's religious establishment."⁸

The right to select military chaplains not only offered Alamoudi and his colleagues the chance to recruit still more Islamists with specialized and highly useful skill-sets. It also was an invaluable legitimating credential to be wielded against those who might otherwise regard the American Muslim Council and its leader with suspicion, or worse.

It would, therefore, have been important to retain this role even if the Democratic presidential candidate, Al Gore, were to lose and Republicans come to power. Hence, Abdurahman Alamoudi took an interest in one of the GOP's most assiduous and influential networkers, Grover Norquist.

It seems unlikely that even in Alamoudi's wildest dreams he could have imagined the extent of the access, influence and legitimacy the American Muslim Council and allied Islamist

organizations would be able to secure in Republican circles, thanks to the investment they began in 1998 in a relationship with Norquist.

Alamoudi and Norquist

The investment began when Alamoudi wrote two personal checks (a \$10,000 loan and what appears to be a \$10,000 gift) to help found Norquist's Islamic Institute.⁹ In addition, Alamoudi made payments in 2000 and 2001 totaling \$50,000 to Janus-Merritt Strategies, a lobbying firm with which Norquist was associated at the time.¹⁰

Questions about the original source of this seed money would seem to be in order. In particular, it would be instructive to know whether it came from Saudi Arabia or a pedigreed terrorist state like Libya. Last month, Alamoudi was arrested and charged with engaging in illegal financial transactions with the Libyan government. According to an affidavit filed at the time, he admitted to trying to take \$340,000 in sequentially numbered \$100 bills to Syria, en route to Saudi bank accounts.¹¹ When apprehended, Alamoudi declared that the funds had been delivered to him after extensive interactions with officials of Muammar Qadhafi's government by a man "with a Libyan accent." Its source is alleged to be a charity used by Qadhafi to finance terrorist operations.

According to the affidavit, Alamoudi told authorities in Britain that once the Libyan funds were in Saudi banks, he would then draw upon them in roughly \$10,000 increments to defray the expenses of organizations with which he was associated in the United States. He admitted to having undertaken "other, similar transactions involving amounts in the range of \$10,000 to \$20,000." He also acknowledged that he had first approached representatives of the Libyan government in 1997 - the year before Norquist's Islamic Institute was founded.

It is unclear exactly how much money Alamoudi received from Libya and precisely when, or who were the beneficiaries. What is known, however, according to published tax returns and foundation records, is that the overwhelming majority of the Norquist Institute's funds from its inception have come from Persian Gulf states and their U.S. funding mechanisms, a number of which have been raided by federal anti-terrorism task forces.¹²

Whatever the provenance of Alamoudi's seed money for the Islamic Institute, an even more significant contribution to its future course came in the form of the placement of his deputy, Khaled Saffuri, as the founding director of Norquist's new organization. This placement is consistent with a practice long employed by Islamist-associated groups in the United States and, for that matter, other tightly controlled and non-transparent enterprises (e.g., the Soviet KGB's operations overseas and Mafia business empires).

This disciplined approach has guided the Saudi-funded global Islamist network starting back in the 1960s. At that time, the Saudi Ministry of Religious Affairs established the Muslim World League (MWL) - headed by the minister himself - to promote radical Islamist agendas around the globe.

Of particular concern has been the MWL's effort in America where four layers of front organizations have been spawned to recruit, indoctrinate, train and employ new adherents in

furtherance of the Islamists' overarching objectives: dominating the Muslim world and, in due course, forcing the non-Muslim world as well to submit to Islamic law.¹³

A surprisingly small number of trusted individuals run and financially control the roughly 40 groups that make up this radical Islamic front. For years, Abdurahman Alamoudi has been the most prominent leader of this front in America, and is involved in no fewer than 16 Islamist organizations.

As in the case of Grover Norquist's Islamic Institute, control of the operations of these front organizations is usually given to a protégé of one of the godfathers or another trusted cadre member. Funds then flow from the same network.

Hence, in addition to the seed money from Alamoudi, the Islamic Institute has also received funding from organizations described by the *Washington Post* as a "secretive group of tightly connected Muslim charities, think tanks and businesses based in Northern Virginia [and] used to funnel millions of dollars to terrorists and launder millions more" - a number of whom are currently part of the "largest federal investigation of terrorism financing in the world."¹⁴

Point Man: Khaled Saffuri

The founding director of Grover Norquist's Islamic Institute, Khaled Saffuri, is a Muslim Palestinian by birth. Prior to joining Alamoudi's group (where he served for almost three years¹⁵), Saffuri was active in Muslim-support operations in Bosnia,¹⁶ a hot-bed for Islamic radicals from Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia and elsewhere anxious to establish a beachhead on the continent of Europe. In recent years, he has acknowledged personally supporting the families of suicide bombers - even though, in public settings, he strenuously denies having done so.¹⁷ He denounced President Bush for shutting down the Holy Land Foundation, a Saudi charity that the U.S. government determined was funneling American Muslims' donations to terrorist organizations overseas.¹⁸

I first had occasion to observe Saffuri in the late 1990s, when I became a regular attendee of Grover Norquist's "Wednesday Group" meetings, weekly gatherings of conservative movement activists and libertarians. Troubled that many of the participants rarely, if ever, addressed national security matters - certainly before 9/11 and, arguably, even afterwards - I viewed these conclaves as an opportunity to promote awareness of and renewed support for robust foreign and defense policies. With a view to doing that on a routine basis, I accepted Norquist's invitation to move my Center for Security Policy into new office space he had acquired. In the summer of 1999, I relocated to the space which was also occupied by his primary organization, Americans for Tax Reform, which also housed the Wednesday Group meetings and the Saffuri-headed Islamic Institute.

Since the Institute was located inside the ATR suite next to ours, we wound up sharing a large conference room, Xerox room, bathrooms, elevator bank and hallway. Consequently, I had a ring-side seat as Saffuri and his colleagues became ever more prominent fixtures at the Wednesday Group meetings, usually underscoring their close relationship with the host by sitting next to Norquist (or near him) in the center of the room.

From time to time, one or another of the Islamic Institute's associates would make a presentation to the generally standing-room-only crowds of influential Washington conservatives, would-be politicians, think-tank denizens, journalists, and an increasing number of lobbyists. Over the years, topics they addressed included: the plight of Palestinians under Israeli occupation; the much-maligned and badly misunderstood Islamist government of Sudan (in fact, a designated state-sponsor of terrorism); the innocent nature of the process whereby Muslim chaplains have been selected for the armed forces; the honored status of women in the Muslim world; and efforts to promote Islamic causes and candidates in Republican circles.

Whenever possible, I tried to interject or make presentations to counter what I considered to be an ill-concealed and ominous influence operation. On one occasion, which occurred a few weeks after 9/11, I made an intervention to decry the fact that Alamoudi's American Muslim Council was among the groups invited to the White House. I observed that on the same day its representatives were meeting with the President and his senior subordinates to talk about how Muslims could help with the war on terror, the AMC's website featured a box headlined "Know Your Rights." A click on the proffered hyperlink took you to a joint statement urging Muslims not to talk to the FBI. The statement was issued in the name of an organization of which the AMC was a member: the National Coalition to Protect Political Freedom (NCPFF) - a virtual legal aid office for terrorists. At the time, a South Florida University professor named Sami al-Arian was the NCPFF's president. As will be discussed below, he was also Secretary of the worldwide governing council of a terrorist organization called Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), responsible for 99 suicide-bombing victims.

I suggested to the Wednesday Group that the White House would surely have been astonished to discover that it was dignifying so-called Muslim leaders who were urging their co-religionists not to cooperate with law enforcement. I also pointedly observed - without mentioning names - that those responsible for facilitating the President's Muslim outreach, who profess to support him and wish him success, should take pains to avoid including such groups in the future. I circulated a column I had written making similar points and that had been published the day before in the *Washington Times*.¹⁹

No sooner had I finished speaking than Norquist left his seat to consult with Saffuri's deputy and successor as director of the Islamic Institute, Abdulwahab Alkebsi (another former Deputy Director of Alamoudi's AMC).²⁰ After the consultation, Norquist came over to me and whispered that he had checked and that there was no such box on the AMC website. I, in turn, consulted with one of my colleagues, who produced a copy of the webpage in question and sequential images as it was removed from the site in the wake of my column's publication. (This was not an isolated phenomenon; in fact, in the post-9/11 period, webmasters for a number of pro-Islamist organizations evidently were directed to sanitize their internet sites.)

I reported this to Grover and showed him the original item. Shortly thereafter, I had to leave the meeting. Only later did I discover that he had taken advantage of my absence to disinform the group by announcing that what I had told them about the AMC website was wrong and that it featured no such encouragement to obstruct justice.

Penetrating The Bush Campaign

In 2000, thanks to Grover Norquist's influence with the White House political operation, Khaled Saffuri was named the George W. Bush presidential campaign's National Advisor on Arab and Muslim Affairs.²¹ Holding out the promise of votes and donations in key battleground states with significant Muslim populations (notably, Michigan, Florida and New Jersey), Saffuri and Norquist were able to persuade the Bush campaign's chief strategist, Karl Rove, essentially to contract-out to them responsibility for identifying the groups and individuals upon whom the Governor should rely to elicit such support. *Insight Magazine* reported in February 2001:

[In September 2000], on [Karl Rove's] way to the airport to catch his flight back to Texas, Khaled Saffuri, executive director of the Islamic Institute, joined Rove in his car. Saffuri explained to him that the vote of the Arab-American community, which includes both Muslims and Christians, still was up for grabs. The community is prosperous and could be the source of considerable campaign contributions. If Bush would mention in public just a few of the issues that concern Arab-Americans, Saffuri told Rove, he would win their hearts, their minds and their support.²²

While the thrust of this report sounds right, the evidence suggests Saffuri's car ride with Rove was by no means the first time such a proposition had been discussed with the Bush campaign. Indeed, the lure of such political dividends induced Governor Bush to hold a meeting in his mansion in Austin on May 1, 2000, not only with Alamoudi and Saffuri, but with other, immoderate Muslims, as well. As the *National Journal* reported:

It was the summer of 2000, and for George W. Bush, the meeting held the promise of an unusual but important endorsement for his presidential bid. Conservative activist Grover Norquist had persuaded the Republican nominee to sit down with leaders of the Muslim American Political Coordinating Committee, a confederation of four Muslim community groups.²³

In addition to Alamoudi's American Muslim Council, the group included the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR). CAIR's executive director, Nihad Awad is another self-professed Hamas-supporter and, as will be discussed further below, its radical agenda and ties have recently been the focus of sharp, bipartisan criticism in Sen. Kyl's Judiciary subcommittee.

Saffuri had also arranged for the Bush campaign to enlist Sami al-Arian, a well-known Florida-based activist - despite the fact that the professor made little secret of his radical Islamist sympathies - to help engender Muslim support in his state.²⁴ A photograph of Mr. Bush taken with al-Arian in March 2000 subsequently received considerable attention after the professor was arrested last February on 40 terrorism-related counts. Of particular concern are those alleging his functional direction over the past 19 years of Palestinian Islamic Jihad, one of the most murderous terrorist organizations in the Middle East.²⁵

Obstructing Justice

Al-Arian's arrest was made possible by the USA-PATRIOT Act. With this legislation's enactment after 9/11, it became possible for the first time in decades, for U.S. law enforcement and intelligence agencies to share sensitive information - such as the voluminous wiretaps of

Sami al-Arian coordinating Palestinian Islamic Jihad operations from his professor's office in Tampa.

Not surprisingly, the Islamist front recognizes the threat this and other provisions of the PATRIOT Act represent to their operations in America. They are determined to rescind it and, if possible, remove its principal architect and most effective defender, Attorney General John Ashcroft. Accordingly, they have become an integral part of the left-wing coalition, which includes the ACLU, the pro-Castro National Lawyers Guild and many Islamic "solidarity" groups, in waging a national campaign against the PATRIOT Act. It seems hardly coincidental that the preeminent conservative figure to join the campaign and lead the recruitment of other conservatives is Grover Norquist.

