

Cause No.: DC-16-12579

MOHAMED MOHAMED, Individually	§	IN THE DISTRICT COURT
And on Behalf of Ahmed Mohamed, a Minor	§	
<i>Plaintiff,</i>	§	
	§	
v.	§	162ND JUDICIAL DISTRICT
	§	
THE BLAZE, INC.; GLENN BECK;	§	
CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY;	§	
JIM HANSON; FOX TELEVISION	§	
STATIONS, LLC; BEN FERGUSON;	§	
BEN SHAPIRO; BETH VAN DUYNÉ	§	DALLAS COUNTY, TEXAS
<i>Defendants.</i>	§	
	§	

**DEFENDANTS CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY AND JIM HANSON’S MOTION
TO DISMISS PURSUANT TO THE TEXAS CITIZENS’ PARTICIPATION ACT,
CHAPTER 27 OF THE TEXAS CIVIL PRACTICES & REMEDIES CODE**

COME NOW Defendants Center for Security Policy (“CSP”)¹ and Jim Hanson (collectively referred to as “CSP Defendants”) and hereby file this Motion to Dismiss Pursuant to the Texas Citizens’ Participation Act, Chapter 27 of the Texas Civil Practices & Remedies Code. CSP Defendants, by and through this motion, request this honorable Court to dismiss Plaintiff’s lawsuit² as a Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation (“SLAPP”). CSP Defendants also request this honorable Court, upon dismissing Plaintiff’s lawsuit, to award CSP Defendants (a) their reasonable attorney’s fees, court costs and other expenses incurred in defending against

¹ While CSP is named as a defendant in this matter, there are no allegations that CSP made any offending statements. The only allegations in Plaintiff’s Original Petition relating to CSP are that (1) it does business in Texas and is subject to service in the District of Columbia (Orig. Pet. ¶ 4), and (2) when Hanson made his public statements which gave rise to this lawsuit, he was executive vice president of CSP (Orig. Pet. ¶ 46). Plaintiff nowhere alleges that Hanson made any public statements at issue in this litigation in any capacity for or on behalf of CSP. Without waiving any defense, and specifically without conceding that Hanson made his public statements for or on behalf of CSP, and without waiving the argument that Hanson was not acting for or on behalf of CSP in the context of his public statements at issue here, Defendants CSP and Hanson move the Court pursuant to this motion jointly.

² Formally, there are two plaintiffs: Mohamed Mohamed and his minor son. Insofar as the father is suing on his own behalf and on behalf of his son, we shall refer to Plaintiffs in the singular, except where the context requires otherwise.

Plaintiff's lawsuit and (b) to sanction Plaintiff in an amount sufficient to deter Plaintiff and others from bringing future SLAPP litigation.³

In furtherance of this motion, CSP Defendants submit the attached memorandum of law and the declaration⁴ of Defendant Jim Hanson (hereinafter "Hanson") and accompanying exhibits⁵ submitted herewith. CSP Defendants also incorporate by reference all affidavits and exhibits Defendants KDFW Fox 4 and Ben Ferguson relied upon and attached to their Motion to Dismiss Pursuant to Chapter 27 of the Texas Civil Practice and Remedies Code. (Doc. Nos. 27-630). For ease of reference and convenience of the Court, CSP Defendants have filed those affidavits and exhibits along with their motion to dismiss.

CSP Defendants further rely upon Plaintiff's Original Petition and Request for Disclosure and request the Court to take judicial notice of same.

Respectfully submitted,

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³ Section 27.009 of the Texas Civil Practice and Remedies Code provides that a court "shall award" a moving party sanctions as well as the moving party's court costs, expenses, and attorney's fees after dismissing a legal action under the Texas Citizens' Participation Act. Tex. Civ. Prac. & Rem. Code Ann. § 27.009.

⁴ See Tex. Civ. Prac. & Rem. Code Ann. § 132.001 (providing for unsworn declaration in lieu of affidavit).

⁵ See Tex. Civ. Prac. & Rem. Code Ann. § 27.006(a) ("In determining whether a legal action should be dismissed under this chapter, the court shall consider the pleadings and supporting and opposing affidavits stating the facts on which the liability or defense is based.").

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I. SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT.

The instant action is a classic example of a strategic lawsuit against public participation, or “SLAPP.” Plaintiff filed this lawsuit with the goal of stifling criticism and negative feedback following Plaintiff’s insertion of himself and his son into the public eye. As set forth in greater detail below, Plaintiff’s lawsuit is an attempt to use our court system to infringe upon and violate Defendants’ constitutional rights, specifically CSP Defendants’ exercise of their right of free speech.

The Texas Legislature passed the Texas Citizens Participation Act (“TCPA”) in 2011 and intended it to have a broad application. A motion to dismiss under the TCPA is used to (a) encourage and safeguard the constitutional rights of a person to petition, speak, and associate freely and otherwise lawfully participate in government and (b) simultaneously protect the rights of a person to file a meritorious lawsuit for a demonstrable injury. Tex. Civ. Prac. & Rem. Code Ann. § 27.002. The TCPA provides a procedure for dismissing meritless suits that are based on, and arise from, a defendant’s exercise of the rights of free speech, petition, or association. *Id.* at § 27.003. If the plaintiff’s legal action is based on, relates to, or is in response to a party’s exercise of those rights, then that party may file a motion to dismiss the legal action. *Id.* at § 27.003(a).

To prevail on a motion to dismiss under the TCPA, a defendant must show, by a preponderance of evidence, that a legal action is based on, relates, to, or is in response to a party’s exercise of the right of free speech, right to petition, and/or right of association. *Id.* at §§ 27.003(a), 27.005(b). If the defendant establishes this threshold under the TCPA, then the burden shifts to the plaintiff to “establish by clear and specific evidence a *prima facie* case for each element of the claim in question.” *Id.* at § 27.005(c). If the defendant establishes by a

preponderance of the evidence that a legal action is covered by the TCPA and the plaintiff fails to establish by clear and specific evidence a *prima facie* case for each element of a challenged claim, then the trial court must dismiss the plaintiff's legal action. *Id.* at §§ 27.005 (b) & (c). If the plaintiff carries his burden, then the trial court must still dismiss the plaintiff's legal action if the defendant establishes by a preponderance of the evidence each essential element of a valid defense to the plaintiff's claim. *Id.* at § 27.005(d). When a trial court dismisses a plaintiff's legal action under the TCPA, the trial court is required to award the defendant his attorney's fees, court costs, and expenses and to sanction the plaintiff in an amount sufficient to deter the filing of similar suits in the future. *Id.* at § 27.009(a).

Plaintiff Mohamed Mohamed and his attorneys are attempting to use the coercive powers of our state court system to violate the CSP Defendants' constitutional right of free speech. As such, the Court is required by the TCPA to dismiss Plaintiff's lawsuit against CSP Defendants and award CSP Defendants their attorney's fees, court costs, expenses, and to sanction Plaintiff in an amount sufficient to deter similar actions.

The TCPA applies because Plaintiff's lawsuit against CSP Defendants arises from Hanson's exercise of his right to free speech on matters of public concern, including issues about community well-being, issues related to the government, issues related to health or safety, and issues related to a public figure. *Id.* at §§ 27.001(3), (7). Plaintiff's petition selectively edits Hanson's statements in a transparent attempt to hide and disguise the substance, import, and focus of the discussion: public safety, government, and community well-being.⁶ Moreover,

⁶ On page 15, paragraph 48 of Plaintiff's Original Petition, Plaintiff notes that Hanson said Ahmed Mohamed's contraption "look[ed] like a bomb" Plaintiff's use of ellipses disingenuously omits that Hanson, via his experience as a member of the U.S. military's Special Forces, built and detonated suitcase bombs and therefore had an expert-level understanding of what a briefcase bomb looks like and that Ahmed Mohamed's contraption looked

when Hanson's statements are viewed in their totality, it becomes clear that he was proffering opinions on politically-charged matters related to the government and to public safety.⁷

Since Hanson was exercising his right to free speech on a matter of public concern as that is defined by the TCPA, CSP Defendants have met their burden of establishing that the TCPA applies. Therefore, the burden shifts to Plaintiff to establish by clear and specific evidence each element of his defamation claim. If Plaintiff fails to establish even one element of his defamation claim by clear and specific evidence, then the Court must dismiss Plaintiff's lawsuit.

Plaintiff cannot meet his burden. To begin, Hanson's statements are fully protected by the First Amendment insofar as some are statements of pure opinion, while others are judgments based upon disclosed true facts. Moreover, Plaintiff has not even alleged that Hanson made any statement capable of a meaning that would lend itself to an action for libel *per se*, which is the only action Plaintiff alleges in his Original Petition.⁸

Even after Plaintiff's selective editing of Hanson's statements, the publication was not libelous *per se* because the statements did not: (a) injure Plaintiff Mohamed Mohamed or his son Ahmed in either of their offices, professions, or occupations; (b) charge either of them with the commission of a crime; (c) impute to either of them a loathsome disease; or (d) impute to either of them sexual misconduct. As selectively edited by Plaintiff and his attorneys, Hanson said, and

exactly like a suit-case bomb based upon his experience and expertise. *See* Hanson, Ex. I, ¶ 14(App. 214-15); Ex. I-2 (App. 597-99); Ex. I-2i and Ex. I-2ii (App. 601).

⁷ Plaintiff also omitted the fact that Hanson stated during the same episode of the Glenn Beck Show that "They [referring to "Islamists" generally, and Plaintiff Mohamed Mohamed, and the Council on American-Islamic Relations, specifically] created the appearance of an anti-Muslim bias where there was none, where there was pure public safety concern, and they use that to portray Muslims as victims, Americans as bigots, and our system as stacked against them. They will do that again, and what they're trying to do is censor any criticism of Islam. That allows them to do things like impose sharia tribunals like the mayor shut down and use Islamic law to supplant US law." *See id.*

⁸ Paragraph 61 of Plaintiff's Original Petition states, "The conduct of the Defendants is libel *per se*." Paragraph 50, the only other paragraph characterizing Hanson's public statements, asserts that the statements "constituted libel *per se*."

Plaintiff complains of, the following statements,

I think it's happening. I don't think there's any question that this latest event was a PR stunt. It was a staged event where someone convinced this kid [Ahmed Mohamed] to bring a device that he didn't build, as you mentioned. It's a RadioShack clock that he put in a briefcase, and in a briefcase it looks like a bomb They did that to create the exact scenario that played out. They wanted people to react, and they wanted to portray this kid as an innocent victim. I think he was a pawn potentially of his father. His sister actually claimed that she was suspended. His sister told MSNBC that she was suspended by the same school district from making a bomb threat years ago. Don't know if that's true yet, but she said that in her own words. So there's a vendetta from them, and they're tied, as you mentioned, with CAIR [Council on American Islamic Relations] and CAIR is Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas tied. They're basically involved in civilization jihad, so I think you're right.

Plaintiff failed to identify any statement that would qualify as libelous much less as libel *per se* as to either Plaintiff Mohamed Mohamed or his son, Ahmed Mohamed. None of the statements affected the professions of either Plaintiff or his son. In fact, Plaintiff's son is not even 15 years of age at the time of the filing of this motion and has no profession. Even if the statements have had any impact on the profession of Plaintiff, a politician who is again eyeing a run for the presidency of Sudan, the net effect has been positive as the publicity serves to keep him in the public eye, which is why Plaintiff, when faced with the choice to avoid or to seek publicity following his son's arrest, chose to seek it⁹ and to establish the family as its own public relations firm on the very day Plaintiff was bringing Ahmed home from the police station following his September 14, 2015 arrest.¹⁰ If the Court views Plaintiff's claims as libel *per quod* rather than libel *per se*, Hanson's statements remain protected opinion.

Overlaying all of these arguments is the indisputable fact that Plaintiff and his son, Ahmed, are both public figures who intentionally sought and received publicity following

⁹ See Ex. A-9, esp. p. 4 (App 91-103, esp. 95).

¹⁰ See *id.*, esp. p. 3 (App. 91-103, esp. 94).

Ahmed's September 14, 2015 arrest.¹¹ As either general or limited-purpose public figures, Plaintiff and his son, who both enjoy international notoriety, are required to establish by clear and specific evidence that Hanson published his statements with actual malice (*i.e.*, a knowing or reckless disregard of the truth). Plaintiff cannot carry his burden to show actual malice even if the statements Plaintiff complains of were false and defamatory. Thus, the Court must dismiss Plaintiff's lawsuit under Texas Civil Practices and Remedies Code § 27.005.

II. BACKGROUND: PLAINTIFF AND HIS SON ORCHESTRATED A MEDIA CAMPAIGN TO GAIN PUBLIC NOTORIETY.

Both Plaintiff and his son, Ahmed, have voluntarily and repeatedly interjected themselves into the public eye, and enjoy international notoriety. Moreover, both Plaintiff and his son have enjoyed the benefits of this notoriety and have sought to extend their moment in the public eye. Specifically, Plaintiff has twice run for political office as a presidential candidate in his native country of Sudan. He first ran for president of Sudan in 2010¹² and then again in 2015.¹³ Plaintiff has also declared that he will run again for the Sudanese presidency in 2020.¹⁴ In his 2015 bid for the Sudanese presidency, Plaintiff promised to end United States sanctions and have

¹¹ See *id.* ("Searching for Ahmed's name is a daily ritual. The family is its own public relations firm, founded September 14, 2015, as they brought Ahmed home from the police station.") & Ex. A-9, p. 4 (App. 95) ("And so came the next choice: Let this all die down, or seize the platform they'd been given and use it. So they put Ahmed on 'Good Morning America,' MSNBC, and 'The Nightly Show with Larry Wilmore.'").