In fact, Norquist was also a prime-mover behind efforts to secure one of the Islamists' top pre-9/11 agenda items: the abolition of a section of the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act that permits authorities to use what critics call "secret evidence." This is a rarely employed practice whereby prosecutors can withhold classified information from foreign suspects. To do so, however, the authorities must have reason to believe the disclosure of such information could compromise - and, thereby, eliminate - the sensitive intelligence "sources and methods" by which it was obtained.

As it happens, one reason why banning secret evidence was an Islamist priority was that undisclosed classified information linking Sami al-Arian's brother-in-law, Mazen al-Najjar, to terrorist activities was used to detain the latter from 1997 to 2000. Ultimately, that same information was used to deport him.

Thus, secret evidence was a personal priority for one of the Bush campaign's Muslim-outreach operatives - and corrective action became a price of his and other Islamists' support. In the second presidential debate with Al Gore, Governor Bush responded to the demand that, as Saffuri put it, he "mention in public just a few of the issues that concern Arab-Americans." The Republican candidate formally pledged that, if elected, he would prohibit the use of secret evidence.²⁶

In recognition of this stunning exercise in political influence and his instrumental role in achieving it, Grover Norquist was an honoree at an event held by Sami Al-Arian's National Coalition to Protect Political Freedom in July 2001, two months before 9/11. The award was for being a "champion of the abolishment movement against secret evidence." Such recognition was certainly deserved. But for the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon that followed, Norquist's efforts would by now almost certainly have denied law enforcement this important anti-terrorism tool.

Ironically, pro-Islamist groups had been scheduled to meet with President Bush on the morning of September 11 to hear what he planned to do to deliver on his secret evidence campaign pledge.²⁷ But that day, the executive mansion complex was shut down, for fear that a fourth hijacked aircraft was headed its way. I watched bemused as Grover Norquist and the White House official responsible for Muslim outreach, Suhail Khan, escorted the displaced Islamists into the conference room we share. (Al-Arian had arranged to participate in the presidential meeting via phone. According to his website, his teaching schedule at the University of South Florida would not allow him to be there in person.)²⁸

Penetrating the White House

Suhail Khan was one of at least three Muslim outreach gatekeepers at the White House with whom Norquist has been associated over the years. I became aware of the intensity of the attachment when Norquist verbally assaulted me one day in the hallway outside our offices with the accusation that I had been calling Khan a terrorist. I assured him that I had done no such thing. Evidently, somebody else, though, had stumbled onto the fact that Khan's late father, Mahboob Khan, was a prominent figure in the Islamist enterprise in America. It turns out that, among other things, he was the founder of a large Wahhabi center, mosque and school in Orange County, California.²⁹

The *New York Times* revealed on October 23, 2001, that, in that capacity, Khan Sr. had hosted Ayman al-Zawahiri, reportedly Osama bin Laden's right-hand-man in the al-Qaeda organization - not once, but twice in the 1990s.³⁰ The first time, Zawahiri came under his own name, the second time he used an alias. In the course of his trips, the terrorist chief reportedly not only raised funds for al-Qaeda's operations at Khan's mosque but also purchased satellite communications equipment while in the United States.³¹

After Khan's family ties to terror became a focus of press attention, Suhail left the White House staff to go to work at the Department of Transportation. Grover Norquist closed a Wednesday Group meeting by tearfully apologizing to Suhail Khan for the injury caused him by "racists and bigots" and, by example, encouraging the assembled company to join him in a standing ovation to Khan. Most hadn't a clue what he was talking about but went along. Mindful that Norquist had me in mind, I sat it out.

If White House security procedures had worked across the board as they were supposed to, it seems unlikely that President Bush and his senior subordinates would ever have met with some of those sponsored by Norquist and Saffuri. Sami al-Arian and Abdurahman Alamoudi, for example, would probably never have gotten inside the White House compound.

What happened at the Wednesday Group meeting after Khan's move to Transportation was unfortunately not an isolated incident, but part of an already established pattern. In July 2001, the Secret Service evicted Sami al-Arian's son, Abdullah, from a meeting in the White House. The President had affably dubbed Abdullah "Big Dude" after first meeting him and his family on the campaign trail in Florida in March 2000.³² Evidently, the Service acted on the basis of the law enforcement community's longstanding suspicion of the father's ties to international terror.

Norquist's friends immediately raised a ruckus. Other participants in the meeting walked out in solidarity. It became a *cause celebre*, trumpeted as an egregious example of the racial profiling about which the Islamists and their leftwing allies incessantly complained. In short order, the Deputy Director of the Secret Service was obliged to issue a written apology to "Big Dude" al-Arian. And the President himself personally called the evictee's mother to express regret and to assure her that no such thing would be allowed to happen again.

Access to the White House

Notice had been served on the Secret Service and other security-vetters: Their job was to provide for the President's *physical security* - the threat of would-be assassins - not to protect him from the political embarrassment (or worse) that might result from meetings with terrorist-apologists, or possibly terrorists themselves. If unarmed Islamists were able to secure access to Mr. Bush and his subordinates (e.g., the Secretaries of the Treasury, State and Energy, the Attorney General, the directors of Homeland Security and the FBI), law enforcement and intelligence professionals got the message that they were not to interfere.

Consequently, over the years, and particularly as the Bush Administration's Muslim outreach effort ramped up in the aftermath of 9/11, Grover Norquist was able to gain extraordinarily high-level access for a number of troubling individuals and groups. An undated White House memo, evidently prepared by Suhail Khan in early 2001 and intended to coordinate Muslim and Arab-American public liaison events, shows that Norquist's Islamic Institute was instrumental in establishing Islamist connections with the Bush administration. The Islamic Institute provided the White House with a list of Muslim invitees, with the name, date of birth and Social Security number of each. As the founder of the Islamic Institute, Grover Norquist tops the list.³³

A leading Arab-American pollster, John Zogby, told *The New Republic*, "[Grover]'s played the role of interlocutor. With all respect, many of the leaders are immigrants and don't have years and years of experience. Grover has filled that void." He went on to say that "absolutely, [Grover is] central to the White House outreach."³⁴

Among the dubious characters included in this outreach - in addition to al-Arian, Alamoudi and his deputy, Saffuri - were the following:

Nihad Awad, executive director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)

Awad was among those first introduced by Norquist and Saffuri to Bush during the presidential campaign and his access continued after September 11th. In fact, the front page of the *Washington Post* featured a photograph of Nihad Awad and Khaled Saffuri flanking Mr. Bush as he toured the Washington Islamic Center.

This public relations coup was an early indication of the strategy Norquist's Islamist friends would follow in the wake of the hijackings: Exploit the President's laudable - and strategically sensible - desire to show that neither he nor the American people would hold all Muslims responsible for the murderous actions of the few. This would be done by proposing that President Bush (or his surrogates) attend events in Washington, Detroit, and other cities with Muslim populations, sponsor meetings, host White House *iftar* dinners to break the Ramadan fast, and so forth. Evidently Norquist, Saffuri and the gatekeepers they had placed inside the White House would work to ensure that representatives of the pro-Islamist organizations would be invited as the exclusive representatives of the Muslim-American and Arab-American communities and - just as important - that non-Islamist Muslims would be excluded.

In this fashion, improbable though it may seem, the Wahhabi agenda of access, influence and legitimacy could actually be advanced in the post-9/11 environment. That people like Nihad

Awad could pull this off is a tribute to the skill of the influence operators. After all, he had personally declared that he was a "supporter of the Hamas movement,"³⁵ and his organization raised money for terrorist fronts (including the Holy Land Foundation, the Benevolence International Foundation, and the Global Relief Fund).³⁶ One month after these organizations were raided by the U.S. government, CAIR spokesman Ibrahim Hooper lamented: "The Holy Land Foundation, Global Relief International, Benevolent International Foundation [sic] -- these were our major relief organizations, and they've all been shut down."³⁷

Even more astounding is the fact that Awad and CAIR have continually attacked the President and his Administration. They have even *sued* Attorney General Ashcroft and FBI Director Robert Mueller.³⁸ They have strenuously objected to Bush policies on Homeland Security and the War on Terror. And they have played a leading role in national campaigns aimed at undoing the PATRIOT Act and preventing the liberation of Iraq.

As noted above, CAIR's pro-Islamist sympathies and conduct have been the object of bipartisan criticism from the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism. In the course of the subcommittee's hearing, even one of the organization's go-to guys on Capitol Hill, Sen. Dick Durbin, D-IL, observed that the committee should hear from more "mainstream" Muslim groups in the future, since CAIR and its rhetoric were too "extreme" and its associations "suspect."³⁹

Such an assessment has certainly been reinforced by the fact that since September 11, 2001, three CAIR figures have been arrested by U.S. federal authorities on terrorist-related charges:

- In December 2002, Ghassan Elashi, a founding board member of CAIR-Texas, was arrested on a number of charges including export violations, making false statements on export declarations, dealing in the property of designated terrorist, conspiracy and money laundering.⁴⁰
- Bassem K. Khafagi, the Community Affairs Director for CAIR at the time of his January 2003 arrest,⁴¹ pled guilty on September 10, 2003, to charges of bank and visa fraud.⁴² He remains under investigation for his alleged role in the terrorist funding group Islamic Assembly of North America and is expected to be deported to Egypt.⁴³
- Randall Todd "Ismail" Royer, former communications specialist and civil rights coordinator at CAIR, was arrested in late June 2003 for his alleged involvement in the Pakistani terrorist organization, Lashkar-e-Taiba.⁴⁴ The Justice Department upgraded Royer's charges in September 2003 to include providing material support to al-Qaeda and the Taliban.⁴⁵ At the time of his arrest, Royer was spokesman for the National Liberty Fund, a legal defense fund for the PIJ leader Sami al-Arian.

Shaykh Hamza Yusuf

According to the *Washington Post*, on September 9, 2001, at a rally to support cop-killer and former American Muslim Council executive Jamil Al-Amin (a.k.a. H. Rap Brown), Shaykh Yusuf declared, "This country is facing a terrible fate...This country stands condemned. It stands condemned because of what it did - and lest people forget Europe suffered two world wars after

conquering the Muslim lands."46 At this same rally, the *Post* reported, Shaykh Yusuf lamented that Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, the blind Egyptian cleric convicted of plotting to bomb Manhattan's Lincoln and Holland tunnels, was "unjustly tried, was condemned against any standards of justice in any legal system."47

The FBI went to interview Yusuf to determine whether this inflammatory statement was indicative of prior knowledge of the attacks that occurred two days later. When agents knocked on the door of his San Francisco home on September 20th, they were incredulous to hear his wife explain that Yusuf was absent because he was meeting with the President.48 Upon checking, the FBI discovered that he had indeed been included in an ecumenical meeting in the Oval Office with then-Cardinal Law and a Jewish rabbi - a meeting that was, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, arranged by Grover Norquist's White House surrogate, Suhail Khan.49

The website of Yusuf's organization promised to send a percentage of all sales of tapes of his pro-Islamist sermons to Benevolence International Foundation, even after its director was indicted for funneling money to bin Laden and al-Qaeda.50

Muzammil Siddiqi

In September 2001, when Siddiqi met twice with Mr. Bush, he was president of the Board of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA). This Saudi-funded organization is, as will be discussed below, used by the Muslim World League (MWL) to finance and exercise control over most of the mosques in the United States. Siddiqi's ties to Saudi Arabia are even deeper.

Before heading up ISNA, Siddiqi was previously a top figure in the MWL itself, whose American headquarters was raided in March 2002 on suspicion of ties to terrorism during the U.S. government's Operation Green Quest.51 He has also served as the Chairman of the Religious Affairs Committee of the Muslim Students Association (see below) in the United States and Canada. In addition, he is a member of the Fiqh Council, another raided entity.52

Despite these troubling connections to Islamist causes and organizations, someone got the White House to call on Siddiqi to represent the Muslim faith in the inter-religious prayer service for the 9/11 victims that was held at the National Cathedral on September 14, 2001. As syndicated columnist Charles Krauthammer noted afterwards, Siddiqi could not bring himself to condemn terrorism in remarks delivered to a worldwide audience, as well as four Presidents and hundreds of dignitaries.53

Even after a performance that was, to say the least, disappointing, Siddiqi was allowed to be photographed with President Bush in the Roosevelt Room of the White House and to present him with a Koran.

Agha Saeed, founder and president of the American Muslim Alliance

Saeed was invited to participate in the Bush campaign's Muslim outreach meeting engineered by Norquist and Saffuri at the Governor's mansion in 2000. He also has been given access to the White House since the 9/11 attacks.**54**

As noted previously, Saeed created an umbrella group, the American Muslim Political Coordination Council (AMPCC), to unite other members of the "Wahhabi Lobby," including the American Muslim Council (AMC), the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), and the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC).

Interestingly, in June 2000, Hillary Clinton felt constrained to return \$50,000 in AMA checks for her Senatorial campaign because Saeed had spoken in favor of Palestinians' right to "resist by armed force." He had also allegedly served as head of the Pakistani Communist Party.**55**

AMA's Annual Dinner in April 2002 honored the alleged Palestinian Islamic Jihad terrorist leader Sami al-Arian, now in federal prison awaiting trial, as a "civil rights" leader, sponsoring a civil rights award in his name.**56**

*Eric Vickers, then-director of Alamoudi's American Muslim Council.***57**

Vickers is a black radical who converted to the Muslim faith. While many black Muslims follow a divergent strain of Islam, Vickers found a home in the Wahhabi-connected AMC and served as its executive director from June 2002 until February 2003, after he left the American Muslim Alliance. Vickers was also an incorporator and board member of the Islamic African Relief Agency (IARA). The organization had two grants worth \$4.2 million revoked by the U.S. Agency for International Development at the State Department's request because of the group's ties with terrorist-sponsoring Sudan (including the alleged provision by IARA officials of intelligence equipment to al-Qaeda).**58**

Like Nihad Awad, Vickers was a particularly outspoken critic of the Bush Administration and its policies in the War on Terror. He participated prominently in antiwar rallies, was a visible presence in campaigns against the PATRIOT Act and repeatedly assailed President Bush and Attorney General John Ashcroft, among others. Vickers made no secret either of his sympathy for Islamists and their organizations. In June 2002, I debated Vickers in an MSNBC "Hardball" program concerning the AMC's pro-Islamist record - and the inappropriateness of FBI Director Robert Mueller addressing its annual convention that year. In the course of the show, Vickers refused to renounce or otherwise to disassociate himself or his organization from Hamas, Hezbollah or even al-Qaeda. When pressed, the most he would say is that al-Qaeda is a "resistance movement."**59**

*Mahdi Bray, executive director, Muslim American Society Freedom Foundation.***60**

Bray, a former member of the radical Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), is a leader of several pro-Islamist organizations in this country. His role typically is that of a coordinator for political activism. By mid-October of this year, Bray had overseen the training of nearly 1,000 Islamic activists.**61** Bray also served as the political director of another pro-Islamist group

based in Los Angeles, the Muslim Public Affairs Council, and as a founding board member of the National Coalition to Protect Political Freedom.⁶² He hosts a radio talk-show sponsored largely by - and reflecting the views of - Wahhabi Saudi Arabia.⁶³

In March 2003, Bray testified at the bond hearing of indicted Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) leader Sami al-Arian, claiming responsibility for "mentoring [al-Arian] about the civil rights movement."⁶⁴ He also claimed that he and al-Arian were "kindred spirits" on the issue of Muslim political activism.⁶⁵

Through public statements and demonstrations, Bray has vehemently protested Bush administration policies in the War on Terror, claiming that they are injurious to innocent American Muslims. For instance, in May 2003, Bray said:

The recent barbaric and illegal invasion of Iraq has emboldened the Bush administration in its actions to target the Muslim and immigrant community and to violate the rights of Muslims, immigrants, and all Americans with impunity. We must continue to forge a coalition of conscience to resist the Bush administration's belligerent and destructive policy which is the greatest impediment to global peace today.⁶⁶

The Tulbah Controversy

By 2002, the White House job of coordinating Muslim outreach had apparently fallen to Ali Tulbah, a Muslim-American Norquist protégé who formerly headed the Washington office of the Young Republicans. Tulbah's official position was that of an Associate Director in the White House Office of Cabinet Affairs. In that capacity, he was responsible for liaison with three of the most sensitive federal agencies in the War on Terror: the Departments of State, Defense and Justice.⁶⁷

An American Muslim Council press release issued on January 17, 2003, explicitly thanked Tulbah for getting representatives of the AMC - and other Islamist organizations, such as CAIR - into the White House to meet with senior Administration officials. As was true of many other such meetings, the Islamist groups used the occasion to mau-mau their interlocutors about perceived government insensitivity to Muslim concerns and to demand that they be afforded opportunities to promote corrective action.

The AMC's January 2003 press release exemplified one further use to which the Islamists' sympathizers usually put such official meetings: They were exploited to validate otherwise debatable claims to be leaders of America's Muslim and Arab populations - as noted above, a key objective of Wahhabis bent on domination of the faithful.

A few days after receiving this press release, I referred to it in the course of a debate at this year's Conservative Political Action Conference. My main point was that the wartime task of striking the right balance between privacy rights on the one hand and national security on the other was made more complicated by the presence in our country of Islamist organizations adept at exploiting our civil liberties and institutions. In particular, I warned that some such groups - notably Alamoudi's American Muslim Council and CAIR - were conducting a worrisome political influence operation against the Bush Administration.

Noting that the two groups had specifically thanked Ali Tulbah for affording them their most recent access to the White House, I observed that his perspective on these matters might have been influenced by an unsettling connection: His father had served as treasurer of a large Wahhabi complex in Texas, the Islamic Society of Greater Houston, which is made up of 29 mosques and related schools.⁶⁸ Perhaps, I surmised, Tulbah was accustomed to being in the company of pro-Islamists at home.

The following Wednesday, Norquist arrived in my office brandishing an open letter citing my remarks at CPAC as evidence of "racism and bigotry" that have "no place in the conservative movement."⁶⁹ I responded with a lengthy letter of my own,⁷⁰ describing my concerns about the role Norquist and his Islamic Institute had been playing in enabling and facilitating Islamist political influence activities aimed at the Bush Administration and other Republicans. I urged him to cease and desist, lest he do real damage, not only to the President and the Party, but to the nation's security.

In the days and months that followed, Grover Norquist followed a strategy more typical of the hard-Left than of a fellow conservative. He made repeated *ad hominem* attacks on Fox TV and elsewhere against me and anyone else (including noted experts like Daniel Pipes and Steve Emerson) who dared to warn about the dangers of Islamism. More often than not, he portrayed such warnings as bigoted, racist denunciations of all Muslims.

This charge is made all the more untenable since I assiduously underscore in every discussion of the Islamist threat the distinction between the intolerant, jihadist, Islamo-fascism they promote and the views of peaceable, law-abiding Muslims. My Center and I espouse making common cause with tolerant Muslims against the Islamists who brand them as "apostates" and threaten them as every bit as much as they do us "infidels."

The Wahhabi Footprint in America

My beef has never been a personal one with Grover Norquist, as should be obvious from the data assembled in this article which comes from many sources, all of them reputable and unchallenged on the facts. Rather, my concern is with a far larger, Islamist enterprise in this country that has achieved, particularly over the past ten years, considerable success in creating the makings of a Saudi-funded Fifth Column in America. This point has been recognized by a number of the most thoughtful and influential conservative commentators of our day, including Cal Thomas, Mona Charen, Michelle Malkin, Kenneth Timmerman; David Frum and David Keene.⁷¹

In addition to their penetration of the military chaplain corps and the military ranks, the Wahhabi-connected clergy has been able to penetrate the penal system. Federal and state prisons have been the focus of intensive recruitment by the Islamists. Abdurahman Alamoudi's American Muslim Council spun off an organization called the National Islamic Prison Foundation precisely for the purpose of ministering to incarcerated Muslims and expanding their ranks. As mentioned above, its president, Mahdi Bray, has been among those who have in the past been included in Bush Administration outreach efforts engineered by Khaled Saffuri and Grover Norquist.

While estimates vary widely, it seems safe to say that, over the years, large numbers of felons particularly among the black and Hispanic prison populations have been converted to Wahhabi Islam by these imams. At the very least, this has permitted the identification of individuals who, upon their release from prison, could become foot-soldiers for anti-American *jihad*. It would appear, for example, that alleged dirty-bomber Jose Padilla may have been recruited in such a manner.⁷²

On another front, [the radical Muslim Students Association](#) has established a vast presence on American college and university campuses. According to the group's website, there are today hundreds of MSA chapters in the United States.⁷³ A number of the pro-Islamist leaders Norquist and Saffuri have helped gain access to the Bush Administration cut their political eye-teeth as prominent figures in the MSA. As with other enterprises tied to Wahhabi Islam, the Muslim Students Association is in the business of recruiting and indoctrinating its target audience - young Americans - to join a radical and violent sect. While the most visible activities sponsored by MSA chapters are [anti-Bush, anti-war and anti-Israel](#) (e.g., divestment) campaigns, and the suppression of opposing views on campus, there is reason to believe that - on the margins - the organization is encouraging more active involvement in *jihad*. Not surprisingly, a number of MSA figures have ended up arrested on terrorist related charges or high-profile targets in the War on Terror, including Wael Jelaidan, the co-founder of al-Qaeda.

The Islamists' attempt to dominate the Muslim faith and community is even more evident in the nation's mosques. By some estimates, as many as 70 percent of them are now controlled by Wahhabis, thanks to Saudi-associated organizations holding their mortgages. This is done through the Islamic Society of North America, a spin-off of the Muslim Students Association, and its financial arm, the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT). Yet, as we have seen, ISNA's then-head, Muzammil Siddiqi, was the one of the Islamists most prominently featured in the Bush Administration's post-9/11 Muslim outreach efforts.

Not surprisingly, along with the financing comes control over many, if not all, aspects of the mosque. For example, Saudi/Wahhabi authorities are able to influence the selection of imams, their training, the Korans and other materials they disseminate, their sermons and curricula for madrassas (mosque schools).

No Longer Welcome?

Until recently, ISNA representatives were among the pro-Islamists included in many of the Bush Administration meetings organized or facilitated by Norquist and Saffuri. When some of these self-styled "Muslim community groups" were finally excluded from the White House *iftar* dinner last month (presumably due to the pall cast by the aforementioned arrests of some of their associates), ISNA joined CAIR, the Muslim Public Affairs Council, the Muslim Students Association and several other Wahhabi-backed groups in denouncing such events as devoid of substance, ones in which Muslims were said to be nothing more than props shamelessly used by the Bush Administration.⁷⁴

While the exclusion at last of such groups from meetings with the President is heartening, Yahya Basha, the AMC's president, and Saffuri, who now serves as the chairman of the Islamic Institute, were still included as attendees at this year's Iftar dinner.⁷⁵ The FBI, moreover, has yet to take similar corrective action; its Director and supervisory agents continue to meet with representatives of the AMC, CAIR and ISNA, even though associates of each have been the object of law enforcement action.⁷⁶ As noted above, the Bureau also uses such groups to provide "sensitivity" instruction at its agent training facility at Quantico, Virginia. In addition, it has been relying on these sorts of pro-Islamist organizations for "community outreach," as well - much to the dismay of several case agents, field operatives and U.S. Attorneys' offices.

Granting pro-Islamists access to senior U.S. officials and government-sponsored activities has one other down-side: Just as they use this sort of access to demonstrate to other Muslims their power and influence, the Islamists' sympathizers exploit their relationships with federal agencies as protection. For example, when a hearing was held to consider whether alleged terrorist operative Sami al-Arian was a flight risk if granted bail, multiple witnesses from the above-mentioned groups pointed to the work they were doing for the FBI, the U.S. military chaplain corps, the White House, in the prison system, etc., to establish their *bona fides*. Fortunately, notwithstanding such representations, al-Arian remains in custody after being denied bail.⁷⁷

Norquist's Continuing Role and the Problem It Presents

In this larger context Grover Norquist's highly publicized assault on Attorney General John Ashcroft⁷⁸ and the USA PATRIOT Act is extremely troubling. The Act's very effectiveness has certainly made it the target of Norquist's Islamist allies, some of whom - as we have seen - are in jail today or under active investigation thanks to its provisions. Grover Norquist's willingness to associate with, and front for, groups like the National Coalition to Protect Political Freedom in a joint effort to weaken and if possible repeal the PATRIOT Act, has made him the darling not only of the pro-Islamists but of the radical Left, with whom they make common cause. He was, for example, the featured speaker (one of only two with conservative coloration) at a day-long NCPPF event held outside Washington last month.⁷⁹

In a scathing report of the proceedings,⁸⁰ *National Review's* Byron York described how Norquist joined actor Alec Baldwin and Democratic uber-agitator Ralph Neas.⁸¹ According to York, when Neas indulged in a pointed, and factually incorrect, attack on the PATRIOT Act - charging that it authorizes activities not subject to constitutionally necessary judicial oversight -

Norquist associated himself completely by saying simply, "Ditto." The immoderate moderator, Alec Baldwin, reportedly then turned to the crowd and enthused, "Can't you feel the love?"