¹² See Patrick Michels, *Why Mohamed Elhassan, the Dallas Imam Who Played Defense Attorney in Quran-Torching Church, Says He "Admires" Terry Jones*, Dall. Observer, April 4, 2011, available at <http://www.dallasobserver.com/news/why-mohamed-elhassan-the-dallas-imam-who-played-defense-attorney-in-quran-torching-church-says-he-admires-terry-jones-7130292>, Exhibit A-6. ¶ 12.

¹³ See *Sudan presidential contender vows to lift US sanctions in first 100 days if elected*, Sudan Tribune, Feb. 16, 2015, available at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article54000>, Exhibit A-8; see Nina Golgowski, *Father of Muslim teen arrested for clock previously battled Fla. Koran burner, has run for president of Sudan twice*, N.Y. Daily News, Sept. 16, 2015, Exhibit A-10. P. 2.

¹⁴ See Ex. A-9, p. 5 (App. 96).

Sudan removed from the list of state sponsors of terrorism.¹⁵ It should not be surprising that Plaintiff's public figure persona as a Sudanese politician is intimately connected to the issues surrounding this lawsuit: Islamic terrorism and the response by the West to that existential threat.

Plaintiff, not content with being confined to running in mundane Sudanese national elections and speaking to the press on matters relating to international terrorism, has sought out the global stage with the sensational and provocative as a means to further leverage his public persona and fame. Thus, Plaintiff agreed to play "defense attorney" in a mock trial of the Koran in 2011.¹⁶ Plaintiff was apparently the only Muslim who could be found to take part in the incendiary stunt that resulted in the Koran being burned, which led to three days of violence in Afghanistan in which 21 people were killed and 150 injured.¹⁷ Despite the casualties and the fact that some in his local community have criticized and ostracized him for his participation in the Koran trial, Plaintiff does not regret his participation in the highly publicized event.¹⁸

Plaintiff knew the publicity that would follow him as part of the Koran trial and went forward with his participation in any event. TruthTV broadcast the Koran trial, and it was the owner of TruthTV, a former Muslim by the name of Ahmed Abaza, who invited Plaintiff to take part in the trial and play the role of "defense attorney."¹⁹ Plaintiff was already acquainted with TruthTV and the publicity that it could bring him as he had appeared on TruthTV prior to taking part in the now-infamous Koran trial.²⁰ Although Plaintiff had some reservation about his

¹⁵ See *Sudan presidential contender vows to lift US sanctions in first 100 days if elected*, Sudan Tribune, Feb. 16, 2015, available at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article54000>, Ex. A-8, (App. 90) esp. ¶¶ 1 and 2.

¹⁶ See Exhibit A-7 (App. 84-88).

¹⁷ See *id.*

¹⁸ See *id.*, esp. p. 3 (App. 87).

¹⁹ See *id.* at p. 2 (App. 86).

²⁰ See *id.*

participation just prior to the “trial,” he went ahead and played his part.²¹ Publicity is important to Plaintiff because, as the *Washington Post* reports, “The more people who know him, the better his chances [of winning the Sudanese presidency].”²²

Plaintiff’s thirst for publicity drives him—and now also his son, Ahmed—to seek out the press. The *Washington Post* reports that Plaintiff believes that “the more Ahmed is seen, the better. It’s good for the family.”²³ And by good for the family, Plaintiff means that it is good for his political aspirations.²⁴ Ahmed feels the same way about publicity as does his father. Ahmed told the *Washington Post* that if he “wouldn’t get tired, [Ahmed] would do more interviews so that he would have more influence.”²⁵ This is not a recent revelation for young Ahmed. Three days after Ahmed’s arrest when the Mohamed family and their handlers from the Council on American-Islamic Relations (“CAIR”) went into overdrive, Ahmed told the *Daily Beast* that the publicity he was receiving was “gonna be soooooo much longer” than a mere 15 minutes of fame.²⁶

Ahmed knew, shortly after his arrest, that he could milk his new-found publicity for personal gain. As reported by the *Daily Beast* on September 17, 2015, Ahmed was told by his local mosque youth leader that “scholarships and jobs can come from this, if you sit down and talk to the right people who have influence, that would be the best call. So you don’t wanna just ‘Oh, I wanna go on this show, and go on this show.’”²⁷ This advice was given Ahmed after Alia Salem, the CAIR handler who functioned as the Mohamed duo’s spokeswoman, asked Plaintiff

²¹ See *id.*

²² See Ex. A-9, p. 5 (App. 96).

²³ See *id.*

²⁴ See *id.*

²⁵ See *id.*

²⁶ See Ex. I-4 (App. 607).

²⁷ See *id.* (App. 608).

and his son if they wanted Ahmed to appear on late-night TV with Stephen Colbert in what Ms. Salem characterized as “a really, really, really, really big show.”²⁸ About one-half hour after this conversation took place, Ms. Salem accompanied Ahmed on MSNBC where Ahmed discussed his arrest and the device that he took to school on the fateful day he was propelled into the spotlight²⁹ with the help of his public-relations minded father and CAIR.

While CSP Defendants begrudge Plaintiff and his son neither fame nor resulting fortune, they most certainly stand firm on their constitutional right to fair comment on Plaintiff’s fame, their methodologies, and their possible motivations and see no reason to self-censor themselves just because there is always some lawyer somewhere prepared to file even the most patently meritless lawsuit. Such is the case here—a case which falls squarely within the TCPA.

III. TCPA APPLIES AND REQUIRES THE COURT TO GRANT THE MOTION.

A. Plaintiff’s Legal Action Is Covered by the TCPA.

Plaintiff’s legal action is covered by the TCPA and therefore should be dismissed with prejudice. The TCPA was enacted in 2011 to encourage participation and discussion about matters of public concern by “protecting citizens from retaliatory lawsuits that seek to intimidate or silence them on matters of public concern.” *In re Lipsky*, 460 S.W.3d 579, 584 (Tex. 2015). The TCPA, Texas’ Anti-SLAPP statute,³⁰ is the Legislature’s mechanism by which a trial court safeguards citizens’ First Amendment rights to speech, petition, and association by “ensuring that courts will dismiss SLAPP suits quickly and without the need for costly proceedings.” *San Jacinto Title Servs. of Corpus Christi, LLC v. Kingsley Props., LP*, 452 S.W.3d 343, 348-49

²⁸ *See id.*

²⁹ *See id.* (App. 608-09) and Ex. I-3 (App. 602).

³⁰ “A SLAPP suit can be defined as a lawsuit that is without substantial merit that stop[s] citizens from exercising their political rights or to punish them for having done so.” *San Jacinto Title Servs. of Corpus Christi, LLC v. Kingsley Props., LP*, 452 S.W.3d 343, 345 n.1 (Tex. App.—Corpus Christi [13th Dist.] 2013, *pet. denied*) 2013).

(Tex. App.—Corpus Christi [13th Dist.] 2013, *pet. denied*).

In order to carry out its purpose of safeguarding citizens from SLAPP suits, the TCPA provides for dismissal of a legal action, such as Plaintiff’s lawsuit, when a party can prove by a preponderance of the evidence that the legal action is “based on, relates to, or is in response to a party’s exercise of the right of free speech, right to petition, or right of association.” Tex. Civ. Prac. & Rem. Code §§ 27.003 & 27.005. The TCPA defines the “exercise of the right of free speech” as any “communication made in connection with a matter of public concern.” *Id.* at 27.001(3). A “matter of public concern” includes any issue related to: (a) health or safety; (b) community well-being; (c) the government; and/or (d) a public official or public figure. *Id.* at 27.001(7)(a)-(d). After the moving party carries its burden and proves that the legal action is covered by the TCPA by a preponderance of the evidence, the plaintiff must establish a *prima facie* case for each element of his cause of action and must do so by clear and specific evidence to avoid dismissal of the legal action. *Id.* at 27.005(b) and (c). Therefore, when a party makes any communication related to issues of safety, community well-being, the government, or a public figure, any litigation that is based on, is in response to, or relates to that communication, is within the scope of the TCPA.

1. The TCPA applies because the suit is based entirely upon statements by Hanson about Plaintiff and his son, both of whom were at the time, and remain today, public figures.

Public figures can be categorized as either (a) all-purpose public figures or (b) limited-purpose public figures. *WFAA-TV v. McLemore*, 978 S.W.2d 568, 571 (Tex. 1998); *see also Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.*, 418 U.S. 323, 342, 94 S. Ct. 2997, 2008, 41 L.Ed.2d 789 (1974) (“Those who, by reason of . . . the vigor and success with which they seek the public’s attention, are properly classified as public figures.”). All-purpose public figures are those persons who

have achieved such pervasive fame or notoriety that they have become public figures for all purposes and in all contexts. *Id.* A limited-purpose public figure is a person who is a public figure for only a limited range of issues surrounding a particular public controversy. *Id.* Limited-purpose public figures are those individuals: (a) who are involved in matter of public controversy; (b) whose role in the public controversy is more than trivial or tangential; and (c) who are alleging defamation related to the Plaintiff's role in the controversy. *Id.*

a. Plaintiff and his son are all-purpose public figures.

Plaintiff and his son, Ahmed, were all-purpose public figures beginning on September 14, 2016, when the father-son team decided to become its own public relations firm following Ahmed's arrest.³¹ Their status as all-purpose public figures has continued to the present day. Plaintiff had already acquired international notoriety, prior to his son's arrest, as a result of his political career,³² appearances on TruthTV,³³ and defense of the Koran at the now-infamous Terry Jones' Koran trial.³⁴ In fact, when Plaintiff had the opportunity to avoid or to seek out publicity following his son's arrest, he chose publicity. As the *Washington Post* reported, when Plaintiff had the choice to let the public uproar over his son's arrest die down or "seize and use the platform [he and Ahmed] had been given," he chose to use the platform and keep his family in the public eye by putting Ahmed on "Good Morning America," MSNBC, and "The Nightly Show with Larry Willmore."³⁵ Ahmed's fame rapidly spread far and wide, so much so that he and his family gained an audience with the President of Sudan and a visit by way of special

³¹ See Exhibit A-9, p. 3;

³² See Ex. A-6 (App. 80-83), ¶ 12; Ex. A-8 (App. 89-90); A-10 (App. 104-107).

³³ See Ex. A-7 (App. 84-88).

³⁴ See *id.*

³⁵ See Ex. A-9, p. 4 (App. 95).

invitation to the White House.³⁶ Plaintiff believes the public attention he and his family have received is beneficial,³⁷ which explains why he seeks out publicity at every opportunity. As the record herein makes clear, Plaintiff is quite adept at public relations and generating fame.

Ahmed, like his father, seeks out and enjoys publicity. Shortly after his arrest, when Ahmed was asked by a reporter for the *Daily Beast* whether he was familiar with the phrase “15 minutes of fame,” Ahmed replied that his time in the spotlight would be “soooooo much longer.”³⁸ This same article, written on September 17, 2015, described Ahmed as maybe “the most famous teenager on Earth.” Ahmed is a star and enjoys his fame. He has said that if he had more stamina, then he would give more interviews to extend his already substantial influence.³⁹

b. In the alternative, Plaintiff and his son are limited-purpose public figures.

If the Court does not find that Plaintiff and his son, Ahmed, were all-purpose public figures, then the Court should find them both to be limited-purpose public figures. A limited-purpose public figure is a plaintiff (a) who is involved in a matter of public controversy; (b) whose role in the public controversy is more than trivial or tangential; and (c) who is alleging defamation related to the plaintiff’s role in the controversy. *WFAA v. McLemore* 978 S.W.2d at 571.

Plaintiff and his son, Ahmed, are properly characterized as limited-purpose public figures because they both actively sought out and were successful in receiving publicity arising from their central roles in the public controversy that is at the heart of this litigation.⁴⁰ As set forth

³⁶ *Id.*

³⁷ *Id.* at p. 5 (App. 96).

³⁸ *See* Ex. I-4 (App. 607).

³⁹ *See* Ex. A-9 at p. 5 (App. 96).

⁴⁰ *See Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.*, 418 U.S. 323, 342, 94 S. Ct. 2997, 2008, 41 L.Ed.2d 789 (1974) (“Those who, by reason of . . . the vigor and success with which they seek the public’s attention, are properly classified as public figures.”).

above, when Ahmed and his father had an opportunity to let the news of his arrest die down, they chose instead to seek publicity and exploit the media for sympathy, attention, and personal gain.⁴¹ Ahmed was able to exploit his new found fame and parlay the attention into a trip to the White House, an audience with the President of Sudan, an invitation to the Google Science Fair, and at least \$18,000 toward his college education.⁴²

Specifically, both Ahmed and his father were involved in a matter of public controversy—to wit, the controversy concerning Ahmed’s arrest for taking a suspicious contraption to school, which resulted in his arrest and out-of-school suspension, and a subsequent international media firestorm. The day after Ahmed’s arrest, CAIR put out a press release calling a press conference and highlighting the “hoax bomb.” The headline of the press conference was “CAIR: Family Adjusting to Ahmed Mohamed’s Sudden Fame as Police Announce No Charges for Clock Deemed ‘Hoax Bomb.’”⁴³ The press conference was to take place at the Mohamed family residence on September 16, 2015, two days after Ahmed’s arrest.⁴⁴ The press release listed Ms. Alia Salem, the executive director of CAIR-DFW, as the primary contact.⁴⁵ This same Alia Salem would arrange for Ahmed and herself to be interviewed by MSNBC on September 16, 2015.⁴⁶

Both Plaintiff and his son were at the center of the controversy and did more than just make themselves accessible to the press. The father-son duo purposefully and quite successfully used every public opportunity to broadcast their views about Islamophobia and how anti-

⁴¹ See Ex. A-9, p. 4.

⁴² See Ex. A-9 at p. 4 (App. 95).

⁴³ See Ex. A-5 (App. 77-79).