Grover Norquist's efforts to legitimate and open important doors for pro-Islamist organizations in this country must be brought to an immediate halt. They have already created political vulnerabilities for this President and his Administration. But for the influence exerted by Norquist and his friends, President Bush might long ago have reached out to peaceable, tolerant, pro-American Muslims. In particular, the past 26 months could have been spent building up Muslim spokesmen and groups who share this President's vision of a world in which democracy, liberty and freedom of religion prosper - and who could help cultivate those values in Muslim lands and communities overseas.

Instead, the President has been put in the position of repeatedly embracing individuals and organizations who are part of the problem. They have capitalized on their preferred treatment to exclude non-Islamist Muslims from meetings with the Bush team, to secure government contracts and favors, to raise funds and to dominate other Muslim- and Arab-Americans. We have thus been denied allies and strengthened our foes in what the President calls "the Battle of Ideas."

Grover Norquist has been confronted many times over his activities in behalf of the radical Islamic front in this country. He has responded by denouncing his critics as racists and ducking the issue. Even now and despite all the foregoing evidence to the contrary, Norquist insists that he has not helped or in any other way facilitated the Islamists political influence operations. Indeed, he denies that there is such a subset of the Muslim population. And, to this day, he demeans any who challenge him on that score as "racists and bigots." It is evident that Grover Norquist will not voluntarily do the right thing by the President, the movement or the country, which would mean terminating his ties to a network that has shown itself to be dangerous, and by ceasing to work on behalf of the radical Islamic front. Because he will not do this himself, conservatives must act to see that he is politically isolated so that the damage he can do is minimized.

Frank J. Gaffney Jr. *formerly held senior positions in the Reagan Defense Department. Since 1988, he has been the President of the Center for Security Policy in Washington. Since 9/11, Gaffney has been one of the most prominent and consistent defenders of the President's War on Terror – at home and abroad.*

NOTES.

1 Franklin Foer, "Fevered Pitch; Grover Norquist's strange alliance with radical Islam," *The New Republic*, 12 November 2001; and J. Michael Waller, "D.C. Islamist Agent Carried Libyan Cash," *Insight Magazine*, 10 November 2003.

2 According to the U.S. Government's "Affidavit in Support of Criminal Complaint," USA v. Abdurahman Alamoudi, Brett Gentrup, a Special Agent with the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE),

acknowledged reviewing "the transcript of a video tape of Alamoudi speaking at a rally in Lafayette Park, Washington, D.C. on October 28, 2000." It was during this rally that Alamoudi proclaimed: "...we are all supporters of Hamas! Allah Akbar. I wish to add here I am also a supporter of Hezbollah." According to this same affidavit, Alamoudi also said in 1996 during the Annual Convention of the Islamic Association of Palestine that, "If we are outside this country we can say, 'Oh, Allah destroy America.' But once we are here, our mission in this country is to change it." (See, <http://news.findlaw.com/hdocs/docs/terrorism/usalamoudi93003cmp.pdf>).

3 Testimony of Dr. J. Michael Waller, Annenberg Professor of International Communication at the Institute of World Politics, before the Senate Judiciary Committee's Terrorism Subcommittee on October 14, 2003. (http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=960&wit_id=2719).

4 *ibid.*

5 "Interview with Dr. Bilal Philips, a Jamaican-born Canadian, by Mahmud Khalil in Dubai," Global News Wire (FBIS/NTIS, U.S. Dept of Commerce). The original source was the London-based Arabic publication *Al-Majallah*, a Saudi-owned weekly. For additional details, see Waller testimony, *op.cit.*

6 "Pilgrims from U.S. Military leave for Saudi Arabia," Saudi Arabian Information Resource, March 1, 2001, <http://www.saudinf.com/main/y2187.htm>.

7 According to an article entitled "Army Chaplain in Detention Sought to Teach About Islam," published in the September 24, 2003 editions of the *New York Times*, "In 1993... the Saudi Air Force and the Saudi royal family paid for [Yee] and other Americans to make the pilgrimage to Mecca that is known as the hajj, a trip that every Muslim is required to make at least once."

8 Glenn Simpson, "Suspect Lessons: A Muslim School Used by Military Has Troubling Ties," *Wall Street Journal*, December 3, 2003.

9 The *New York Sun* reported on October 20, 2003, that Saffuri distanced himself and the Islamic Institute from Alamoudi on the margins of the Arab American Institute "Leadership Conference" in Dearborn last month (Ira Stoll, "Anger over Israel Erupts at Arab American Parley"): "[When] asked about a \$10,000 donation from Mr. Alamoudi to the Institute, Mr. Saffuri said, 'We gave the money back about two yeas ago.'"

10 Janus-Merritt's December 17, 2001 lobbying disclosure form can be accessed at www.sopr.senate.gov. The February 17, 2001 edition of *National Journal* described Janus-Merritt as a "government relations firm David Safavian founded with Grover Norquist, who is head of Americans for Tax Reform.

11 "Affidavit in support of Criminal Complaint," *op.cit.*

12 IRS Form 990s filed by foundations supporting charitable organizations can be found on www.guidestar.com.

13 These sentiments are, for example, evident in materials produced by the Saudi Arabian government's Islamic Affairs Department (IAD), some of which appear on the official website of its embassy in the United States. A newly released special report by the respected Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) http://www.memri.org/bin/opener_latest.cgi?ID=SR2303 notes that, "Officials of the Saudi government working at the IAD in Washington, D.C. and its worldwide offices have been mentioned in media reports in 2002 and 2003 for suspected connections with terrorist activities. During the past week, it was reported that the FBI has subpoenaed records and documents of Saudi government bank accounts in the U.S., including accounts from the IAD."

The MEMRI report goes on to make the following points:

The IAD explains the concepts of Jihad and martyrdom in Islam. Excerpts from the Qur'an and Hadiths are provided as evidence to foster these concepts in the contemporary Muslim world. "The Muslims are Required to Raise the Banner of Jihad in Order to Make the Word of Allah Supreme in this World."

The IAD explains that any system opposed to Islam must be fought by Jihad: "The Muslims are required to raise the banner of Jihad in order to make the Word of Allah supreme in this world, to remove all forms of injustice and oppression, and to defend the Muslims. If Muslims do not take up the sword, the evil tyrants of this earth will be able to continue oppressing the weak and [the] helpless...."

14 Douglas Farah, "Terror Probe Points to VA. Muslims; Local Network Provided Millions in Financing, Agency Charges," *Washington Post*, 18 October 2003, A6.

15 Note that according to Stoll, *op.cit.*: "Mr. Saffuri said that, while he had worked for Mr. Alamoudi at the American Muslim Council for a year-and-a-half before starting the Islamic Free Market Institute, he was 'hardly in touch with him' recently." [Emphasis added.]

16 According to the American Task Force for Bosnia, Inc.'s 1997 filing with the Internal Revenue Service (Form 990), Khaled Saffuri was the organization's executive director. For more on the Saudis' Islamist operations in Bosnia, see David Kaplan, "The Saudi Connection: How Billions in Oil Money Spawned a Global Terror Network," *U.S. News and World Report*, December 15, 2003 (<http://www.usnews.com/usnews/issue/031215/usnews/15terror.htm>)

17 The Center for Security Policy obtained an affidavit from a former staffer for U.S. Representative Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA) in December 2001. It described a conversation she had had with Khaled Saffuri in the Congressman's offices in which he acknowledged "sponsor[ing] the child of a suicide bomber." Redacted excerpts of the affidavit appeared in *Insight Magazine* (<http://www.insightmag.com/main.cfm?include=detail&storyid=246199>). Shortly thereafter, Rep. Rohrabacher appeared at the Wednesday Group meeting to provide a personal endorsement for Saffuri.

18 According to the affidavit mentioned in Footnote 15, Saffuri vehemently criticized President Bush for his action on the Holy Land Foundation, as well - an organization to which Saffuri said he had also contributed.

19 Frank Gaffney Jr., "A Time to Choose," *Washington Times*, 2 October 2001, p. A14.

20 According to the Center for the Study of Islam & Democracy, Alkebsi "developed AMC's Legislative Agenda, and AMC's policy position on the Faith-based Initiative." See, http://www.islam-democracy.org/alkebsi_bio.asp.

21 Franklin Foer, "Fevered Pitch; Grover Norquist's strange alliance with radical Islam," *The New Republic*, 12 November 2001.

22 Catherine Edwards, "Arab Americans Rise in Influence," *Insight Magazine*, 19 February 2001.

23 Shawn Zeller, "Tough Sell," *National Journal*, 14 December 2002.

24 Saffuri's relationship with al-Arian continued long after the campaign ended. My staff and I were witnesses when, on July 17, 2002, al-Arian spent two-and-one-half hours in the Americans for Tax Reform/Islamic Institute suite. Al-Arian had evidently dropped by after participating in a National Press Club press conference with Abdurahman Alamoudi in which several Islamist groups announced that they were suing the President, Secretary of State Powell, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and others.

As it happened, on my way to the men's room that afternoon, I observed al-Arian standing in the elevator after leaving Norquist's offices. Moments later, I ran into Saffuri, who had seen al-Arian out then proceeded to the bathroom. As we stood at adjacent urinals, I asked him whether that was Sami al-Arian I had just seen getting onto the elevator. He responded by choking. Not having gotten an intelligible answer, I asked again. He then lied, saying, "I don't think so." When subsequently queried about the al-Arian visit by a reporter, he acknowledged that it had occurred, then offered a different falsehood - claiming that the professor had merely stopped by to drop off some literature, an action that generally does not take two-and-a-half hours to perform.

25 Federal Grand Jury Indictment, USA v. Sami al-Arian (<http://www.usdoj.gov/usao/flm/pr/022003indict.pdf>), February 20, 2000.

26 On October 23, 2000, the American Muslim Political Coordinating Council Political Action Committee (AMPCC-PAC) issued a press release announcing its "endorsement of George W. Bush for president, citing his outreach to the Muslim community and his stand on the issue of secret evidence." It noted that the endorsement was made by the AMPCC-PAC chair, Dr. Agha Saeed, whose pro-Islamist sympathies are discussed below.

27 "Healing the Nation: The Arab American Experience After September 11," The Arab American Institute, http://www.aaiusa.org/PDF/healing_the_nation.pdf.

28 Grace Agostin, "Sept. 11 hurt aliens' rights," USF's *The Oracle* Newspaper, 9 September 2002, http://www.academicfreespeech.com/fea_oracle_0909.html.

29 <http://www.musalman.com/newstrack/biodata.html>

30 Susan Sachs and John Kifner, "A Nation Challenged: Bin Laden's Lieutenant; Egyptian Raised Terror Funds in U.S. in 1990's," *New York Times*, 23 October 2001.

31 *ibid.*

32 Lynette Clemetson and Keith Naughton, "'Big Dude' Gets Profiled," *Newsweek*, July 16, 2001, p. 24.

33 J. Michael Waller, "Alamoudi and Those Bags of Libyan Cash," *Insight*, October 23-November 10, 2003, p. 32.

34 Franklin Foer, "Fevered Pitch; Grover Norquist's strange alliance with radical Islam," the *New Republic*, 12 November 2001.

35 Nihad Awad speaking to a symposium at Barry University on the topic of "The Road to Peace: The Challenge of the Middle East" on March 22, 1994, as quoted in Stephen F. Hayes, "Uncle Sam's Makeover; The State Department's answer to Osama bin Laden is to 'Redefine America,'" *Weekly Standard*, June 3, 2002.