⁴⁴ See *id.*

⁴⁵ See *id.*

⁴⁶ See *id.* (App. 608-09) and Ex. I-3 (App. 602).

terrorism concerns in the West have led to Muslim victimization. At the September 16, 2016, press conference, both Ahmed and his father gave statements to Fox 4, wherein Plaintiff gave an impassioned plea to the public about how he believed his son was mistreated and how such mistreatment was, in his view, un-American.⁴⁷

In contrast, on the same day, Fox 4 reported that the City of Irving Police Chief had a meeting with local Islamic leaders at the Islamic Center of Irving, who reportedly were not critical of the way the incident was handled by the Irving Police Department.⁴⁸ This might have provided an opportunity to allow the controversy to die down, but Ahmed and his father had different plans. They were planning for a “host of national media interviews and a possible trip to the White House.”⁴⁹

After the incident and the consequent media firestorm, the Mohamed family spent nine months in Qatar before deciding to return to the United States. They could have done so without fanfare. Ahmed’s father, however, continued to seek out the press so that he and his son could continue to exploit the controversy for their benefit. On August 2, 2016, upon Ahmed’s return, Plaintiff invited reporters from the *Washington Post*, KDFW Fox 4,⁵⁰ and other media outlets to interview his son and himself.⁵¹ According to the *Washington Post*, Plaintiff issued a press release that said, “Clock Boy is back, and ready to be interviewed.”⁵²

Plaintiff used the opportunity provided by his son’s interview to continue to present his opinion that Ahmed had been mistreated as a result of discrimination and to herald the news that

⁴⁷ See video Ex. A-3i (App. 45).

⁴⁸ See video Ex. A-3ii (App. 45).

⁴⁹ See *id.*

⁵⁰ See Smith Ex. A, ¶¶ 7-9 (App. 36).

⁵¹ See Ex. A-9 (App. 91-103).

⁵² See *id.* at p. 2 (App. 93).

he was filing a multi-million dollar lawsuit against the Irving Independent School District.⁵³ Ahmed, still enamored of his new found fame and the concomitant benefits, said in the August 2, 2016 *Washington Post* article, “Everyone gets 15 minutes of fame who gets covered, but it’s always your choice to extend it” and in reference to the lawsuits he and his father filed, “Fifteen minutes of fame? That’s all you heard? Maybe 15 million, that’s what I’m looking for.”⁵⁴

As the foregoing demonstrates, Ahmed and his father satisfy the first two prongs of the test for determining if a plaintiff is properly categorized as a limited-purpose public figure. Both are central figures in a public controversy that they themselves are responsible for prolonging and exploiting for their personal gain. Both also satisfy the third and final prong of the test because the alleged defamation stems from their roles in the controversy.

Specifically, Plaintiff complains of the following remarks made by Hanson:

I think it’s happening. I don’t think there’s any question that this latest event was a PR stunt. It was a staged event where someone convinced this kid [Ahmed Mohamed] to bring a device that he didn’t build, as you mentioned. It’s a RadioShack clock that he put in a briefcase, and in a briefcase it looks like a bomb They did that to create the exact scenario that played out. They wanted people to react, and they wanted to portray this kid as an innocent victim. I think he was a pawn potentially of his father. His sister actually claimed that she was suspended. His sister told MSNBC that she was suspended by the same school district from making a bomb threat years ago. Don’t know if that’s true yet, but she said that in her own words. So there’s a vendetta from them, and they’re tied, as you mentioned, with CAIR (Council on American Islamic Relations) and CAIR is Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas tied. They’re basically involved in civilization jihad, so I think you’re right.

According to Plaintiff’s petition and Plaintiff’s press release issued the day after Ahmed’s arrest, the public controversy is about Ahmed’s arrest for bringing a suspicious device to school that initially was believed to be a “hoax bomb” and the fallout following his arrest. The CAIR press

⁵³ See Ex. A-9 (App. 91-103).

⁵⁴ See *id.*

release is headlined, “CAIR to Hold News Conference with Texas Muslim Teen Detained Over Clock.” The same press release states explicitly that Ahmed’s contraption was deemed a “Hoax Bomb.”⁵⁵ The CAIR-led press conference also opened the debate up to the religious aspects that might have been involved in the controversy when its written statement said that Ahmed’s arrest was indicative of “growing Islamophobia in American society.”⁵⁶

Thus, the allegedly defamatory statements Plaintiff complains of vis-à-vis Hanson are directly related to Plaintiff’s and Ahmed’s roles in the public controversy. Hanson’s statements are about Ahmed taking his contraption to school, Ahmed’s possible motivations, the role his attention-seeking father may have played in Ahmed deciding to take a suspicious device to school, his father’s possible motivations, and their connections to the political-religious advocacy group known as CAIR, which initially guided the Mohamed family in their efforts to exploit the media.

2. The TCPA applies because the suit is directly related to statements by Hanson that address matters of public safety and government.

The statements made by Hanson were also related to matters of public safety and government. According to Plaintiff’s own CAIR press release, the device Ahmed took to school was deemed a “hoax bomb.”⁵⁷ The fallout, including national press coverage, from Ahmed’s decision to take his device to school and his subsequent arrest “captured the ongoing debate about balancing the rights of individuals against the security of our nation and its public schools.”⁵⁸ Further to the point that this matter relates to safety and government, Hanson, who is a national security and communications expert, stated the following, “You take a situation, and

⁵⁵ See Ex. A-5 (App. 77-79).

⁵⁶ See *id.*

⁵⁷ See *id.*

⁵⁸ See Smith Ex. A, ¶ 11.

you create the appearance of something bad to get an effect. They created the appearance of an anti-Muslim bias where there was none, where there was pure public safety concern, and they use that to portray Muslims as victims, Americans as bigots, and our system as stacked against them.⁵⁹ Plaintiff's petition omits this statement by Hanson no doubt because such statements demonstrate that this suit is firmly within the grasp of the TCPA.

Hanson, who served our country in the United States Army's Special Forces and has extensive ordinance training, also said the following during the same episode of the Glenn Beck Program: "You know how I know that [*i.e.*, that Ahmed's device resembled a bomb], Glenn? Because I've built briefcase bombs and blown them up. That's what they look like. So, anyone who looked at that was reasonable in assuming that that was a dangerous device."⁶⁰ Thus, when viewed in context, as required, it is evident that Hanson was drawing upon his military experience and the expertise he has acquired to opine about matters of public safety and government and whether the staff at Irving ISD and the Irving Police Department were justified in reacting to Ahmed's device in the manner they did.

In conclusion, CSP Defendants have met their evidentiary burden as the moving party by demonstrating that Plaintiff's legal action is covered by the TCPA. CSP Defendants have shown by a preponderance of the evidence that Plaintiff's legal action arises from Hanson's exercise of his right to free speech in that his comments were directly related to public figures (Plaintiff and his son), public safety, and government policy and conduct. Insofar as CSP Defendants have demonstrated that Plaintiff's suit is covered by the TCPA, Plaintiff must prove each and every element of his defamation claim by clear and specific evidence to avoid dismissal with prejudice

⁵⁹ See Ex. I-4 (App. 608-09) and Ex. I-3 (App. 602). (emphasis added).

⁶⁰ See Hanson Ex. I, ¶¶ 14-15 (App. 214-15); Ex. I-2 (App. 597-99); Ex. I-2i and I-2ii (App. 601).

as to CSP Defendants. Plaintiff cannot meet this burden.

B. Plaintiff Cannot Meet His Burden.

Insofar as CSP Defendants⁶¹ have demonstrated that Plaintiff's legal action is covered by the TCPA, the burden now shifts to Plaintiff to show by clear and specific evidence a *prima facie* case of each essential element of Plaintiff's cause of action. *Tex. Civ. Prac. & Rem. Code* 27.005(b), (c). In a claim covered by the TCPA, mere notice pleading will not suffice. *In re Lipsky*, 460 S.W.3d at 579. As will be explained immediately below, Plaintiff cannot carry his burden on multiple elements.

To begin, Plaintiffs' sole claim is for "libel per se." (*See* Orig. Pet. ¶¶ 50, 61). A defamation claim is either a claim of libel *per se* or *per quod*. *See In re Lipsky*, 460 S.W.3d at 596. "The determination of whether a statement is defamatory *per se* is first an inquiry for the court." *Hancock v. Variyam*, 400 S.W.3d 59, 66 (Tex. 2013) (explaining the distinction between the character of the two types of libel and the difference in the element of proof relative to damages). None of Hanson's statements fall even remotely within the four species of libel *per se*, which are: (a) injury to business reputation; (b) imputation of a crime; (c) imputation of disease; and (d) imputation of sexual misconduct. *Id.* at 66-68. Indeed, Plaintiff's allegations do not even attempt to explain how Hanson's statements might conceivably fit within one of these rubrics.

Instead, Plaintiff appears to conflate libel *per se* with libel *per quod* by utilizing the

⁶¹ At a threshold level, Plaintiff has not met his burden as to CSP insofar as there are no allegations in the Original Petition that CSP published any statements or that Hanson was acting for and on behalf of CSP during the Beck program when the allegedly defamatory statements were made. At best, Plaintiff alleges that Hanson is an executive vice-president of CSP. There are no allegations, express or implied, that Hanson's appearance on the Beck program or his statements were made for or on behalf of CSP. Without such allegations, Plaintiff's claim against CSP fails as a matter of law insofar as defamation requires a publication. *In re Lipsky*, 460 S.W.3d at 593; *see also WFAA-TV, Inc. v. McLemore*, 978 S.W.2d 568, 571 (Tex. 1998).

statutory definition of libel when specifying libel *per se*. Thus, Plaintiff alleges as follows:

The statements constituted libel *per se*, in that they were obviously hurtful to the Mohamed family and fall within the statutory definition of libel *per se* of injury to a person's reputation and exposing the person to public hatred, contempt or ridicule and a clear attempt to impeach the honesty, integrity, virtue and/or reputation of the Mohamed family.

(Orig. Pet. ¶ 50); *see Tex. Civ. Prac. & Rem. Code* § 73.001. In light of Plaintiff's confusion about Texas libel law and Hanson's statements (which have nothing to do with libel *per se*), we focus our attention on whether Plaintiff can meet his burden to establish even libel *per quod*.

To meet this burden, Plaintiff must prove "(1) the publication of a false statement of fact to a third party, (2) that was defamatory concerning the plaintiff, (3) with the requisite degree of fault, and (4) damages." *In re Lipsky*, 460 S.W.3d at 593; *see also WFAA-TV, Inc. v. McLemore*, 978 S.W.2d 568, 571 (Tex. 1998). We treat each of these elements in turn.

1. Hanson's statements are opinion not fact.

To review, Plaintiff complains of the following statement made by Hanson:

I think it's happening. I don't think there's any question that this latest event was a PR stunt. It was a staged event where someone convinced this kid [Ahmed Mohamed] to bring a device that he didn't build, as you mentioned. It's a RadioShack clock that he put in a briefcase, and in a briefcase it looks like a bomb They did that to create the exact scenario that played out. They wanted people to react, and they wanted to portray this kid as an innocent victim. I think he was a pawn potentially of his father. His sister actually claimed that she was suspended. His sister told MSNBC that she was suspended by the same school district from making a bomb threat years ago. Don't know if that's true yet, but she said that in her own words. So there's a vendetta from them, and they're tied, as you mentioned, with CAIR (Council on American Islamic Relations) and CAIR is Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas tied. They're basically involved in civilization jihad, so I think you're right.

(Orig. Pet. ¶ 48). To put Hanson's statement in the proper context, we turn to Defendant Glenn Beck's antecedent statement of his opinion of a theory to which Hanson was responding directly:

Let me just propose a theory. I'm just thinking out loud, but I'm trying to

make sense of this. My theory is that for some reason Irving is important to the Islamists, not the Muslims, but the Islamists. It could be as simple as the progressives trying to turn Texas blue, and this is just the place where they're just going to start planting the seeds and taking a stand. You [the mayor of Irvine] pissed them off, and now this is a dog whistle. This is not a story that is for anybody to hear, except for the Islamists because once you create a boogeyman, now all the money, all the resources, all the intellectual power, all is focused on your little town of Irving, Texas. You think there's a possibility that that's true?

(Orig. Pet. ¶ 47).

These two vague allegations of defamation, first Beck's proposed theory of the role Islamists have played in the media storm and then Hanson's response, make clear that both men are opining about what they think might be happening in a much broader context. Indeed, Beck's theory, to which Hanson responds, does not even appear to directly implicate Plaintiff or his son, but rather the ginning up of the media firestorm by what he terms Islamists after the incident at the school and arrest. Hanson's response is manifestly an attempt to put his own spin on that broad theory and to do so in the factual context available to the public and based upon his expertise.

This is classic protected speech under the First Amendment. Specifically, the U.S. Supreme Court has held that a "statement on matters of public concern must be provable as false before there can be liability under state defamation law." *Milkovich v. Lorain Journal Co.*, 497 U.S. 1, 19 (1990). Statements that cannot be reasonably interpreted as stating verifiable facts are constitutionally protected. *See Bentley v. Bunton*, 94 S.W.3d 561, 578 (Tex. 2002) (stating that the purpose of this protection is to provide "assurance that public debate will not suffer for lack of 'imaginative expression' or the 'rhetorical hyperbole' which has traditionally added much to the discourse of our Nation") (quoting *Milkovich*, 497 U.S. at 20-21).

Not surprisingly, Texas courts have confronted this distinction between protected opinion

and verifiable facts and have ruled accordingly. *Dolcefino v. Randolph*, 19 S.W.3d 906, 920 (Tex. App.—Houston [14th Dist.] 2000, *pet. denied*) (holding that the statement that a city official was “possibly” deceptive in connection with a government contract was not actionable as defamation); *Brewer v. Capital Cities/ABC, Inc.*, 986 S.W.2d 636, 643 (Tex. App.—Fort Worth 1998, *no pet.*) (ruling that statements in a report on nursing homes that “the most likely excuse for patient neglect is profiteering on the part of the owners” was non-actionable opinion because it asserted that “profiteering” was simply a “likely” explanation.); *Yiamouyiannis v. Thompson*, 764 S.W.2d 338 (Tex. App.—San Antonio 1988, *writ denied*) (concluding that descriptions of a dentist as a “quack” and “an outrageous hoke artist and imported fearmonger” were not capable of a defamatory meaning when considered in context and in light of the fluoridation debate); *Harvest House Publishers v. The Local Church, et al.*, 190 S.W.3d 204, 212 (Tex. App.—Houston [1st Dist.] 2006, *pet. denied*), *cert. denied*, 127 S.Ct. 2987 (2007) (holding that referring to a church as a “cult” was not actionable because the truth or falsity of such a statement depends on one’s religious views”).

Explicitly, Beck “propose[d] a theory” and Hanson proffered his opinions in agreement by lacing them up with clear cues that he was offering his own view and judgments on matters of great public concern and debate. Specifically, Hanson consistently returned to language that makes it clear that he was opining about public facts that no one, and certainly not Plaintiff, has contended are false: “*I think* it is happening . . . *I don’t think* there is any doubt . . . *I think* he was a pawn . . . *Don’t know* if that is true yet . . . *so I think* you’re right.”

Further, Hanson’s statement is in large part an explanation of his view of Plaintiff’s hidden motives based upon the disclosed public facts that are not in dispute: “*They did that to create* the exact scenario that played out. *They wanted people to react*, and *they wanted to*

portray this kid as an innocent victim.” Hidden motives are classically the subject of the opinion of others. We can all know what our neighbor does, we can even know what she says motivates her actions, but we cannot know as fact what motivates her. In context, Hanson’s statements are patently and quite properly opinions, or judgments, about why events unfolded as they did in light of the facts laid bare and cannot be defamatory as a matter of law. *See, e.g., Newspaper Holdings, Inc. v. Crazy Hotel Assisted Living, Ltd.*, 416 S.W.3d 71, 87 (Tex. App.—Houston [1st Dist.] 2013, pet. denied) (holding that “a statement speculating about [a party’s] motive for its decision [to end its business relationship with another party] is not defamatory as a matter of law”).

Thus, Hanson’s stated view that the event was staged, that he thought the father had used his son as a “pawn” in the affair, and that all of this, given CAIR’s involvement, evidenced “civilization jihad,” are all manifestly Hanson’s own judgment or opinion about the facts on display to the public. The audience thus had the ability to draw its own conclusions and either agree or disagree with the opinions offered by Hanson. Judgments about disclosed facts are just that and the reasonable listener understands them in context to be opinions—well-reasoned or otherwise—not statements of fact. *See, e.g., Brewer v. Capital Cities/ABC, Inc.*, 986 S.W.2d 636, 643 (Tex. App.—Fort Worth [2nd Dist.] 1998, no pet.) (“Based on the facts given in the report, viewers could easily decide for themselves the validity of ABC’s opinion that ‘the most likely reason’ for the deficient [nursing home care] was ‘profiteering.’”); *see also* 1 ROBERT D. SACK, SACK ON DEFAMATION, § 4.4.2 at 4-60 (3d ed. 2003).

Even more to the point, there is no assertion by Plaintiff that the underlying factual predicates of Hanson’s opinion are false: the boy brought something that everyone described as a hoax clock bomb to school; school officials responded as if it were a bomb and arrested the boy;

when the police determined that it was not a bomb, the charges were dropped; and Plaintiff and his son used the very media exposure they promoted to assert an underlying motivation of anti-Islam bias (*i.e.*, Islamophobia) and a narrative of Muslim victimization.

These public facts upon which Hanson based his opinion are not in dispute—certainly not by Plaintiff. Hanson’s opinion is further undergirded by additional facts known to the public: the father and son publicly and proudly announced their use of the media to achieve their policy or political ends—in addition to achieving even greater notoriety; Plaintiff’s daughter, Ahmad’s sister, had publicly stated that she had been disciplined by the school district for allegedly making a bomb threat previously;⁶² and CAIR, which has been named by the U.S. government as an unindicted co-conspirator of, and/or joint venturer to, the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas-affiliated organizations, was very much involved in exploiting this case to gain public notice.⁶³ Hanson’s opinion that all of this amounted to “civilization jihad”—in context clearly meaning a form of non-violent, and thus legal, socio-political agitation to achieve Plaintiff’s stated policy goals of claiming Muslim victimization resulting from the West’s response to terrorism in the name of Islam—can only be understood in context by a reasonable listener as precisely the kind of informed (and, in some cases, uninformed) protected punditry and political opinion we listen to every day on the cable networks and read just as often in the editorial sections of every newspaper and magazine.⁶⁴ Americans, and certainly Texans, understand and expect precisely this kind of robust public debate on important and hotly debated questions of public concern. As the Texas Supreme Court explained:

⁶² See Ex. I-4 (App. 609).

⁶³ See Hanson Ex. I ¶¶ 18-23 (App. 216-17).

⁶⁴ See *id.* ¶¶ 19-21 (App. 21-17).

All assertions of opinion are protected by the first amendment of the United States Constitution and article I, section 8 of the Texas Constitution. See *Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.*, 418 U.S. 323, 339-40, 41 L. Ed. 2d 789, 94 S. Ct. 2997 (1974); *O'Quinn v. State Bar*, 763 S.W.2d 397, 402 (Tex. 1988); *El Paso Times, Inc. v. Kerr*, 706 S.W.2d 797, 798 (Tex. App. -- El Paso 1986, writ ref'd n.r.e.), cert. denied, 480 U.S. 932, 94 L. Ed. 2d 761, 107 S. Ct. 1570 (1987).

The core values of the first amendment reflect a “recognition of the fundamental importance of the free flow of ideas and opinions on matters of public interest and concern.” *Hustler Magazine v. Falwell*, 485 U.S. 46, 108 S. Ct. 876, 879, 99 L. Ed. 2d 41 (1988). In *Gertz*, the Supreme Court stated:

Under the First Amendment there is no such thing as a false idea. However pernicious an opinion may seem, we depend for its correction not on the conscience of judges and juries but on the competition of other ideas. But there is no constitutional value in false statements of fact. Neither the intentional lie nor the careless error materially advances society's interest in “uninhibited robust, and wide-open debate on public issues.”

Gertz, 418 U.S. at 339-40 (quoting *New York Times*, 376 U.S. at 270). By this statement, *Gertz* elevated to constitutional principle the distinction between fact and opinion. *Ollman v. Evans*, 242 U.S. App. D.C. 301, 750 F.2d 970, 975 (D.C. Cir. 1984). Thus, whether the publication is a protected expression of opinion or an actionable statement of fact is a question of law for the court.

Carr v. Brasher, 776 S.W.2d 567, 570 (Tex. 1989). Here, Hanson's statements are protected assertions of opinion and not actionable statements of fact.

2. Plaintiffs cannot show that Hanson acted with actual malice.

Additionally, in order to maintain his defamation action, Plaintiff and his son must prove that Hanson acted with actual malice in order to satisfy the “fault” element of libel because Plaintiff and his son are public figures. *Neely v. Wilson*, 418 S.W.3d 52, 61 (Tex. 2013). In order to show actual malice, Plaintiff must prove that at the time Hanson published the allegedly offending statements that he either (a) was actually aware of the statements' falsity or (b) acted with reckless disregard for the truth when he made the complained of statements. *Turner v. KTRK TV, Inc.*, 38 S.W.3d 103, 120 (Tex. 2000). Reckless disregard for the truth means that a

defendant entertained serious doubts about the truth of his statements or had a high degree of awareness of the probable falsity of his statements. *Forbes, Inc. v. Granada Biosciences, Inc.*, 124 S.W.3d 167, 171 (Tex. 2003).

While it should go without saying, for clarity's sake we point out, that Plaintiff has not alleged that any of Hanson's specific statements of fact are false. Truth, of course, is an absolute defense to a defamation claim. Tex. Civ. Prac. & Rem. Code Ann. § 73.005 ("The truth of the statement in the publication on which an action for libel is based is a defense to the action.") But, even if we were to assume for the sake of argument that something about what Hanson stated on the Beck program was false, Plaintiffs have neither pointed to nor provided any evidence that Hanson was actually aware that the complained of statements were false at the time they were published. Neither have Plaintiffs pointed to or provided any evidence that Hanson acted with reckless disregard of the truth when he made the complained of statements.

To the contrary, prior to appearing on the Glenn Beck Show, Hanson conducted research and had accumulated knowledge and experience that supported every statement which is now the subject of Plaintiff's allegations against CSP Defendants. For example, Hanson watched a YouTube video and read a blog resource from blogs.artvoice.com in which a person disassembled a RadioShack clock and then put it in a small metal casing with the end result being nearly identical to Ahmed's now-famous contraption.⁶⁵ Hanson drew from his military experience and expertise in ordinance and explosives in determining that Ahmed's contraption looked like a bomb.⁶⁶ He knew that Ahmed and his family were aligned with CAIR because he

⁶⁵ See Hanson Ex. I ¶ 25 (App. 218-19); Ex. I-5 (App. 614-18) and Ex. I-6 (App. 629).

⁶⁶ See Hanson Ex. I ¶¶ 13-17, 28 (App. 214-16, 219-20).

saw the MSNBC segment in which Ahmed appeared with his CAIR handler, Alia Salem.⁶⁷ Finally, Hanson is familiar with the Center for Security Policy's Team B-II report, which connects CAIR to the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas, and thus to "civilization jihad."⁶⁸

Thus, based on his research, experience, training, and expertise, Hanson reasonably arrived at the conclusions that are now the subject of Plaintiff's claims against CSP Defendants. Nothing in Plaintiff's Original Petition suggests otherwise. Nor, for that matter, can Plaintiff prove that Hanson acted with actual malice. *Carr v. Brasher*, 776 S.W.2d 567, 571 (Tex. 1989) (ruling that as a matter of law, defendants should prevail on the question of actual malice if they proffer affidavits that they did not know the statements were false and there is nothing in the record to suggest a reckless disregard of the truth even when plaintiff submits counter affidavits asserting the falsehood of defendants' statements and asserting in conclusory fashion a reckless disregard of the truth).

In sum, Plaintiff cannot meet his burden to show by clear and specific evidence a *prima facie* case of each essential element of his cause of action for defamation. Consequently, the Court should grant this motion and dismiss Plaintiff's claims against the CSP Defendants.

V. CONCLUSION.

For the foregoing reasons, CSP Defendants respectfully request that this Court (a) dismiss the claims against them in their entirety and with prejudice, (b) award them their reasonable attorney's fees, court costs and other expenses incurred in defending against Plaintiff's lawsuit and (c) sanction Plaintiff in an amount sufficient to deter him and others from bringing similar actions in the future.

⁶⁷ See Hanson Ex. I ¶¶ 18 (App. 214) and Ex. I-3 (App. 602).

⁶⁸ See Hanson Ex. I, ¶¶ 20-23 (App. 216-17) and Ex. I-1 esp. pp. 145-47 (App. 221-593 esp. 378-80).

Respectfully submitted,

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*Note: Admitted *Pro Hac Vice*.

- iv. October 28, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, “Family picks up Ahmed Mohamed’s clock from Irving police.”
- v. November 23, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, “Ahmed Mohamed family wants \$15 million from Irving, Irving ISD.”
- vi. June 27, 2016, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, “Ahmed Mohamed, Irving’s infamous ‘Clock Boy’ returns to the U.S.”
- vii. June 28, 2016, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, “What’s Next for ‘Clock Boy.’”
- viii. August 8, 2016, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, “Irving ‘Clock Boy’ Ahmed Mohamed’s family files federal lawsuit.”

Exhibit A-4 Web postings of KDFW FOX 4’s ongoing coverage of the Clock Incident

- i. September 16, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “No Charges for Irving teen after homemade clock mistaken for bomb at school,” which is also available at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/20441178-story>.
- ii. September 16, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “PD chief, Islamic leaders meet after clock incident,” which is also available at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/20649040-story>.
- iii. September 24, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “Mark Davis calls #IStandWithAhmed movement disgusting,” which is also available at <http://www.fox4news.com/good-day/23989075-story>.
- iv. October 6, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story “‘Clock Boy’ now a Halloween costume,” which is also available at <http://www.fox4news.com/trending/30553958-story>.
- v. October 28, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “Family picks up Ahmed Mohamed’s clock from Irving police,” which is also available at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/40314956-story>.
- vi. November 23, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “Ahmed Mohamed family wants \$15 million from Irving, Irving ISD,” which is also available at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/53471848-story>.
- vii. December 4, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “Department of Justice to investigate Irving ISD due to clock incident,” which is

also available at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/55835653-story>.