36 The New York *Daily News* reported only weeks after the September 11th attacks that "...CAIR is very specific about how the public should respond to the attacks on America: Send money. It recommends contributing to three organizations -- the Red Cross, the Holy Land Foundation and the Global Relief Foundation." (Zev Chafets, "Beware the wolves among us," *Daily News*, September 28, 2001.

37 Alan Cooperman, "Crisis in Middle East Spurs U.S. Fundraisers; Pleas Include Help For Hospitals," *Washington Post*, April 6, 2002.

38 See CAIR press release of July 30, 2003 entitled "CAIR Joins First Legal Challenge to Patriot Act."

39 Hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Homeland Security, "Terrorism Two Years After the 9/11 Attacks," 10 September 2003.

40 CAIR-Texas, Articles of Incorporation, September 15, 1998 obtained from the office of the Texas Secretary of State. See also, "Senior Leader of Hamas and Texas Computer Company Indicted for Conspiracy to Violate U.S. Ban on Financial Dealings with Terrorists," U.S. Department of Justice, December 18, 2002, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2002/December/02_crm_734.htm.

41 Bill Morlin, "Egyptian with UI Ties Held in Probe," *Spokesman Review*, March 14, 2003.

42 "Former head of Islamic charity accused of terror links pleads guilty to bank, visa fraud," *Associated Press*, September 10, 2003.

43 "Former head of Islamic charity sentenced in fraud case," *Associated Press*, November 13, 2003.

44 See, Karen Branch-Brioso, "Area Man Found Path with Islam; He is Charged with Conspiring to Fight with Muslims Abroad," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 29, 2003; Edward Jay Epstein, "U.S. at Junction of War, Faith," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 6, 2002; and "Jihad Suspect on Trial," *Washington Times*, May 29, 2003.

- 45 "Indictment Expands 'VA Jihad' Charges," *Washington Post*, September 26, 2003.
- 46 Hanna Rosin and John Mintz, "Muslim Leaders Struggle With Mixed Messages," *Washington Post*, October 2, 2001.
- 47 *ibid.*
- 48 *ibid.*
- 49 Jonathan Kaufman, "Islamerican: Meet Hamza Yusuf, 'Rock Star' of a Leader Among U.S. Muslims," *The Wall Street Journal*, February 15, 2002.
- 50 "Buy Shaykh Hamza Yusuf Tapes -- and Help BIF!," see: <http://web.archive.org/web/19990502183338/www.benevolence.org/hamza.html>.
- 51 "Guest CV: Dr. Muzammil H. Siddiqi," IslamOnline.net, <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Guestcv.asp?hGuestID=uY6w39>.
- 52 "Guest CV: Dr. Muzammil H. Siddiqi," IslamOnline.net, <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Guestcv.asp?hGuestID=uY6w39>.
- 53 Charles Krauthammer, "The Silent Imams," *Washington Post*, November 23, 2001.
- 54 Mary Rourke, "A Stronger Voice for Muslims ;Several American Muslim leaders in California are at the forefront of an emerging political movement," *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 2001.
- 55 John Berlau, "Moran Can't Keep His Tongue Tied," *Insight Magazine*, April 28, 2003.
- 56 "AMA Honors Community Leaders," *Pakistan Link*, April 5, 2002, www.pakistanlink.com
- 57 According to the affidavit in support of the criminal complaint, USA v. Abdurahman Alamoudi, Special Agent Brett Gentrup of the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) has stated that "beyond 2000... Alamoudi remained in a leadership capacity with AMC," even after his public statements of support for Hamas and Hezbollah obliged him to lower his profile at the AMC.
- 58 Judith Miller, "U.S. Contends Muslim Charity is Tied to Hamas," *New York Times*, August 25, 2000 p. A21.
- 59 Segment entitled, "Should FBI Director Robert Mueller deliver the keynote address to the American Muslim Council tomorrow?" *Hardball with Chris Matthews*, MSNBC, June 27, 2002.
- 60 "Guest CV: Mahdi Bray," IslamOnline.net, <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Guestcv.asp?hGuestID=jD6a1X>.
- 61 "MAS Freedom Near to Reaching Goal of 1,000 Trained Activists," Freedom Foundation Press Room, October 16, 2003, http://masnet.org/pressroom_release.asp?id=560.
- 62 See, <http://www.ncppf.org/NCPPFstaffandboardpage.html>.
- 63 "Muslim Radio a Workout for 1st Amendment," *Washington Post*, December 4, 2001.
- 64 USA v. Sami Al-Arian, Transcript of Bond Hearing, Tampa, Florida, March 25, 2003.
- 65 *op.cit.*
- 66 MAS Press Release posted on International ANSWER's website, May 13, 2003, http://www.iacenter.org/mas_2003.htm.

67 Ali Tulbah left the White House Office of Cabinet Affairs last Spring to assume new duties in liberated Iraq. Currently, he is responsible for coordinating international cooperation in the reconstruction of that country.

68 "Banking on Faith; Created in Former Downtown Bank, New Mosque Serves as Worship and Learning Center," *Houston Chronicle*, December 28, 2002.

69 See, <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/norquistletter.pdf>.

70 See, <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/gaffneyletter.pdf>.

71 See, <http://www.townhall.com/columnists/calthomas/ct20030225.shtml> ;
<http://www.townhall.com/columnists/monacharen/mc20030218.shtml>;
<http://www.jewishworldreview.com/michelle/malkin102203.asp>; Kenneth Timmerman, *Preachers of Hate: Islam and the War on America* (Crown Forum, October 2003); David Keene, "Muslim extremists denounce their critics as 'racists,' 'bigots,'" *The Hill*, 19 February 2003; David Frum, "The strange case of Sami Al-Arian," *National Review Online*, 21 February 2003.

72 Waller testimony, *op.cit.*

73 See, <http://www.msa-national.org/>.

74 Julia Duin, "Muslims scold Bush over outreach," *Washington Times*, October 29, 2003.

75 Jim Lobe, "Muslims snub Bush's Ramadan invitation," *Inter Press Service*, 29 October 2003.

76 Not surprisingly, others in the Bureau have followed Director Mueller's lead. For example, the FBI's Civil Rights Division chief, Tom Reynolds, attended the AMC's 3rd Leadership/Imam Conference in June 2003. According to an AMC press release at the time, Reynolds reportedly "choked back tears while talking about the internment of the Japanese-Americans during World War II. He promised that it would never happen again. He stressed the need for cooperation from the Muslim community in fighting terrorism."

77 USA v. Sami Al-Arian, Transcript of Bond Hearing, *op.cit.*

78 For example, in July 2002, a front-page article in the *New York Times* (Neil Lewis, "Traces of Terror: The Attorney General; Ashcroft's Terrorism Policies Dismay Some Conservatives," *New York Times*, July 24, 2002) quoted Norquist prominently in a hit-piece on the Attorney General. Although Norquist is not generally regarded as a religious conservative, he nonetheless characterized their views in a way that was unfriendly, to say the least:

Many religious conservatives who were most instrumental in pressing President Bush to appoint John Ashcroft as attorney general now say they have become deeply troubled by his actions as the leading public figure in the law enforcement drive against terrorism....More significantly, they say privately that he seems to be overstating the evidence of terrorist threats.

Most striking, however, is how some conservatives who were Mr. Ashcroft's biggest promoters for his cabinet appointment after he lost his re-election to the Senate in 2000 have lost enthusiasm. They cite his anti-terrorist positions as enhancing the kind of government power that they instinctively oppose.

"His religious base is now quite troubled by what he's done," said Grover Norquist, a conservative strategist and president of Americans for Tax Reform. Mr. Norquist, who holds regular lunches with a cross-section of conservative leaders and is influential with White House and Congressional Republicans, said, "If there hadn't been this big-government problem, Ashcroft would have been talked about as the Bush successor. Instead, the talk is that '[it is] too bad we pushed for him.'"

After this article appeared, leading religious conservatives, including notably Paul Weyrich, disputed Norquist's assertion that the Attorney General had lost their confidence. While some of them - like other conservatives - do have concerns about the PATRIOT Act, the rift described in the *Times* article appears to have been more a reflection of Norquist's "spin" than real.

79 See, <http://www.grassroots-america.org/brochure.pdf> to view the Grassroots America brochure announcing the event, giving Norquist top billing among the speakers and asking that registration fees be sent to the National Coalition to Protect Political Freedoms.

80 Byron York, "Norquist and Keene Join Baldwin and Neas," *National Review Online*
<http://www.nationalreview.com/york/york200310201247.asp>.

81 Promotional material circulated by the conference organizers included the following, illuminating quote:

Ralph Neas says of Grover, "[He] and I agree on very little. However, we both believe that the Bill of Rights is endangered by the excesses of the USA PATRIOT Act and other Department of Justice initiatives post 9/11. We will seize this opportunity and demonstrate that people from across the ideological spectrum agree that the rights of innocent people are at risk from unnecessary and unwarranted invasions of privacy and loss of basic constitutional rights."

Exhibit 31:

Frank Gaffney – Khan Job



Khan Job

By Frank Gaffney, Jr.

Center for Security Policy | Feb 20, 2007

The casual observer might think nothing of the candidacy of a fellow named Suhail Khan for election to one of two open seats on the Board of Directors of the American Conservative Union – the political Right's largest and most influential grassroots umbrella organization. Certainly, for most Americans, the man's faith would be of no interest. If the fact that Khan is an adherent to Islam were even known, it probably would be seen as an asset – another Muslim-American seeking to become more involved in the political process just like, for example, Rep. Keith Ellison, the Muslim convert who recently won a Minnesota seat in the House of Representatives.

Something else appears to be at work here, however. The tip-off is the fact that anti-tax activist Grover Norquist, who sits on the ACU Board, is promoting Khan's candidacy. Even that association, however, could be construed as nothing more than a calculated effort by a skillful conservative operative to insinuate a reliable ally into a useful post as the former struggles to overcome the damage done to his reputation and influence – and that of the Republican Party – by his scandalous collaboration with convicted felon Jack Abramof.

Unfortunately, there seems to be another and more insidious motivation for the Khan candidacy – one of a piece with a longstanding, if largely hidden, Norquist agenda that I first documented in these pages over three years ago. In a 12,000-word report titled "[A Troubling Influence](#)," published on December 9, 2003 with a validating introduction by David Horowitz, I described the nature and extent of Norquist's involvement in a political influence operation in the service of a number of Mr. Ellison's co-religionists. Most, like Suhail Khan, have troubling ties to individuals and organizations with well-established sympathies for the ideologues known as Islamists. Some of the latter have been directly tied to terrorism.

An Incomplete Resume

How many ACU members will be aware of this background as they cast their votes for the two open Board of Director seats – a process that is supposed to be concluded today – is unclear. After all, most will probably be voting on the basis of nothing more than the highly sanitized resumé supplied together with the ACU's [on-line poll](#):

SUHAIL A. KHAN

A lifelong conservative activist, Suhail Khan is presently serving as Counselor under U.S. Secretary Mary Peters at the U.S. Department of Transportation where he was awarded the Secretary's Team Award in 2005. Previously Suhail served as Policy Director and Press Secretary for U.S. Congressman Tom Campbell (R-CA) where he worked closely on legislation relating to health antitrust reform, religious freedom, the preservation of the Second Amendment, tort reform, the reform of race-based affirmative action, and the 1998 impeachment proceedings in the House of Representatives.

After the 2000 elections, he aided the White House Office of Public Liaison in outreach efforts. In a volunteer capacity, Suhail is an active participant in the Republican National Committee's 72-hour program and has been deployed to key races in states including Colorado, Washington, Iowa, Louisiana, Virginia, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Born in Boulder, Colorado, to parents who emigrated to Wyoming and Colorado from southern India, Suhail grew up in California and earned his B.A. in political science from University of California at Berkeley in 1991 and his J.D. from University of Iowa in 1995.

Khan's Other Credentials

The foregoing account of Suhail Khan's personal history omits a number of details that ACU members – and, more importantly, the rest of us – should know. Khan has contested the thrust of the following, inconvenient details about his family's Islamist connections. He has denounced those like me who have called attention to them.