- viii. June 27, 2016, KDFW FOX 4 web story, "Ahmed Mohamed, Irving's infamous 'Clock Boy' returns to the U.S." which is also available at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/166469852-story>.
 - ix. June 28, 2016, KDFW FOX 4 web story, "What's Next for 'Clock Boy,'" which is also available at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/167001384-story>.
 - x. August 8, 2016, KDFW FOX 4 web story, "Irving 'Clock Boy' Ahmed Mohamed's family files federal lawsuit," which is also available at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/186559884-story>.
- Exhibit A-5 Press Release, Council on American-Islamic Relations, CAIR to hold news conference with Texas Muslim teen detained over clock, (September 16, 2015) available at <https://www.cair.com/press-center/press-releases/13156-cair-to-hold-news-conference-with-texas-muslim-teen-detained-over-clock.html>
- Exhibit A-6 Patrick Michels, "Why Mohamed Elhassan, the Dallas Imam Who Played Defense Attorney in Quran-Torching Church, Says he "Admires" Terry Jones," DALLAS OBSERVER, April 4, 2011
- Exhibit A-7 Annie Gowen, "Muslim at Koran 'trial' says he didn't know the holy book would be burned," THE WASHINGTON POST, April 6, 2011
- Exhibit A-8 "Sudan presidential contender vows to lift US sanctions in first 100 days if elected," SUDAN TRIBUNE, February 16, 2015
- Exhibit A-9 Jessica Contrera, "A year ago, Ahmed Mohamed became 'Clock Boy.' Now, he can't escape that moment," THE WASHINGTON POST, August 2, 2016
- Exhibit A-10 Nina Golgowski, "Father of Muslim teen arrested for clock previously battled Fla. Koran burner, has run for president of Sudan twice," NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, September 16, 2015
- Exhibit A-11 Mollie Reilly, "Ahmed Mohamed Visits the White House, Meets Obama," HUFFINGTON POST, October 19, 2015
- Exhibit A-12 Josh Hafner, "Father of Texas 'clock boy' Ahmed Mohamed sues Glenn Beck, Fox for defamation," USA TODAY, September 26, 2016

- Exhibit A-13 Ahiza Garcia, “Teen Clockmaker gets offers from Twitter and MIT – and a T-shirt from space,” CNN MONEY, September 17, 2015, 12:00 PM
- Exhibit A-14 President Obama (@POTUS), TWITTER, (September 16, 2016, 9:58 AM)
- Exhibit A-15 Facebook post by Mark Zuckerberg, FACEBOOK, September 16, 2015
- Exhibit A-16 November 23, 2015 demand letter from Kelly Hollingsworth on behalf of Plaintiffs to Charles Anderson of the City of Irving demanding \$10 million
- Exhibit A-17 November 23, 2015 demand letter from Kelly Hollingsworth on behalf of Plaintiffs to Tina Patel of the Irving ISD demanding \$5 million

Exhibit B Affidavit of Ben Ferguson

- Exhibit B-1 Nina Golgowski, “Father of Muslim teen arrested for clock previously battled Fla. Koran burner, has run for president of Sudan twice,” NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, September 16, 2015, 9:46 p.m., available at <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/father-muslim-kid-arrested-clock-standout-citizen-article-1.2363466>
- Exhibit B-2 Alyssa Klein, “The Surprising backstory behind #IStandWith Ahmed’s 2-time Sudanese presidential candidate father,” OKAYAFRICA.COM, September 16, 2015, available at <http://www.okayafrika.com/news/istandwithahmed-mohamed-elhassan-mohamed-sudanese-father-backstory/>
- Exhibit B-3 Ben Ashford, “Exclusive: From the banks of the Nile to meeting Obama at the White House- how family of Muslim boy, 14, handcuffed for his homemade clock, is living the American dream,” DAILYMAIL.COM, September 17, 2015, 14:27, available at <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3238709/From-banks-Nile-meeting-Obama-father-Ahmed-Mohamed-B3-d-Muslim-boy-14-handcuffed-homemade-clock-lived-American-dream.html>
- Exhibit B-4 Avi Selk, “Ahmed Mohamed swept up, ‘hoax bomb’ charges swept away as Irving teen’s story floods social media,” DALLAS MORNING NEWS, September 16, 2015, available at <http://www.dallasnews.com/news/dallas-county/2015/09/15/ahmed-mohamed-swept-up-hoax-bomb-charges-swept-away-as-irving-teen-s-story-floods-social-media>

- Exhibit B-5 @anildash, Twitter, Photo, (September 15, 2015, 10:30 p.m.)
<https://twitter.com/anildash/status/644020453724585984>
- Exhibit C Joint Appendix in Support of Defendants Daniel Cummings and Irving Independent School District's Motions to Dismiss and Motions to Strike and Briefs in Support, *Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed v. Irving Independent School District et al.*, Case No. 3:16-cv-02283-L, (N.D. Tex., filed Oct. 11, 2016)
- Exhibit D September 15, 2015 Irving ISD letter to Parents
- Exhibit E Daniel D'Addario, "The 30 Most Influential Teens of 2015," TIME, October 27, 2015
- Exhibit F September 16, 2015 Irving ISD Statement
- Exhibit G TEX. PENAL CODE § 46.08
- Exhibit H Affidavit of Olga Marshall

EXHIBIT “A”

reasonably soon thereafter. The records attached hereto are the original or exact duplicates of the original. The records from KDFW FOX 4 are as follows:

- 1) Exhibit A-1. Broadcasts which include the statements at issue in this lawsuit:
 - i. September 24, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, "Mayor shares more about Ahmed Mohamed Case," which contains statements at issue in this lawsuit.
 - ii. November 23, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, Ben Ferguson segment which contains statements at issue in this lawsuit.
- 2) Exhibit A-2, September 24, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story, "Mayor shares more about Ahmed Mohamed Case," which is also available at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/24322977-story>.
- 3) Exhibit A-3. Broadcasts of KDFW FOX 4's ongoing coverage of the Clock Incident:
 - i. September 16, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, "No Charges for Irving teen after homemade clock mistaken for bomb at school."
 - ii. September 16, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, "PD chief, Islamic leaders meet after clock incident."
 - iii. September 24, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, "Mark Davis calls #IStandWithAhmed movement disgusting."
 - iv. October 28, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, "Family picks up Ahmed Mohamed's clock from Irving police."
 - v. November 23, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, "Ahmed Mohamed family wants \$15 million from Irving, Irving ISD."
 - vi. June 27, 2016, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, "Ahmed Mohamed, Irving's infamous 'Clock Boy' returns to the U.S."
 - vii. June 28, 2016, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, "What's Next for 'Clock Boy'."
 - viii. August 8, 2016, KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, "Irving 'Clock Boy' Ahmed Mohamed's family files federal lawsuit."
- 4) Exhibit A-4, web postings of KDFW FOX 4's ongoing coverage of the Clock Incident:

- i. September 16, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “No Charges for Irving teen after homemade clock mistaken for bomb at school,” which is also *available* at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/20441178-story>.
- ii. September 16, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “PD chief, Islamic leaders meet after clock incident,” which is also *available* at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/20649040-story>.
- iii. September 24, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “Mark Davis calls #IStandWithAhmed movement disgusting,” which is also *available* at <http://www.fox4news.com/good-day/23989075-story>.
- iv. October 6, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story “‘Clock Boy’ now a Halloween costume,” which is also *available* at <http://www.fox4news.com/trending/30553958-story>.
- v. October 28, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “Family picks up Ahmed Mohamed’s clock from Irving police,” which is also *available* at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/40314956-story>.
- vi. November 23, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “Ahmed Mohamed family wants \$15 million from Irving, Irving ISD,” which is also *available* at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/53471848-story>.
- vii. December 4, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “Department of Justice to investigate Irving ISD due to clock incident,” which is also *available* at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/55835653-story>.
- viii. June 27, 2016, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “Ahmed Mohamed, Irving’s infamous ‘Clock Boy’ returns to the U.S.” which is also *available* at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/166469852-story>.
- ix. June 28, 2016, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “What’s Next for ‘Clock Boy,’” which is also *available* at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/167001384-story>.
- x. August 8, 2016, KDFW FOX 4 web story, “Irving ‘Clock Boy’ Ahmed Mohamed’s family files federal lawsuit,” which is also *available* at <http://www.fox4news.com/news/186559884-story>.

4. KDFW FOX 4 regularly covers local schools, including the Irving Independent School District, and Irving’s MacArthur High School. When there is an incident involving a juvenile at one of the schools, it is not common practice for either the police or the schools to release the student’s name.

5. After 14-year-old Ahmed Mohamed (“Ahmed”) was arrested and suspended for bringing to Irving’s MacArthur High School a device which police called a “hoax bomb” (“the

Clock Incident”), his family, working with the local chapter of the Council on American Islamic Relations (“CAIR”), coordinated a news conference on the front lawn of Ahmed’s home, during which a smiling Ahmed cheerfully spoke and took a number of questions about his arrest. Ahmed’s father, Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed (“Mohamed”) also spoke at length. Attached as Exhibit A-5 is a true and correct copy of a September 16, 2015 press release sent by CAIR, inviting the media to Ahmed’s home, and publishing his home address online. Mohamed is well-known in Dallas because he has run for the Presidency of Sudan on two occasions, including most recently in 2015, and has publicly expressed his intention to do so again in 2020. In addition, Mohamed is also known for participating in an infamous “mock trial” of the Koran in Florida in 2011, which led to deadly riots in Afghanistan. Attached to this affidavit as Exhibit A-3-i is KDFW FOX 4’s broadcast, “No Charges for Irving teen after homemade clock mistaken for bomb at school,” showing the press conference on Ahmed’s front lawn, on September 16, 2015, which is also *available at* <http://www.fox4news.com/news/20441178-story>. KDFW FOX 4 has a YouTube channel and we posted the entire five-minute press conference on a YouTube post titled, “Ahmed Mohamed talks about being arrested at Irving school over clock,” on our YouTube channel, at this link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nckRILlyfec>. Attached to this affidavit as Exhibits A-6 through A-8 are true and correct copies of news articles which discuss Mohamed’s notoriety as a presidential candidate and as a participant in the Koran burning.

6. Because Ahmed was a juvenile, neither police nor the school would have released his name. While there have been other cases where individual families have reached out to us after they feel their minor child has been wronged by a school or law enforcement, the coordinated way in which this family was able to mobilize advocates and hold a formal news conference was unique.

7. Even after the Clock Incident began to blow over, Ahmed and his family have continued to pursue publicity. When Ahmed left the country, his surrogates continued to provide us with information about him. For example Ahmed’s uncle, Aldean Mohamed (“Aldean”) has been a constant source of contact for KDFW FOX 4, and in June, the family invited KDFW FOX 4 to the airport to cover Ahmed’s return to the United States after living for 9 months in Qatar and gave KDFW FOX 4 the flight number and time that Ahmed would arrive at DFW airport. Then the next day, Ahmed’s first day back in the U.S., the family invited KDFW FOX 4 to their home for an interview.

8. Attached to this affidavit as Exhibits A-3-vi, and A-4-viii are true and correct copies of our June 27, 2016 broadcast and web story, respectively, of Ahmed arriving at the DFW airport from Qatar (KDFW FOX 4 reporting “his family alerted us to his return today”). Attached to this affidavit as Exhibits A-3-vii, and A-4-ix are true and correct copies of our June 28, 2016 broadcast and web story, respectively, showing when KDFW FOX 4’s journalists were invited to Ahmed’s home the day after he returned from Qatar.

9. This intentional pursuit of publicity thrust the family into the center of important controversies involving Ahmed’s suspension and arrest and the actions of government officials and the school district. The actions taken by Irving Public School District, the City of Irving and their police force, and the over-arching social and political concerns raised by them became the topic of conversation of media outlets worldwide.

10. KDFW FOX 4 reported on the arrest initially, and has continued to update its viewers about the developing story for the last year, including in its broadcasts discussions about the many issues of public concern related to the incident, *i.e.* including reporting on terrorism, racism, racial profiling, zero tolerance policies, actions taken by public schools and public officials, and the actions of Ahmed. In the course of their reporting, KDFW FOX 4 broadcast stories about the initial arrest and suspension, the community's response, the national response, the investigation by the U.S. Department of Justice, the benefits showered on Ahmed, and the criticisms of the actions taken by Ahmed and his family. Attached to this affidavit as Exhibits A-1 through A-4 are true and correct copies of web stories produced by KDFW FOX 4 in relation to Ahmed Mohamed, the Clock Incident and the continued fallout.

11. The story of the Clock Incident was a story of not only local significance, but also national significance. News media from all over the nation descended on Irving and reported on the Clock Incident. Attached to this affidavit as Exhibits A-9 through A-13 are true and correct copies of news stories published by national media in relation to Ahmed Mohamed, the Clock Incident, the internships and invitations conferred on Ahmed and the continued fallout. Attached to this affidavit as Exhibit A-14 is a true and correct copy of a tweet from the account of President Barack Obama inviting Ahmed to the White House. Attached to this affidavit as Exhibit A-15 is a true and correct copy of a Facebook post from the account of Mark Zuckerberg, the CEO of Facebook, inviting Ahmed to visit the tech company. The national coverage and conversation captured the ongoing debate about balancing the rights of individuals against the security of our nation and its public schools. In addition, the issues relevant to our community included the concerns about whether the police over-reacted and whether there is institutional discrimination at Irving ISD or the City of Irving. Further, when the family sent a demand letter to the City of Irving and Irving ISD for \$15 million, the financial strain on local taxpayers became an issue of great public concern for the community.

12. In late September of 2015, KDFW FOX 4 learned that Irving Mayor Beth Van Duyne had appeared on the Glenn Beck show on September 22, 2015 and had stated that there was much more to the story. She stated Ahmed Mohamed was not being completely forthright in his telling of the incident. KDFW FOX 4 made the decision to follow up with the Mayor about her comments.

13. On September 24, 2015, Mayor Van Duyne was invited to speak at the Arlington Republican Club. KDFW FOX 4 sent a photographer and reporter to the meeting to interview her and try to learn more about her comments on the Glenn Beck Show. The claims in ¶49 of Plaintiffs' Original Petition are based on this interview ("Van Duyne Statements"). Also in attendance at that meeting was a member of the Texas Municipal Patrolman's Association who was critical of the Mohamed family for not allowing release of the arrest report and records of the incident. The Petition inaccurately asserts that the Van Duyne interview and broadcast took place on September 28, 2015. It actually occurred on September 24, 2015. KDFW FOX 4 broadcast the allegations made by Mayor Van Duyne because they related to a matter of public concern. True and correct copies of KDFW FOX 4's September 24, 2015 broadcast and web story with Mayor Van Duyne's statements are attached to this affidavit as Exhibits A-1-i and A-2.