Khan has tried with some success to secure retractions from publications that ran articles referring to unsettling aspects of his background and associations – but without providing the evidence that they are wrong. When "A Troubling Influence" appeared three years ago, David Horowitz offered Norquist and Kahn an opportunity to respond. Norquist, at first seemed ready to respond, then begged off saying he had a "revolution to run" and no time for such matters. Suhail Kahn submitted a letter challenging the specific claims in my article which were most damning – that his father, as head of a Wahabbi mosque in California, had hosted Osama bin Laden's number two man, Ayman al-Zawahiri, and raised money for him, and that as a member of the White House staff – a position Norquist engineered for him – he had authorized radical Islamists to meet with President Bush. Kahn's denials were submitted to me and I rebutted them. But when Kahn was invited to respond, he went silent. Then, three years later, he challenged the same points when I repeated them in an article for Frontpage.

In other words, for three years Suhail Khan has attempted to challenge the information I supplied in 2003 but without actually refuting it. For the record, and as a public service in particular to members of the American Conservative Union, I reprise here the most troubling parts of the Khan clan background:

Mahboob Khan

The Khan family did not simply settle into its adopted country after emigrating from southern India. Over their years in the United States, the parents and to some degree their eldest son, Suhail, played prominent roles in several organizations associated with the Wahhabi strain of Islamism – a particularly virulent ideology that has this country in its cross-hairs.

Suhail Khan's father was the late Mahboob Khan, a PhD in solid-state physics. His biography claims that he helped establish the [Muslim Student Association](#) (MSA) while a student in Boulder (presumably, this refers to the MSA chapter at the university as the parent organization was established in 1963). The MSA is present on scores of American campuses and serves to recruit, proselytize and indoctrinate on behalf of Saudi-backed Islamists. [1] It is pro-[Hamis](#) –

the MSA at UC Irvine even demanded that its members be allowed to wear Hamas armbands at graduation – and openly sympathizes with terrorists. Dr. Khan held the post of MSA vice president and Western Zone representative.

The elder Khan also served as member of Majlis a' Shura (the governing council) of the [Islamic Society of North America](#) (ISNA), which was created by the Muslim Student Association (MSA) in 1977 to promote the Islamist agenda among Muslims and the general population. Another MSA arm is the North American Islamic Trust, the Saudis' vehicle for providing the financing of, by some estimates, as many as 80% of the mosques in America. That financing, and the control arising from holding title for the mosques' real estate, affords the Saudis and their proxies the ability to determine: who will serve as imams in their American mosques; what materials are distributed to the congregations [2] and taught in the madrassas (mosque schools) [3]; to what purpose are the members' obligatory tithes applied; which congregants will be eligible to make the haj pilgrimage to Mecca; etc.

Mahboob Khan founded one such mosque after he moved the family from Colorado to southern California in 1975. The mosque, together with an Islamic center and an elementary school, comprises the Islamic Society of Orange County (ISOC), of which Dr. Khan served as president before moving on to San Jose in 1980.

The Islamist character of the ISOC was evident in a visit there in December 1992, by Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman – better known as the Blind Sheikh, who was later convicted in connection with the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993. On the occasion of his fundraising visit to Orange County, Rahman "dismissed nonviolent definitions of jihad as weak. He stressed that a number of unspecified enemies had 'united themselves against Muslims' and that fighting them was obligatory. 'If you are not going to the jihad, then you are neglecting the rules of Allah.'" [4]

The Blind Sheikh's remarks were translated by Dr. Khan's successor as the ISOC's director: a fellow Indian expatriate and former president of the Islamic Society of North America, Imam Muzammil Siddiqi. [Press reports](#) credit Siddiqi with converting American jihadi Adam Gadahn to Islam. Gadahn now sports the nom de guerre "Azzam the American" and serves as a kind of Tokyo Rose for al Qaeda, [producing propaganda videos](#) in which he glories in the prospect of slitting "the throats of infidels." (More on Siddiqi in a moment.)

After Dr. Khan relocated to the San Francisco Bay area, he established in 1983 the Muslim Community Association (MCA), whose Board he chaired. The MCA, [which declares its affiliation with the Islamic Society of North America](#), is made up of not one but two mosques, a cultural center and an elementary school. According to the FBI, one of these institutions – the Masjid An-Noor Mosque – was the site of two fund-raising trips on behalf of the radical Islamist terror group known as Islamic Jihad. [5] The solicitation was made by the man who is now Osama bin Laden's Number 2, Ayman al-Zawahiri, who reportedly met with the "leaders of the An-Noor mosque in Santa Clara." [6] If such a meeting did indeed occur, Dr. Khan would presumably have been among the participating MCA leaders, as he did not pass away until April 1999.

Malika Khan

Suhail Khan's upbringing must have been further shaped by his mother, Malika Khan, who has her own troubling associations with pro-Islamist organizations. She was a founding member and served on the Board of the Muslim Community Association. [7] She also has been a Board member of the California chapter of the [Council on American-Islamic Relations](#) (CAIR). [8]

The man who successfully put Sheikh Rahman behind bars, Andrew McCarthy, has noted that CAIR was "birthed by a Hamas creation: the [Islamic Association for Palestine](#) (IAP)." [9] IAP was started by "high-ranking Hamas operative Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzook," who is wanted on federal terrorism charges. In addition, McCarthy reports that CAIR's founder and executive director, Nihad Awad – was a "high-ranking IAP officer." The former federal prosecutor also observes that the Hamas/IAP tie is "so incestuous" that "in 2004 a federal judge found the IAP liable for Hamas' terrorist murder of an American citizen in Israel." Finally, four of CAIR's executives have been successfully prosecuted on terrorism-related charges. [10]

In light of all this, even liberal Democrats have taken to distancing themselves from CAIR. New York Democratic Senator Charles Schumer has said of CAIR, "we know [it] has ties to terrorism." [11] The Senate Majority Whip Dick Durbin has noted that the organization is "unusual in its extreme rhetoric and its associations with groups that are suspect." [12] And most recently, California Democrat Barbara Boxer rescinded a "certificate of accomplishment" given to the executive director of Mrs. Khan's chapter of CAIR in Sacramento, Basim Elkarra. According to Newsweek, Boxer's press spokeswoman said the Senator "'expressed concern' about some past statements and actions by the group, as well as assertions by some law enforcement officials that it 'gives aid to international terrorist groups.'" [13]

Khan, Troubling in His Own Right

Given Suhail Khan's family background, it is hardly surprising that he, too, has spent a considerable amount of time associating with the sorts of organizations favored by his parents. According to a December 2003 press release issued by the Islamic Society of North America, he served on one of its committees. [14] He has repeatedly been a featured speaker at MSA, ISNA and CAIR events, as well as those of other problematic groups, including the California-based [Muslim Public Affairs Council](#) (MPAC) and the Islamic Institute (II, also known as the Islamic Free Market Institute or IFMI). For example, Khan spoke most recently at an II meeting in December 2006.

The Islamic Institute was established by Grover Norquist in 1998 with \$20,000 in seed money from Abdurahman Alamoudi (who is currently serving a 23-year federal sentence for terrorism-related activities). II is the principal vehicle for the Islamists' influence operation aimed at the Bush Administration and Republican and conservative circles. Norquist was its founding president; Alamoudi's long-time deputy, Khalid Saffuri, was its first executive director; and II's offices continue to be housed in the downtown Washington office suite rented by Norquist's Americans for Tax Reform.

In fact, Grover Norquist is the Islamic Institute's chief enabler. As Arab-American pollster, John Zogby, put it to the New Republic in November 2001, "[Grover]'s played the role of interlocutor. With all respect, many of the leaders [of the Muslim-American community] are

immigrants and don't have years and years of experience. Grover has filled that void." He went on to say that "absolutely, [Grover is] central to the White House outreach."

As detailed at length in "A Troubling Influence," [15] Norquist has for years used his weekly Washington "Wednesday Group" meetings of what he calls the "Center-Right Coalition" to promote Saffuri, Khan and others associated with the Islamic Institute team as movement conservatives, or at least as reliable allies. Saffuri and Khan are routinely accorded privileged seating at these events. On occasion, in Norquist's absence, Khan has actually chaired the meeting – a private-sector role of political activism during business hours that seems unlikely to be consistent with the guidelines for conduct of his day-job with the federal government.

If Suhail Khan is useful to Norquist today, he was incalculably valuable in his previous capacity. Prior to becoming a political appointee in the Transportation Department's Federal Highway Administration (where he reportedly has access to highly sensitive information about the movement of military convoys and nuclear and other hazardous materials and contingency plans), [16] Khan was responsible not just for "outreach" in the White House Public Liaison Office (as his sanitized ACU resume puts it); he oversaw Muslim outreach. Presumably, that had something to do with why when a White House access list of Muslims to be invited to meetings in the presidential complex was prepared, it actually had Norquist at its top.

Interestingly, most of the others on that list were drawn from the various Saudi-funded, pro-Islamist and generally anti-American groups that purport to comprise the so-called "Muslim-American leadership." People now serving hard time like Abdurahman Alamoudi and Sami al-Arian were at various points among those Khan, Norquist and Saffuri considered appropriate for courting by the Bush team. Others were individuals, like Jamal Barzinji, a board member of several Islamist-sympathizing organizations that were raided and investigated by the FBI on suspicion of fundraising for terrorists.

A Case Study: Siddiqi

Another on that list was the Khans' old family friend, Muzammil Siddiqi, even though he had a documented record of pro-jihadist remarks (including some made during a March 2000 rally outside the White House) [17] and ominous associations. Siddiqi was nonetheless allowed after September 11, 2001, to have a private meeting with the President, at which he presented the latter with a Koran.

Worse yet, this imam was selected for the high honor of representing his faith three days after 9/11 at an ecumenical prayer service held at the National Cathedral. Not surprisingly, his remarks to the distinguished audience were a grave disappointment. As Charles Krauthammer caustically observed afterwards, Siddiqi could not even bring himself to condemn the terrorists. [18]

It almost turned out very differently. Siddiqi was running late in getting to the National Cathedral and for a few moments, another Muslim cleric – Sheikh Hisham Khabbani – was mistaken for the imam from Southern California and ushered into the holding area for speakers, only to be sent packing when Siddiqi arrived.

If only the head of the peaceable, pro-American and law-abiding Sufi sect in North America had been given a chance to speak, instead of the radical imam based in Orange County, several things would surely have happened. For one, it is certain that the terrorists would have been searingly condemned for their actions.

Sheikh Kabbani would also have unambiguously denounced the ideology, organizations and nations that animate and support Islamofascist terrorism. We know this because both points were features of the forceful presentation made when he appeared at the Secretary of State's Open Forum in 1999, a chillingly prescient forecast of the mayhem our common, Islamist foes seek to inflict. [19]

In fact, the very course of the war may have been different had Sheikh Khabbani been given the sort of access to President Bush and the American people which Suhail Khan and his friends generally denied the Sufi leader – but were only too happy to provide to the likes of Muzammil Siddiqi.

Sheikh Kabbani's religious authority would have helped the United States rebut the charge that it was attacking all of Islam when it sought to counter and defeat the Islamists. The President would have had the latitude to be clear and direct about the threat, not encouraged to use euphemisms – such as "the war on terror" – out of a misplaced fear of giving offense to truly peaceable Muslims. We now know that such euphemisms have merely served to confuse the American people and made it far more difficult to develop, and sustain popular support for, the counter-ideological warfare our actual Islamofascist enemies require.

The Bottom Line

It is hard fully to calculate the magnitude of the damage done by the pro-Islamist influence operation run by Grover Norquist and his friends. Law enforcement agencies have been forced to receive "sensitivity training" from the Council on American-Islamic Relations. Norquist has lent conservative political cover to those who would weaken our counter-terrorism authorities and techniques. He has helped place into positions of trust and official responsibility people whose often-undisclosed past associations at least raise questions about their reliability.

In short, thanks in part to the Norquist operation, America 's enemies have been emboldened. And the United States is at considerably greater risk.

It is time, once and for all, for conservatives to take a hard look at what Norquist and his associates have been doing in the guise of Muslim "outreach." A good place to start would be for the membership of the American Conservative Union to reject the "Khan job" being perpetrated by Norquist's influence operation.