14. Mayor Van Dwyne's speech at the Arlington Republican Club was a public meeting and the statements made by the mayor related to a matter of public concern – namely the appropriateness of Irving ISD and the Irving Police Department's treatment of Ahmed. KDFW's reporting on these matters of public concern was broadcast to the general public for general information. KDFW FOX 4 believed the statements to be true at the time they were broadcast based on the fact that Van Dwyne's statements in her interview with KDFW FOX 4 were consistent with her statements at the public meeting and also her statements on the Glenn Beck Show. In addition, Van Dwyne's statements were consistent with previous statements we had heard from Mayor Van Dwyne and from law enforcement during prior reporting on the Clock Incident. In the fourteen months since KDFW FOX 4 broadcast those statements, nothing has led KDFW FOX 4 to believe that the statements are untrue, and therefore KDFW FOX 4 believes the statements to be true to this day.

15. On November 23, 2015, KDFW FOX 4 received copies of two demand letters that the Plaintiffs and their lawyers sent to the Irving Independent School District and the City of Irving, demanding a combined \$15 million for alleged civil rights violations. True and correct copies of the demand letters provided to KDFW FOX 4 are attached to this affidavit as Exhibits A-16 and A-17.

16. The claims in paragraph 53 of Plaintiffs' Original Petition are based on statements made by guest analyst Ben Ferguson on November 23, 2015, as a part of a weekly segment on KDFW FOX 4 ("Ferguson Statements"). A true and correct copy of the Ben Ferguson segment on the November 23, 2015 KDFW FOX 4 Broadcast, which contains statements at issue in this lawsuit, is attached to this affidavit as Exhibit A-1-ii.

17. Ferguson appeared on KDFW FOX 4 periodically to provide commentary on matters of public concern such as politics and current events. Ferguson's statements were a part of KDFW FOX 4's ongoing coverage of the Clock Incident, both before and after November 23, 2015. Ben Ferguson's segment consisted of his rhetorical hyperbole and opinion based on the facts either disclosed during the segment or known within the community from prior reporting. At the time of the broadcast, KDFW FOX 4 believed the underlying facts on which Ferguson's opinions were based. For instance, Ferguson's statements about Ahmed taking a clock apart and putting it in a mini-briefcase were consistent with the fact that others across the country had deconstructed the materials in the device and come to similar conclusions. Moreover, Mohamed had run for the presidency of Sudan twice, and had participated in a highly inflammatory publicity stunt in which he played "defense attorney" in a mock trial of the Koran. Ferguson's statements were consistent with prior reporting on the Clock Incident and based on his own observation of how Ahmed and his family conducted themselves before the media and the benefits they derived from their fame. In the fourteen months since KDFW FOX 4 broadcast Ferguson's statements, nothing has led KDFW FOX 4 to believe that the facts underlying Ferguson's opinions are untrue.

18. Prior to the filing of this lawsuit, Plaintiffs never communicated to KDFW FOX 4 that they believed the statements broadcast by KDFW FOX 4 were inaccurate or unfair to Plaintiffs, despite the many times Plaintiffs and their family have communicated with KDFW FOX 4, including inviting KDFW FOX 4 to the airport and into their home to cover Ahmed's

return to Dallas, and the many times that KDFW FOX 4 has given the family a platform to share their message.

19. KDFW FOX 4 does not harbor any feelings of hatred, ill-will or spite towards Plaintiffs. The purpose of our broadcasts were to communicate with members of our community on matters of public concern, and to inform fellow members of our community about an important ongoing story that impacts their children, their schools, their police department, and— with millions of dollars' worth of litigation at stake—their tax dollars.

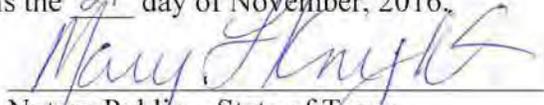
FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

DATED this 21st day of November, 2016.



BRUCE SMITH

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO before me on this the 21st day of November, 2016.



Notary Public – State of Texas



MARY F. KNIGHT

Typed/Printed Name
My Commission Expires: 7/28/19

EXHIBIT “A-1”

Mohamed v. KDFW
Exhibit A-1

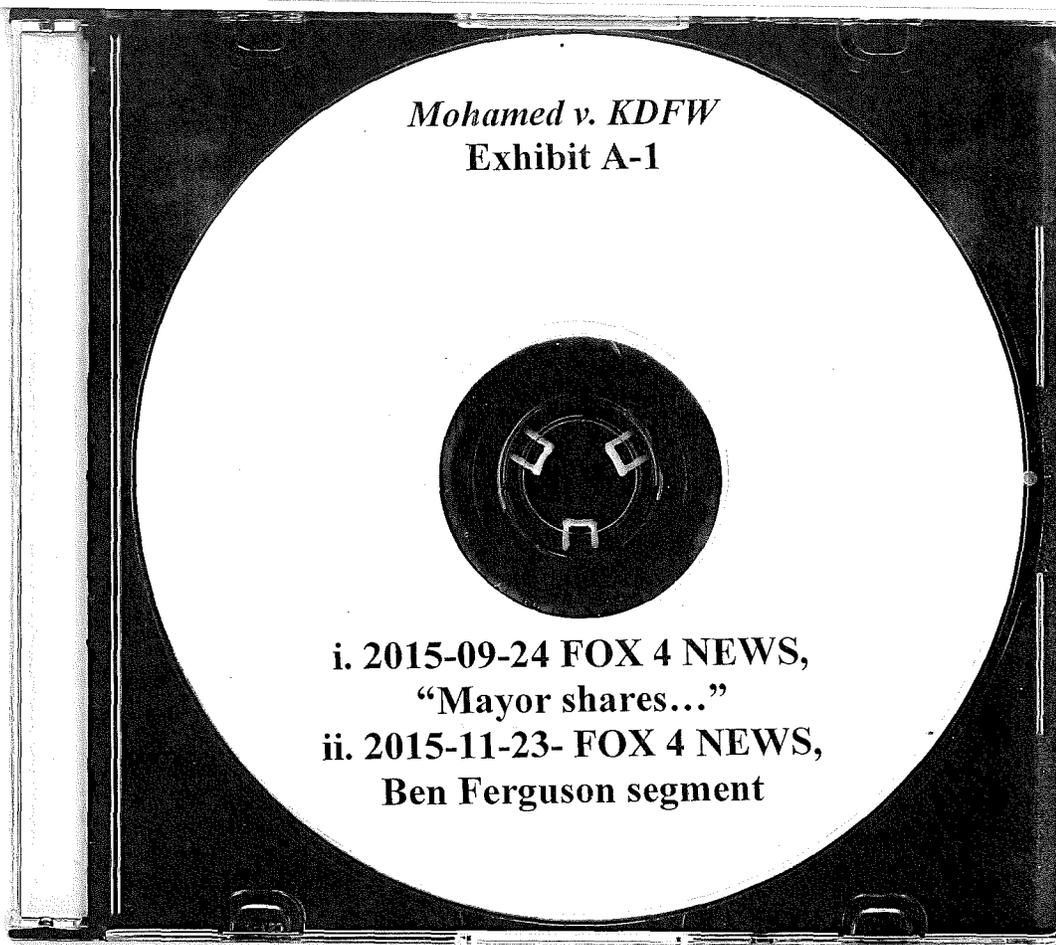
- 
- i. 2015-09-24 FOX 4 NEWS,
"Mayor shares..."
 - ii. 2015-11-23- FOX 4 NEWS,
Ben Ferguson segment

EXHIBIT “A-2”

Mayor shares more about Ahmed Mohamed case



The Mayor of Irving revealed new details Thursday night about the arrest of an Irving MacArthur High School freshman who was arrested after bringing a homemade clock to school.

By: FOX4News.com Staff



POSTED: SEP 24 2015 09:00PM CDT
UPDATED: SEP 24 2015 10:07PM CDT

The Mayor of Irving revealed new details Thursday night about the arrest of an Irving MacArthur High School freshman who was arrested after bringing a homemade clock to school.

The mayor, Beth Van Duyne, spoke while she was the guest speaker at the Arlington Republican Club.

Much of her speech centered around Sharia Law and the criticism Van Duyne has gotten on social media.

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Mayor shares more about Ahmed Mohamed case

"In my own conversations with the police is that he was not forthcoming with information, but I just think common sense prevails," Van Duyne said about the arrest of the teen who brought the clock to school, Ahmed Mohamed. "Does it make sense? And if not, why?"

She says that since the boy is a juvenile, his police records are sealed. But she characterized his responses to questions about the clock from police and school officials as evasive.

"The family has been non-responsive to their requests to sign off that they can release that information," said Van Duyne. "So right now, we're waiting to hear back from the parents that we can release that information and have transparency out in the public."

Mohamed was suspended for three days because the clock was considered a suspicious device.

Police determined he meant no harm and dropped the case.

Mohamed's parents have described the teen as a budding inventor and initially said he brought the clock to school innocently, to show a teacher.

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Some have claimed that the freshman was profiled because of his race and religion, but Heath Wester, the President of the Texas Municipal Patrolman's Association, says quite the contrary.

"Any person who breaks the law or potentially breaks the law is going to be questioned," said Wester. "Especially in the school systems. They have to protect the teachers and the students that are there at the school."

Wester says after speaking with the officers who were part of the response, and the Irving Police Chief, he says his conclusion was that it was a hoax bomb and that the boy knew exactly what he was doing.

"I think his intent was to see how far he could get with the device and to see what kind of alarmant he could get," said Wester. "And as you can see now, he's got what he asked for. He's gotten that alarmant. He's gotten that excitement or whatever he was trying to get, he got it."

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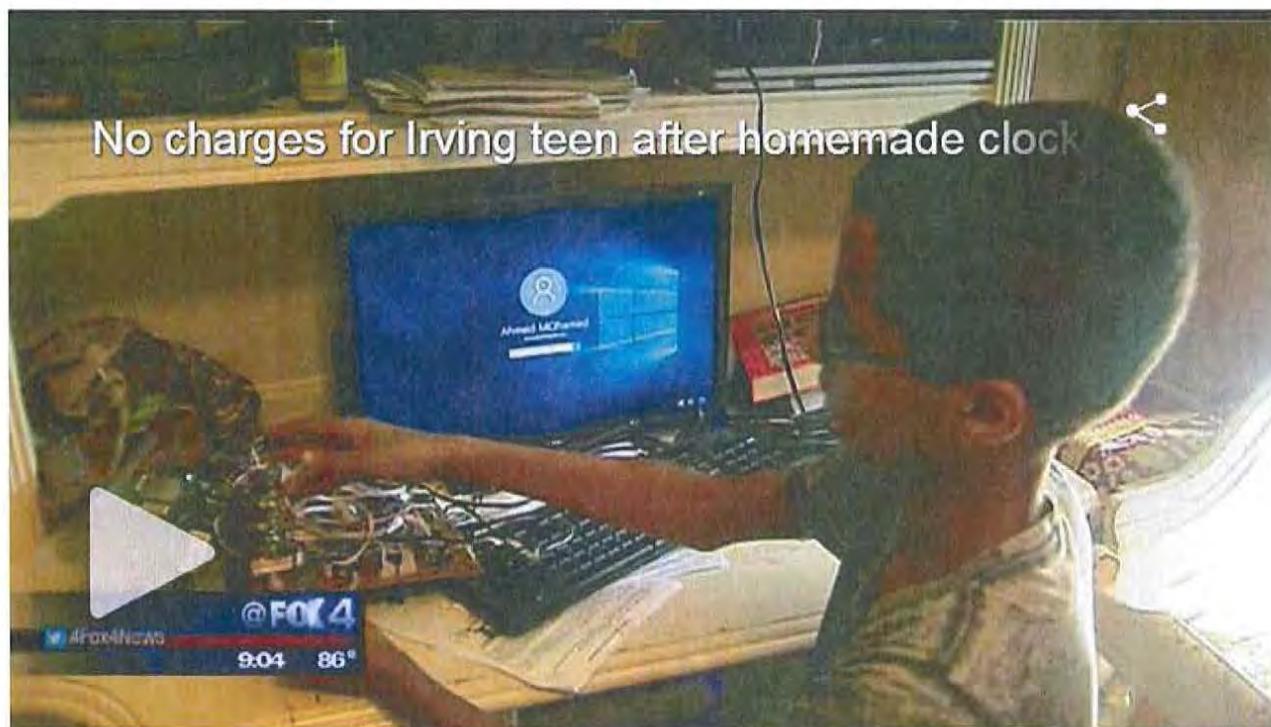
EXHIBIT “A-3”



EXHIBIT “A-4-i”



No charges for Irving teen after homemade clock mistaken for bomb at school



A 14-year-old North Texas boy will not face charges after he was suspended over a homemade clock that teachers, administrators and police found suspicious.