Notes:

- [1] See Steven Schwartz, "[The Muslim Student Association: A Wahhabi Front](#)," Frontpage Magazine.
- [2] See the Center for Religious Freedom (then at Freedom House), "Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Fill American Mosques," January 28, 2005. Texts distributed to U.S. mosques by the Saudi embassy included such passages as: "To be true Muslims, we must prepare and be ready for jihad in Allah's way. It is the duty of the citizen and the government."
- [3] See a [study by the Center for Religious Freedom](#) concerning Saudi textbooks being used in American and other Saudi-funded madrassas including such passages as: "Jews and the Christians are enemies of the [Muslim] believers" and that "the clash" between the two realms is perpetual and that the spread of Islam through jihad is a "religious duty."
- [4] See "[Azzam the American](#)," by Raffi Khatchadourian.
- [5] "Top Bin Laden Aide Toured the State," San Francisco Chronicle, October 11, 2001.
- [6] A San Jose Mercury News article published in 1996 makes clear that Mahboob Khan was at that time the "chairman of the Muslim Community Association." ("Islamic School Battle Continues Impasse: Santa Clara Factions Argue over Industrial Site Used by Religious Center," Tom Schmitz, San Jose Mercury News, January 29, 1996.)
- [7] See "[Anniversary Events- 10th Year Anniversary Dinner & Symposium](#)."
- [8] Op.cit.
- [9] See Andrew McCarthy, "[Singing CAIR's Tune, on Your Dime](#)," National Review Online.
- [10] For a comprehensive assessment of CAIR's history, goals and modus operandi, see "[CAIR: Islamists Fooling the Establishment](#)," by Daniel Pipes and Sharon Chadha Middle East Quarterly, Spring 2006
- [11] FDCH Political Transcript, September 10, 2003.
- [12] "[Bad CAIR Day: Ex-Staffer Pleads Guilty to Terror Charges, Senate asks Questions on 9/11 Anniversary](#)," Center for Security Policy.
- [13] McCarthy, op.cit.
- [14] Curiously, a number of Islamist organization web pages that refer to Suhail Khan and his family are no longer operational. A tantalizing excerpt from this December 24, 2003, [item remains cached](#), however: "Unable to attend [an ISNA function] was new committee member Suhail Khan of Washington, D.C." (Emphasis added.)
- Perhaps the disappearance of such documents amounts to a coincidence. Yet, we know for a fact that Khan has lately been demanding that certain publications expunge documents that he seems to feel are inconvenient to his political ambitions. (Emphasis added.)
- [15] See Gaffney, op.cit.
- [16] See Debbie Schlusel, "[Jihad on Fox's '24'](#)," Frontpage Magazine.
- [17] Kenneth Timmerman reported in Insight Magazine ("[Pipes Objects to Fox in the Henhouse](#)," Insight, March 19, 2004) that, "During an anti-Israel rally outside the White House on Oct. 28, 2000, Siddiqi openly threatened the United States with violence if it continued its support of Israel. 'America has to learn ... if you remain on the side of injustice, the wrath of God will come. Please, all Americans. Do you remember that? ... If you continue doing injustice, and tolerate injustice, the wrath of God will come.'" Timmerman went on to note: "Siddiqi also has called

for a wider application of shari'a law in the United States, and in a 1995 speech praised suicide bombers. "Those who die on the part of justice are alive, and their place is with the Lord, and they receive the highest position, because this is the highest honor," he was quoted as saying by the Kansas City Star on Jan. 28, 1995."

[18] Charles Krauthammer, "[Provocative Moderate: a Conversation with Sheikh Hesham Kabbani](#)," San Jose Mercury News

Exhibit 32:

Suhail Khan Video Transcripts –
Speech at 1999 ISNA Conference,
Receiving Award From Alamoudi in 2000,
and Sharing a Podium with Palestinian Islamic
Jihad Leader Sami Al-Arian

Suhail Khan At 1999 ISNA Conference

PRESENTER:

The first speaker in the order is Suhail Khan. Suhail Khan is a young lawyer. A graduate of Berkeley. And a J.D. from University of Iowa next door. He currently is press secretary and counselor for Congressman Tom Campbell and those of you who know Congressman Campbell, he's a Republican and he is a conservative Republican with values that are very close to Muslim values. Family values, a lot of his stands are very close to us. I'll have first Suhail Khan take the first crack at it.

SUHAIL KHAN:

[ARABIC] Mr. Chairman, honorable speakers, brothers and sisters, [ARABIC] It is indeed a cherished honor for my family and for me to be given this opportunity this morning to address you on how we as a community have come in securing—how far we have come in securing our rights as Muslims and how far we have yet to travel. And the paramount importance of this struggle for not only our survival and our preservation as a community, but for the betterment of man. It is a special honor for me to be here before you today because I am always reminded of the legacy of my father, Dr. Mahboob [PH] Khan, an early founder of the Muslim Students Association in the mid-60s and an active member of the organization through its growth and development in the Islamic Society of North America. His story and the story of my dearest mother, Malika [PH] Khan as is the experience of many of you is one of hardship, struggle, bravery, and perseverance. All in the face of continued adversity and hardship. As a husband, a father of five, a professional, an activist, an American, and as a Muslim, my father inspired in me and those who knew him an Islamic spirit of hard work, vision, and justice.

In Surah [UNCLEAR] of the Holy Koran, almighty Allah instructs us, Oh ye who believe, stand up firmly for justice, as witnesses to Allah, even as against yourselves, your parents, or your kin and whether it be against rich or poor. For Allah can best protect both. Follow not the lusts of your hearts, lest you swerve and if you distort justice, or decline to do justice, verily Allah is well acquainted with all that ye do. Justice. We as Muslims are enjoined, we are obliged as adherents to our faith to make every effort to take every opportunity to strive for justice for all. Muslims and non-Muslims, black and white, man or woman, poor and rich, we, no one else, for us, with the help and guidance of almighty Allah, are the men and woman who must strive for the good against all that is evil, unjust and oppressive. In Surah [UNCLEAR] of the Holy Koran, almighty Allah describes the believers. Men and women are protectors of one another. They enjoin what is just and forbid what is evil. They observe regular prayers, practice regular charity, and obey Allah and his messenger. On them Allah will pour his mercy for Allah is exalted in power and wise.

We are charged by almighty Allah to protect our fellow brothers and sisters and we know of many, so many, here in America and across the globe who are in dire need of protection. And who seek justice and relief from oppression. If an ummah reported that the messenger of Allah [ARABIC] a Muslim is a brother to a Muslim. Neither he harms him nor does he hand him to another for harm. Who comes in need of his brother, Allah comes in hardship to his aid. And whosoever removes the calamity of a Muslim Allah will remove a calamity of his on the day of reckoning. And whosoever conceals a fault of his brother Allah conceals a fault of his on the day of judgment. Everywhere we turn, everyday of every week we hear of those who need help, relief, a voice. And many times, those who need the greatest are ourselves. Bosnia, Kashmir, Palestine, Iraq, Kosovo, the cries

of our oppressed pierce our hearts. Here in the United States, Muslims are often faced with discrimination, harassment and outright hatred. Mosques are burned. Islamic centers are vandalized, desecrated. Mosques and Islamic centers and schools face constant discriminatory zoning decisions. Muslim families are harassed and hindered from travel from at airports as they are profiled as quote unquote terrorists or security risks. Muslim women who choose to wear an Islamic headscarf are excluded from jobs as are Muslim men from wearing the Islamic beard. Most recently a qualified Muslim was excluded from a federal commission on domestic terrorism because of his political beliefs. Worse, almost two dozen Muslims are being held in federal prison today without federal charge, without bail, and without the most Islamic and American opportunity to face their accuser and to challenge the evidence used by federal authorities to deprive them of their right to due process, their right to speech, association, and their very right to freedom. Our freedoms, my dear brothers and sisters, are under attack. Our freedom to associate with whomsoever we choose, to speak out politically and religiously, to travel, to practice our faith as Allah has instructed us as God-fearing men and women must be protected. And these rights must be defended with all the determination, all the resources, all the unyielding vigilance of the believing mujahid.

That is the spirit of Islam. The mark of the Muslim. These are the life and death struggles that we Muslims face every day of our lives. The struggle is by no means a new one. From the earliest, very first days of Islam men and woman have tenaciously defended Islam in the face of hardship and oppression. One of the companions of the holy prophet of Allah [UNCLEAR] was a slave captured from Africa who belonged to Omayya [PH], the chief of the Jumah [PH] tribe, a clan of Mecca. Bilal [PH] was one of the earliest to embrace Islam. And his cruel owner would take him out midday and would force him to lay on the hot desert sand on his back, pinned down by a large crushing rock placed on his chest. His master would torture Bilal in this cruel manner, demanding that he denounce his belief in one god and his allegiance to the holy prophet [UNCLEAR] Bilal would endure this torture and would not give in, painfully yet steadfastly whispering, [ARABIC] one, one. This is our determination. This is the fierce determination we must resolve to bear in every facet of our lives. This is the mark of the Muslim. The earliest defenders of Islam would defend their more numerous and better equipped oppressors, because the early Muslims loved death, dying for the sake of almighty Allah more than the oppressors of Muslims loved life. This must be the case where we—when we are fighting life's other battles.

Yesterday evening I was watching on the television the program about the boxing match between the champion Muhammad Ali and George Foreman. And in describing Muhammad Ali, George Foreman describes his tenacious spirit as a Muslim. Here's what George Foreman said. Here's what he really was. He was brave. I hit him. I hit him hard. And he'd just keep at me. Nobody had ever done that before. He'd come ready to die. Now what are you going to do with a guy like that? Indeed, what are our oppressors going to do with people like us? We're prepared to give our lives for the cause of Islam. That's the way we must be in the face of discrimination, hatred, and oppression. Firm, unyielding. This goes for the seemingly insignificant and the most crucial life and death battles of our life. I'm so inspired by the struggle of another Muslim slave. This one here in America, Kunta Kinte. Kunta Kinte was one of 98 slaves, forcibly brought here to Annapolis, Maryland from West Africa, aboard a slave ship, the Lord Legionnaire, in 1767. He was only seventeen years old. As a Muslim, he endured vicious whippings in his effort to secure his freedom. His master even amputated a portion of his foot. In this lonely struggle to preserve his Islam, Kunta Kinte endured lash after lash of the whip over his name alone. According to Alex Haley, in his book, *Roots*, on the day of his birth in Gambia, West Africa, Kunta Kinte's grandmother Yaisa smiled with joy as she witnessed the birth of her grandson and a special blessing [ARABIC] had given her son Omaro and his wife Binta. Later, when [UNCLEAR] the new baby, the imam made a dua [PH] to Allah to grant him long life, success, and many children to his family, to his village, and finally, to the strength and the spirit he deserved to bring honor to the name he was about to receive. Seventeen years later, as a slave, strung up from a tree in Maryland, Kunta Kinte resisted painful, humiliating lash after lash of his

master's whip in his fight to protect his name as a Muslim. And how easily, how shamefully do we often hide our beautiful Muslim names. How often do we say, [ARABIC] Sam, Mike, and Bill. This life, dear brothers and sisters, is difficult. This life is hard. The late Dr. Martin Luther King said, this life is hard as steel. But we should not for a moment despair. Almighty Allah has pledged to help us in our struggle. And it is him that we seek our refuge and seek his mercy and help. It is he that will give us protection. But in doing so, we must take the steps necessary to help ourselves, to help those around us. Almighty Allah promised us that if we take a step towards him, he takes several. If we walk towards him, he will run. We are his creation and he is the most merciful, most just. But the first step is ours.