By: [FOX4News.com Staff](#)

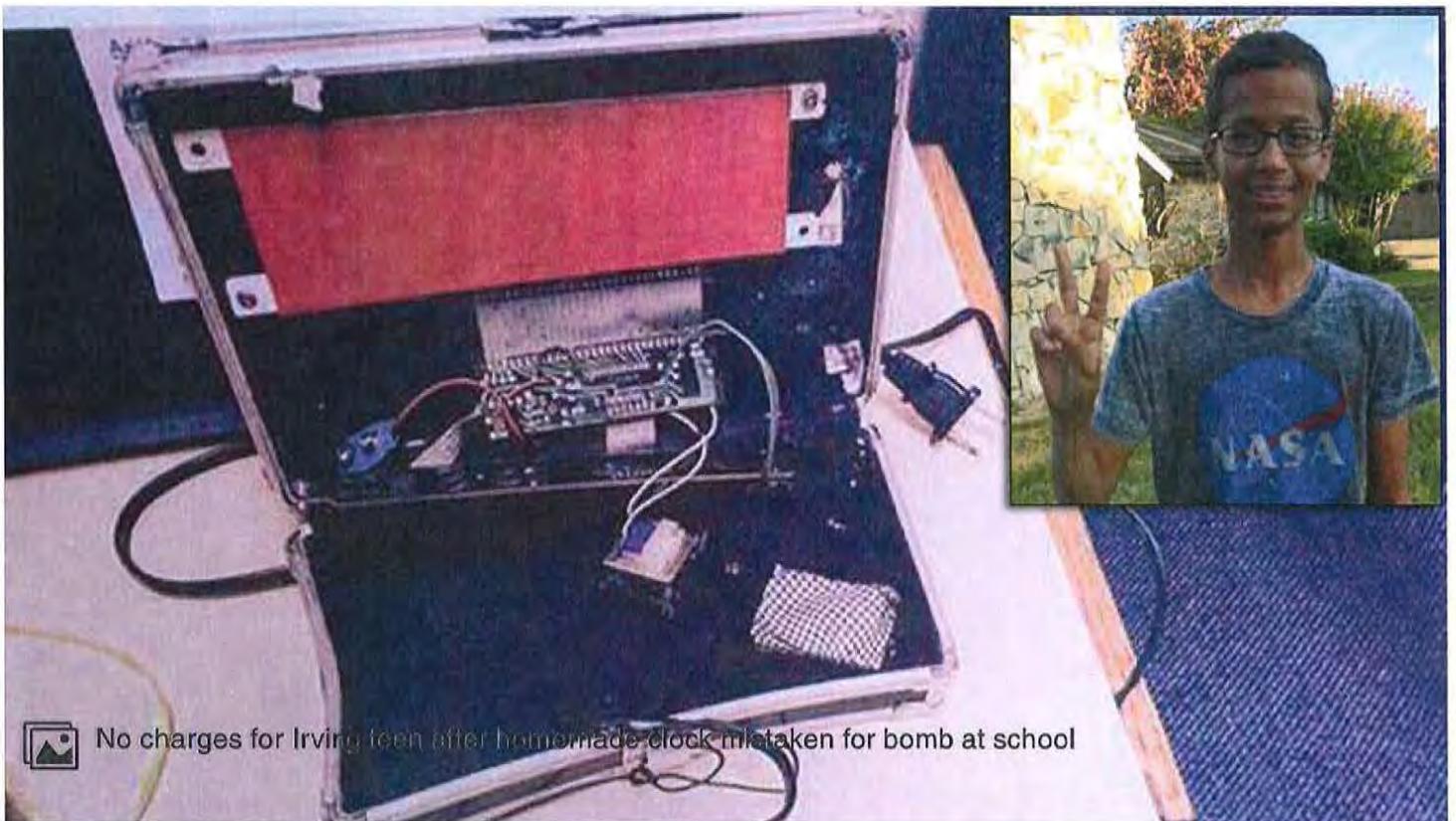
POSTED: SEP 16 2015 11:17AM CDT

UPDATED: SEP 16 2015 10:45PM CDT

IRVING, Texas - A 14-year-old North Texas boy will not face charges after he was suspended over a homemade clock that teachers, administrators and police found suspicious.

Ahmed Mohamed, who is Muslim, was arrested at MacArthur High School in Irving on Monday afternoon after a clock he made was mistaken for a bomb.

Mohamed said he enjoys tinkering with electronics and took the clock to school to show his engineering teacher. But an alarm on the clock went off in English class and his teacher confiscated it.



"I told them it's a clock. And they told me, 'Why would you bring a clock to school?' And I was like to tell time. And the officer said, 'There's clocks here, clocks here, clocks around you everywhere.' And I told him that I wanted to impress my teachers so that I could feel appreciated for it, but instead I got the police called on me," he said.

Police searched his belongings and removed him from school in handcuffs.

"He's just a bright 14-year-old American Muslim kid and all he did was a science project for his school," family attorney Linda Moreno said. "He certainly didn't expect to be detained, interrogated, handcuffed fingerprinted and arrested at the end of the school day."

Irving Police Chief Larry Boyd said Mohamed originally was not very forthcoming and the school was concerned that the device was possibly the infrastructure for a bomb. Officers acted in an abundance of caution.

"It was a very suspicious device. We live in an age where you can't take things like that to school. Of course we've seen across our country horrific things happen. We have to err on the side of caution," Boyd said.

In the state of Texas a person can be found guilty of possessing a hoax bomb if the device is intended to bring fear. But police said Wednesday morning the teen would not be charged.

"We found no evidence to support the perception that he intended to create alarm," Boyd said.

Mohamed was suspended from school through Thursday. At a Wednesday afternoon press conference the teen said his suspension hadn't been lifted by school officials despite charges not being pursued by police.

Mohamed added he plans on transferring from MacArthur HS, but doesn't know where he will attend school next.

Irving Mayor Beth Van Duyne said on her Facebook page

(<https://www.facebook.com/beth.vanduyne/posts/10206639478218768?pnref=story>) she doesn't fault the school or police for their actions.

"They have procedures to run when a possible threat or criminal act is discovered. They follow these procedures in the sole interest of protecting our children and school personnel," Van Duyne wrote.

President Obama was one of many people throughout the U.S., especially in the scientific community, who expressed their support for the teen via social media.

"Cool clock, Ahmed. Want to bring it to the White House? We should inspire more kids like you to like science. It's what makes America great," Obama tweeted on Wednesday.

Mohamed said he plans on taking Obama up on his offer to visit the White House.

Mark Zuckerberg also invited him to stop by Facebook for a meeting.

"Having the skill and ambition to build something cool should lead to applause, not arrest," Zuckerberg wrote. "The future belongs to people like Ahmed."

Irving ISD says that privacy rules restrict it from talking about an individual student's disciplinary record. However, a spokeswoman says the district has tried to meet with the family since Monday, but the family has canceled those meetings.

Mohamed says he has no intention of talking to anyone at MacArthur High School.

"I'm transferring schools, so I don't see a point in that," he said.

Irving's school board president, Randy Randle, says he would like to see Mohamed come back to MacArthur and believes the staff would welcome him, but adds he does not believe anyone discriminated against the teen.

"I think if this device was taken by any other person at any other time in any other public building and someone saw it, the same effect would have happened," said Randle.

People all over the world began tweeting their support for the teen, who was detained at Irving's MacArthur High School on Monday.

EXHIBIT “A-4-ii”

PD chief, Islamic leaders meet after clock incident



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Some Islamic leaders in Irving have no problem with how the police and school district handled Ahmed Mohamed, a 14-year-old North Texas boy who was suspended over a homemade clock that teachers, administrators and police found suspicious.

By: FOX4News.com Staff



POSTED: SEP 16 2015 10:06PM CDT
UPDATED: SEP 16 2015 10:36PM CDT

Some Islamic leaders in Irving have no problem with how the police and school district handled Ahmed Mohamed, a 14-year-old North Texas boy who was suspended over a homemade clock that teachers, administrators and police found suspicious.

The police chief talked with Islamic leaders Wednesday night in a closed-door meeting.

The Islamic Association of Irving and the chief say it was about unity, but that the group asked him some tough questions about Mohamed's arrest.

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Leaders say that despite claims by critics that Mohamed was profiled, the Islamic Center of Irving is not critical of the way it was handled.

"I think the parents can speak for themselves," said Khalid Hamideh with the Islamic Association of Irving. "We as I said in the other press conference do not point a finger at the teacher or the police department. There's enough stuff going on to make everybody fearful."

Chief Boyd did say that one of the assurances he gave to the Islamic community was to take a closer look at how his department handled the situation.

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EXHIBIT “A-4-iii”

Mark Davis calls #IStandWithAhmed movement disgusting



Radio host Mark Davis shares his opinions about the pope in American and Ahmed Mohamed.

By: FOX4News.com Staff



POSTED: SEP 24 2015 07:45AM CDT
UPDATED: SEP 24 2015 08:19AM CDT

Radio host Mark Davis says as far as he's concerned the #IStandWithAhmed movement is pretty disgusting.

Ahmed Mohamed has been on somewhat of a national media tour after the homemade clock he took to class was mistaken for a bomb. The 14-year-old was arrested and suspended from MacArthur High School in Irving.

"I've got nothing against this kid except the degree to which he may have mouthed off while in custody," Davis said.

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Mohamed's family has not signed the necessary waivers that would allow school officials to release more details about what happened before he was handcuffed and taken to a juvenile detention center.

"But I'm going to tell you something. This is the most important thing I'll say today. This #IStandWithAhmed thing is a complete fraud and a complete propaganda hose job. This is in no way representative of Islamophobia or hate on the part of these Irving officials," Davis said.

He may not necessarily agree that everything was handled correctly, but Davis said he believes the story line that the Mohamed family is weaving is an absolute fraud.

"Good people are getting death threats because of it and it's frankly kind of nauseating," he said.

Davis said Islamophobia does exist, but this is not it. He instead called it an attempt to suppress the "see something, say something" idea.

You can listen to the Mark Davis Show every morning on 660AM "The Answer."

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EXHIBIT “A-4-iv”



'Clock Boy' now a Halloween costume



Photo credit: Costumeish.com

By: [FOX4News.com Staff](#) POSTED:OCT 06 2015 08:04AM CDT
UPDATED:OCT 06 2015 10:34AM CDT

It was only a matter of time -- Ahmed Mohamed has inspired a Halloween costume.

The 14-year-old Muslim teen from Irving was arrested last month after his teachers reported his homemade clock looked suspiciously like a bomb.

The arrest got national attention and people such as President Barack Obama and Mark Zuckerberg voiced their support for Ahmed and his invention. Supporters also argued it was a clear case of Islamophobia.

But, Irving Mayor Beth Van Duyne said school administrators and police acted out of an abundance of caution based on the teen's behavior and lack

of cooperation. No charges were filed once police determined the clock was not intended to be a hoax bomb.

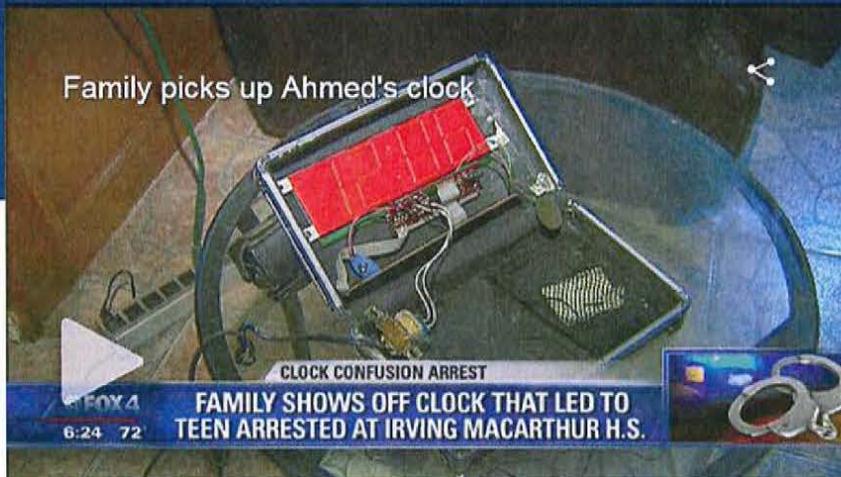
The \$80 Clock Boy costume from Costumeish.com comes with Ahmed's signature NASA shirt and glasses and the guts of a clock in an aluminum case. A pair of handcuffs finishes the look.

"When is a clock more than just a clock? That all depends on who you ask," Costumeish.com said in the product description.

Customers are warned to "be careful who you show it to!"

EXHIBIT “A-4-v”

Family picks up Ahmed Mohamed's clock from Irving police



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The family of Irving teen Ahmed Mohamed has picked up the infamous clock from police.

By: FOX4News.com Staff



POSTED: OCT 28 2015 03:42PM CDT
UPDATED: OCT 30 2015 12:12PM CDT

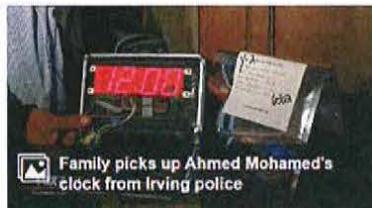
The most famous clock in Texas has finally returned home.

The uncle of Ahmed Mohamed told FOX4 on Wednesday that he and a lawyer picked up the clock from Irving police a few days ago.

Aldean Mohamed said the family had been busy and wanted the infamous clock to stay with police until the family could put it in a safe place.

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The clock, which isn't much bigger than a paperback book, is in a black hard case container with a tiger on the outside.

Ahmed Mohamed, 14, was arrested by Irving police in September after he brought a homemade digital clock to school that was mistaken for a bomb by Irving MacArthur High School faculty. The subsequent fallout made international headlines.

Time named Ahmed Mohamed to its influential teens list, released on Tuesday, and said Ahmed "kicked off a national debate over racial profiling."

The clock is home now, but Ahmed Mohamed and his immediately family are now overseas in Qatar. The uncle said that Ahmed and his sisters are in the process of enrolling in new schools. A foundation has offered to pay for his schooling.

Aldean Mohamed said threats against Ahmed were one of the main reasons the family opted to go overseas for schooling.

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EXHIBIT “A-4-vi”

Ahmed Mohamed family wants \$15 million from Irving, Irving ISD



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Give us \$15 million – or else. That's the demand from the family of the world's most famous clockmaker, Ahmed Mohamed, to the City of Irving and Irving ISD. The city and district were each sent letters on Monday demanding money or else a lawsuit

By: FOX4News.com Staff



POSTED: NOV 23 2015 11:05AM CST
UPDATED: NOV 24 2015 09:43AM CST

Give us \$15 million – or else.

That's the demand from the family of the world's most famous clockmaker, Ahmed Mohamed, to the City of Irving and Irving ISD. The city and district were each sent letters on Monday demanding money or else a lawsuit would be filed.

The family wants \$10 million from the City of Irving and \$5 million from Irving ISD for damages it claims Ahmed and the family suffered after the teen was arrested. The family also wants an apology from the two entities.

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Ahmed Mohamed family wants \$15 million from Irving, Irving ISD

Mohamed, 14, was arrested by Irving police in September after he brought a homemade digital clock to school that was mistaken for a bomb by Irving MacArthur High School faculty. The subsequent fallout made international headlines.