In 1955, Miss Rosa Parks, late in the evening after working a long day's hours on her feet in Montgomery, Alabama, refused to give up her seat on the bus because she was black and her brave gesture of defiance in the face of racial segregation sparked the fires of freedom for an entire generation of African-Americans weary of a life of injustice. We like the brave Miss Parks are weary of discrimination with which we are faced. And like her, we refuse to take our place at the back of the bus. We are Muslims, we are Americans, and we demand justice for all, rich or poor, black or white, man or woman, Muslim or non-Muslim, citizen of America or citizen of the world. American Muslims have made progress. We've established scores of mosques, Islamic centers, schools, and many religious and social institutions and organizations. American Muslims have become ambassadors, congressional chiefs of staff, political advisers, and increasingly [ARABIC] publicly elected Muslims of service. But while we've made progress, we've a long way to go in securing our rights and demanding justice for our children, our brothers, our sisters, and for our community. Islam in America remains in its youth. We are still in the heady days of promise. Where in the chrome and the brass and the sheen of our youth, we often make mistakes. We may stumble. When this occurs, my dear brothers and sisters, don't criticize and abandon us. Guide us and help us. Don't condemn our efforts. Cherish and nurture our spirit.

As the many oppressed said during the civil rights movement in the sixties, we must keep our eyes on the prize. The prize being almighty Allah's pleasure and blessing. The results of our effort are in his good hands. I have pledged my life's work, inspired by my dear father's shining legacy, and inspired further by my mother's loving protection and support to work for the ummah. Join me in this effort. Join hands with me in supporting the work of the many valuable organizations who have dedicated themselves to our protection. To our empowerment as a Muslim ummah. Together, hand in hand, we can work toward the cause of Muslim self-determination. Whether born in a refugee camp in Palestine, in occupied Kashmir, in Kosovo, whether Muslims are harassed, brutalized and arrested and thrown in jail because of the government labels as terrorists, we demand our rights. We demand respect as men and women. We pledge to assert our God-given right in this country, in this time, on this earth, because we are human beings that deserve no less. I hope and pray to almighty Allah that we will renew our commitment to working towards a brighter future for all men and women regardless of religion, regardless of color, nationality, but for all people who love justice and for those who love freedom. [ARABIC]

PRESENTER:

Allah akbar. Thank you brother Suhail. You remind us of your father and please continue your work.

Suhail Khan Receives Award From Alamoudi

ABDUL RAHMAN ALAMOUDI:

[ARABIC] I didn't know that salmon would put people to sleep. Did you like your salmon? [ARABIC] What about the coffee? Okay. I am the [UNCLEAR] because he is running late. And I am honored to do that. I cannot fill his shoes, but I'll try my best. My name is Abdul Rahman Alamoudi who was attacked yesterday by Arlen Specter, if you know. Have all of you heard that? Yeah. Okay. Well, we'll deal with Arlen Specter, but I was requested to say something about that. Hopefully we'll say about it when we have taken care of some business here. We have with us a dear brother, a pioneer, somebody who really started political activism in the Muslim community. And somebody different. A young man, not old and grumpy like many of us, but a young man who pioneered from many, many young men and women who started political activism when it was a taboo for the Muslim community, no doubt about it. When Suhail Khan started not too many people were aware that we had to do something. I am really proud to be with Suhail Khan. Some of you saw in today the White House but inshallah soon you see him in better places in the White House. Inshallah. Maybe sometimes as vice-president soon, inshallah. [APPLAUSE] Allah akbar. Suhail Khan is the son of a dear, dear brother who was a pioneer of Islam work himself. Many of you know his late father [UNCLEAR] who was part of all kinds of work and [ARABIC] Suhail inherited from his father not only being a Muslim and a Muslim activist, but also being a Muslim political activist. I'd like to read a small bio about Suhail here. Mr. Suhail Khan earned his J.D. from the University of Iowa college in 1995. His B.A. In political science from the University of California at Berkeley, '91. He served as campaign coordinator for Tom Campbell campaign for U.S. Congress in '95 and served as press secretary and legislative assistant to U.S. Representative Tom Campbell from '96 to '93. I wish we had the time for Suhail to talk to us in those three years what did he do for his country, for his people but mainly for the Muslim community. But hopefully we'll see it in a book soon, inshallah. He also served as policy director, press secretary to Mr. Campbell's campaign for U.S. Senate in 1999-2000. Mr. Khan is currently a full time volunteer in the White House office of public liaison This is not the last that we'll hear from Mr. Suhail Khan. But I am proud that AMC is willing to honor one of us who's pioneering political work and I request our vice-president, Dr. Amul al-Akhan [PH] to come here and honor brother Suhail Khan with a small plaque that we'll honor him with. Dr. Amul al-Akhan. [APPLAUSE] [UNCLEAR] Cameras [UNCLEAR]

DR. AMUL AL-AKHAN:

Congratulations.

SUHAIL KHAN:

Thank you. [APPLAUSE] In the name of God, the most beneficent, the most merciful, thank you very much for this honor. And thank you for giving me this opportunity to be with you this afternoon. I appreciate your good wishes and your honoring me this afternoon for this small, very small contribution that I have tried to make for our community and our country. As many of you know, I have long worked as hard as I can for the benefit and the rights of Muslims and anyone else who needs help. And right now, of course, the Muslim community—my family—is one that needs representation, needs help and support. So any way that I can, working with you, I hope, inshallah, that we can keep working together. And please pray for success and pray for the right outcome in so many challenges that we have facing us. I'll end with just one small thank you for the people that have been helping me keep going. Dr. Basha [PH] of course, has always been a strong and favorite

friend. Dr. Ahman Rakhan [PH] and of course my uncle, Elia Bazokook [PH] and Abdul Rahman Alamoudi have been very supportive of me and I want to give them thanks. Many of you, of course, knew my father. He was someone who dedicated his life to the community and I've always felt that I have to work in the same—those footsteps. That this is something that's important for our country as Americans and it is something that I keep in my heart everyday. I remember when my father arrived in New York City in the mid-60s, having borrowed three hundred dollars to come and seek the American dream. He took a Greyhound bus to Colorado and began his journey as an American, as a Muslim in this country. And I still feel that there is—and there was, and there is—the dream that is America. And working with you, inshallah, we'll make that dream a reality. Salaam Alekum [UNCLEAR] [APPLAUSE]

Suhail Khan Shares Podium With Palestinian Islamic Jihad Terrorist Leader

PRESENTER:

While we thank our chaplain, [UNCLEAR] for coming here and joining us tonight, I would like to invited Dr. Sami al-Arian for a brief comment on the events of this evening and the proceedings, please. [UNCLEAR]

DR. SAMI AL-ARIAN:

[ARABIC] My brothers and sisters, [ARABIC] I'd like to make a very few brief comments, because of the time limitation. First, I'd like to thank the honorable congress—David Bonior, Congressman David Bonior for his leadership and support of our issues. He's been a tremendous help. He was able singlehandedly to raise that issue to prominence, especially within the U.S. Congress. I'd also like to thank Dr. [UNCLEAR] Said for his leadership in empowering the American Muslim community through all the work that was taking place, especially last year. For the AMPCC, as well as the other brothers on the panel here with AMC, CAIR, and MPAC. There has been a lot of talk about the endorsement of President Bush. We did not—the brothers did not endorse him because of Palestine or Iraq. There was a single issue. That was the issue of civil rights to us. There isn't any ethnic group in this United States that was empowered politically before they won their civil rights battles. Whether we like it or not, that civil rights battle has been defined to us in the issue of secret evidence. We wanted to raise that issue to the full front of the national debate. [ARABIC] we're able to do that to the point that everybody heard it on national T.V. Millions of people heard what is happening to us.

So far the president did not deliver on his promise. We must hold him accountable. The jury's still out whether he would or wouldn't. And whether he would, that would depend on our involvement. So I have a plan of action. I have a request, an appeal—a plea for everyone here. The White House has said that they will not issue a statement or a position before sometime in September. That means we have few days to work on this. Our hope is to generate thousands of calls to the White House asking them to support HR 1266. Secret Evidence Repeal Act. Again, that's HR 1266. The bill that has been sponsored, chiefly, by Congressman Bonior. That bill has to receive the support, has to receive the support of the White House so that eventually it will become the law of the land where no secret evidence will ever be used against anyone, Muslims or otherwise. [APPLAUSE] Brothers and sisters, the White House main number is 202-456-1111. Again, that's 202-456-1111. Every single person here, everyone you know, must call that number. Phone calls are the best, that's number one. I'll give you the e-mail later.

You must call and say, please support the banning of secret evidence, please support HR 1266. We must get all Muslims, all our friends, all those who love the freedom and the freedom of association and everything that the Constitution stands for in the area of civil liberties and freedoms and due process. To make that one phone call, because then and only then we can say whether our involvement made a difference. The White House or the president e-mail is president@whitehouse.gov. G-O-V. President@whitehouse.gov. G-O-V. Secondly, please visit your congressman. Make a delegation to—make a point to visit your congressman and if they are not a co-sponsor yet on the bill, they must co-sign. You must make your voices heard. Thirdly, please visit your editorial boards in the major newspaper in your town or city and let them know about this issue. Let them take a position in the editorial section as well as in the op-ed pieces. Thank you very much. [ARABIC]

PRESENTER:

Thank you, Dr. Sami. You took some of my papers, also, Sami. Dr. Sami, you took some of my papers. I know it's not a good sign to take--[LAUGHTER] Thank you. [UNCLEAR] Next time. I think this answers the question that we got from the floor that since the secret act, law, has been repealed, so what is next step, etceteras? Now we know that, of course, it has not been repealed. In fact, it is still on, so we need to generate something like twenty to fifty thousand calls to the White House so that we have some chance of passing [ARABIC] I received another piece of paper from the floor, somebody who definitely is very much biased who's saying that, what about Suhail Khan's talk? Who says Suhail Khan's going to talk? I say, because I am the director. [LAUGHS] So brother Suhail Khan, please come, share with us your views, being inside the White House now and give us some comfort whether we should give up hope in the White House or is there some hope there. [APPLAUSE]

SUHAIL KHAN:

[ARABIC] Thank you for giving me the opportunity to address the audience. I've been told I only have a few minutes, so I really won't be able to share my experiences over the last several months at the White House serving under the new administration. I hope, inshallah, there might be another opportunity. But what I might tell you, because so many people have been asking me and caring enough to ask how it is to serve under our new president in the White House, how the change has been for me to leave Capitol Hill from serving Congressman Tom Campbell for over five years and now make the change. And I can just tell you that we have hope, inshallah, we will make progress, inshallah, that we should not feel discouraged by setbacks, we should not feel that we are being pushed around and that we are going to become weaker, we, inshallah, will become stronger. We are a nation that is growing, a nation of people that is becoming stronger as Muslims, as an ummah. And we have to worry not about the success in this world and the results in this world. We worry about the success, inshallah, in the hereafter.

They are people, who I remember, as a young Muslim growing up in the United States, that have served to inspire me and their experiences and it's their experiences that keep me going everyday. And caused me to serve you as a Muslim community, to serve our country as a community and to work hard, even if we have setbacks in the short term. We are a nation and a people of immigrants. I don't care what color, what religion, we are a nation of immigrants. And that is the Islamic tradition as well. Remember the immigrants that immigrated to seek freedom of religion to Abyssinia The first immigrants, there were over eight of them, who left the Mecca—Meccan persecution at the request of prophet Muhammad [ARABIC] they went to Abyssinia, Jafar, [UNCLEAR] Zubar and so many others. And they were given the peace of religious freedom in Abyssinia. We know that people were brought here forcibly under chains. Kunta Kinte was brought here before the United States was even founded, brought to Maryland as a sixteen year old. And he was beaten and beaten to change his name, even though he fought to preserve his Islam. And you should know that more than one out of ten African-American slaves brought to this country from Africa were in fact Muslims. And finally, I'll end by telling you the experience and the inspirational story of a lady who came here as a nineteen-year old to seek religious freedom, to seek freedom from persecution in her own home country because of her religion, because of her faith, because she was a woman, because she was the only surviving child of her mother's second marriage, and because she had no hope in her own country, she came here as a nineteen-year old to—in 1968—a very troubled year in the United States, she fought hard for our community. She worked with her husband to establish organizations like the MSA, ISNA, CAIR, American Muslims for Global Peace and Justice. She worked hard to establish an Islamic center in Orange County. She worked hard to establish an Islamic center and MCA in Santa Clara, and she still works hard today. And, inshallah, I work for my mother and I work for

you. There's a dream that is America. And, inshallah, with your work and your help, we will make that dream a reality. Inshallah. [ARABIC] [APPLAUSE]

PRESENTER:

Thank you, Suhail, thank you. I know you will not disappoint us.