Mohamed and his immediately family are now overseas in Qatar and enrolling in school after a foundation has offered to pay for his education. The letter demanding money from the city and district says that the family wants "more than anything to come home" to Irving.

The letter gives both the city and the district 60 days to pay up or else face a lawsuit.

City and district officials didn't have any immediate comment on the letter.

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EXHIBIT “A-4-vii”

Department of Justice to investigate Irving ISD due to clock incident



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By: FOX4News.com Staff



POSTED: JUL 04 2015 06:29 AM CDT
UPDATED: JUL 04 2015 06:29 AM CDT

The Department of Justice plans to investigate Irving ISD over the arrest of the Irving teen who garnered worldwide attention over his homemade clock he brought to school.

Ahmed Mohamed, 14, was arrested because the clock looked like a hoax bomb to some adults at the school. He was later released and the charges dropped.

The DOJ said Friday it has launched a civil rights investigation into the incident, amid claims that Mohamed was mistreated due to his religion and that he was harassed.

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The City of Irving is not a part of the investigation, only the school district.

Nearly 30 members of Congress sent a letter to the DOJ in September asking for an investigation, including North Texas Democratic Congressman Marc Veasey.

Lawyers for the Mohamed family have threatened the city and the school district with a lawsuit over the incident unless they pay a total of \$15 million.

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EXHIBIT “A-4-viii”

Ahmed Mohamed, Irving's infamous 'Clock Boy,' returns to the U.S.



Alison Hams reports.

By: FOX4News.com Staff



POSTED: JUN 22 2016 11:27AM CDT
UPDATED: JUN 27 2016 07:09PM CDT

IRVING, Texas - Ahmed Mohamed, the Muslim teenager who made headlines last year when he was suspended for bringing a homemade clock to school in Irving, returned to the United States Monday afternoon.

"Ahmed and his family have missed his grandmother, his aunts, uncles, cousins and friends here in Irving and across North Texas very much," Aldean Mohamed said. "Ahmed and his nuclear family miss America and their whole family here in America very much."

Ahmed said Facebook, MIT and NASA have contacted him through social media, asking him to visit while he's in the U.S. during the summer.

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Ahmed Mohamed, Irving's infamous 'Clock Boy,' returns to the U.S.

The 14-year-old said he's happy to be back home, and seeing his friends and family is first priority. He's been going to school in Qatar and says there's a 50/50 chance he'll finish high school in the U.S., but says he definitely wants to go to college here. He says he's interested in coding, engineering and technology.

"I've matured more. It's normal to mature, but I've matured way more since I got a little bit of publicity, and I'm happy for it," Ahmed said.

"It's beautiful to be here in USA," said Ahmed's father, Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed. "It is our home and it is our country and we love it. As you see, if there is something wrong, America will stand for it and that is what happened. Something was happening to my son. Everybody has a heart, has children, something is wrong, so they stood for it."

The 14-year-old was arrested in September after Irving MacArthur High School faculty mistakenly thought the homemade digital clock he'd taken school was a bomb.

The subsequent fallout made international headlines. Ahmed was invited to visit the White House, participated in Google's science fair and included in Time's "Most Influential Teens of 2015" list. He and his immediate family ended up moving to Qatar, where a foundation offered to pay for his education.

Irving Mayor Beth Van Duyn at the time said she stood behind the actions of her police department, which did drop the hoax bomb charges after determining the teen meant no harm.

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- Mayor shares more about Ahmed Mohamed case
- Mark Davis: #IStandWithAhmed is disgusting
- Ahmed Mohamed withdraws from school
- Ahmed Mohamed's suspension ends
- Irving teen suspended for "homemade clock"

Ahmed's family is still suing Irving ISD and Irving Police for \$15 million in damages, according to Mohamed's uncle.

The Department of Justice is investigating Irving ISD after dozens of Democratic members of Congress called for an investigation.

Ahmed is now at the family's Irving home before he will travel across the states.

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EXHIBIT “A-4-ix”



(<http://www.fox4news.com>)

What's next for "Clock Boy"



The Irving teenager who was arrested for bringing a home-made clock to his school returned to North Texas Monday Night.

By: [FOX4News.com Staff \(mailto:?body=http://www.fox4news.com/news/167001384-story\)](mailto:?body=http://www.fox4news.com/news/167001384-story)



POSTED: JUN 28 2016 05:37PM CDT
UPDATED: JUN 28 2016 06:45PM CDT

The Irving teenager who was briefly arrested last year after bringing a home-made digital clock to school returned to North Texas Monday night.

Ahmed Mohamed, 14, was arrested last fall after a teacher thought the clock was a bomb. Despite the arrest, Mohamed said he hasn't lost his passion for science and technology. He has a new nickname too.

"I've been called clock boy around the world," Mohamed said.

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Irving Police handcuffed and arrested Mohamed, but later dropped the charges.

"What I learned from my arrest is that the world isn't such a happy place as I've seen before," Mohamed said. "I used to see the world as an amazing place. And after my arrest, after what the cops did. I was scared."

Ensnuing protests, including one outside the Irving mosque where the family prays, increased Mohamed's parents' concern about his safety.

"There was these people protesting at my mosque and people protesting with guns, like threatening to kill Muslims," Mohamed said. "It is very terrifying."

Mohamed looks to the future, with an interest in space sciences and technology. He said his goal is to help people around the world. The celebrity and notoriety that came from the crude digital clock even earned Mohamed a visit to the White House. He said none of the fame has changed his dreams.

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"I think sometimes being a celebrity or being someone well known, it gives you a chance to change the world," Mohamed said. "You always have to think positive in life."



Mohamed plans to finish high school in Qatar and then get a degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The family said they have not yet decided to file suit against Irving ISD or the police department's handling of the situation. Attorneys for the family have issued demand letters.

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Irving 'Clock Boy' Ahmed Mohamed's family files federal lawsuit

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Diana Zoga reports.

By: [FOX4News.com Staff](mailto:?body=http://www.fox4news.com/news/186559884-story)



POSTED:AUG 08 2016 07:32AM CDT
UPDATED:AUG 09 2016 06:15AM CDT

IRVING, Texas - The family of the teenager known as "Clock Boy" is suing the city of Irving and the Irving school district over what happened to him at his school last year.

Attorney Susan Hutchison said Ahmed Mohamed's civil rights were violated at Irving MacArthur High School in September (<http://www.fox4news.com/news/20441178-story>) when he was interrogated at length without his parents and arrested on hoax bomb charges.

"You have a boy who took a pencil box – as you can see it's not a brief case or a suitcase, it's a pencil box and my hand fits over it – to school because he had told his English teacher that he was going to make something to show her, which he did all throughout middle school," Hutchison said.

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"He told them over and over again, 'It's an alarm clock. I made it for my teacher,'" she said. "Despite that fact and the despite the fact that they knew it wasn't a bomb, that he never threatened anyone, that he never said it was a bomb, that he never alarmed anyone... despite all of those things they yanked him out of his chair, put him in handcuffs and arrested him."

Even after police dropped the charges, Hutchison said the school still suspended Mohamed.

"So yes, those are violations of his civil rights," she said.

Initially Irving Police Chief Larry Boyd said the 14-year-old was not very forthcoming about the suspicious device and officers acted in an abundance of caution.

"The city of Irving is prepared to vigorously defend itself and the justifiable actions it took in this matter. The legal process will allow all facts to be revealed, and the city welcomes that opportunity. The city of Irving's top priority is to ensure the safety and security of its children and the entire community. The city will continue to take its duty and responsibility to serve and protect the public seriously," the city said in a statement Monday.

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The Irving Independent School District still denies violating Mohamed's rights, but said it will respond to claims in accordance with court rules. It would not comment any further because of the pending litigation.

Attorney Daryl Washington, who is not affiliated with the case, read over the lawsuit. He said we won't know the strength of the lawsuit until the other side has had a chance to respond to the allegations.

"There are some very strong allegations," said Washington. "And if there's indeed support to back the allegations, I say it's going to be a very strong complaint." [Links \(http://www.fox4news.com/links\)](http://www.fox4news.com/links) [Texas \(http://www.fox4news.com/links\)](http://www.fox4news.com/links)

Mohamed's story went viral on social media and was invited to the White House, participated in Google's science fair and included in Time's "Most Influential Teens of 2015" list.

"We hear over and over again about how great this has been for Ahmed because he got to meet the president and got to meet some famous people. Those things have lasted five minutes," Hutchison said. "Moving his whole family, losing their home here, the constant barrage of horrible, hateful, mean, terrible things that people are saying to this little boy... he has to endure that all day, every day."

He ended up moving to Qatar with his family, but is [back in Irving for the summer \(http://www.fox4news.com/news/166469852-story\)](http://www.fox4news.com/news/166469852-story). On Monday he said he likes his new school and has friends there, but still misses home. He doesn't think he can return permanently yet because of the continuous death threats and hate mail.

"For the safety of my family, I have to go back to Qatar because right now it's not very safe," he said.

Mohamed admits that he's lost some of his creativity. He said he used to love building things, but now he's afraid.

"I get a lot of hate. I got a lot of support in the beginning, but it's the hate that sticks. Some of it is so damaging. I get death threats. What did I ever do to someone to get death threats?" he asked.

The family is seeking justice in the only way the American legal system allows, which is with money, their attorney said. No dollar amount is listed on the lawsuit because Hutchison said she wants a jury to set the amount.



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CAIR to Hold News Conference with Texas Muslim Teen Detained Over Clock

Last Updated: September 16, 2015 | Hits: 1198

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(DALLAS, TEXAS, 9/16/15) – Later today, the North Texas chapter of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR-DFW) will hold a news conference outside the home of the 14-year-old Muslim boy detained yesterday after a high school teacher falsely concluded that a homemade clock he brought to class might be a bomb.

The school's principal and police officers questioned the Muslim teenager, searched his belongings and marched him out of the school in handcuffs.

Video: CAIR Meeting with Officials About Texas Muslim Teen Detained Over Clock

Video: CAIR Disputes Arrest of Texas Muslim Student Who Brought Clock Mistaken for Bomb to School

CAIR: Family Adjusting to Ahmed Mohamed's Sudden Fame As Police Announce No Charges for Clock Deemed 'Hoax Bomb'

<http://www.dallasnews.com/news/community-news/northwest-dallas-county/headlines/20150915-family-adjusting-to-ahmed-mohamed-s-sudden-fame-as-police-announce-no-charges-for-clock-deemed-hoax-bomb-ec>

WHAT: CAIR News Conference with Muslim Teen Detained Over Clock

WHEN: Wednesday, September 16, 4 p.m.

WHERE: Home of Ahmed Mohamed, 2625 Castle Street, Irving, Texas

CONTACT: CAIR-DFW Executive Director Alia Salem, 469-554-0786, 817-538-8269, asalem@cair.com

CAIR-DFW is working with the family and officials, and says the incident is symptomatic of growing Islamophobia in American society.

In a tweet, President Obama invited the Muslim teen to bring his clock to the White House.

SEE: [President Obama's Tweet](#)

Rep. Judy Chu (D-CA), chair of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus, today issued a statement decrying the detention of the teenager.

SEE: [Rep. Judy Chu Decries Prejudiced Arrest of 14 Year Old Muslim Boy](#)

Support for the teenager is trending at #IStandWithAhmed.

The Washington-based Muslim civil rights organization today also released a compilation of recent anti-Islam incidents in Texas.

CAIR Islamophobia Monitor: Recent Anti-Islam Incidents in Texas

<http://www.islamophobia.org/15-reports/172-recent-anti-islam-incidents-in-texas.html>

CAIR is America's largest Muslim civil liberties and advocacy organization. Its mission is to enhance the understanding of Islam, encourage dialogue, protect civil liberties, empower American Muslims, and build coalitions that promote justice and mutual understanding.

- END -

CONTACT: CAIR-DFW Executive Director Alia Salem, 469-554-0786, 817-538-8269, asalem@cair.com; CAIR National Communications Director Ibrahim Hooper, 202-744-7726, ihooper@cair.com; CAIR Communications Coordinator Nabeelah Naeem, 202-488-8787, 202-341-4171, nnaeem@cair.com

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CAIR's department to monitor and combat Islamophobia tracks sources and incidents of Islamophobia across the country, creates dossiers on prominent Islamophobes, and produces factsheets to debunk false information that has been spread about Islam.

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EXHIBIT “A-6”

Why Mohamed Elhassan, the Dallas Imam Who Played Defense Attorney in Quran-Torching Church, Says He "Admires" Terry Jones

MONDAY, APRIL 4, 2011 AT 6:41 P.M.

BY PATRICK MICHELS



Mohamed Elhassan, a Sufi imam and business owner here in Dallas, lost his case for the Koran last month in Terry Jones' Florida church.

When Florida pastor Terry Jones finally made good on the threat he'd been **toying with in the press** for months, to burn a Quran in his church, it set off days of deadly protests in Afghanistan. And while U.S. military officials and lawmakers work to undo the damage he caused, and **President Obama condemns the book-burning**, Jones is **seeking retribution**. His church in Gainesville, Florida, **denies responsibility for the riots**.

There is a Dallas man involved in all of this: **Sheik Mohamed Elhassan**, who **played defense attorney** in Jones's mock trial and failed to sway the "court" at the **Dove World Outreach Center**. He's the man referred to in most news reports simply as "a Dallas imam." And he's not shying away from the controversy. As a matter of fact, he says, he is looking for a local church where he can mount an appeal.

Reached by phone this afternoon, Elhassan told Unfair Park that while he doesn't feel Jones gave him enough time to make his case, he's still "proud to be a defender of the Holy Quran."

Even after the violent response to the Quran burning in Jones's church, Elhassan says he doesn't feel responsible for the backlash. "I went there to make it not happen," he says.

He says he appreciates Jones giving him a forum to defend the Quran in terms of Sufism, a more mystical, new-age reading of the text. "I admire Terry Jones for doing that," he says.

"From my heart, I feel very OK. But I have some people who don't like that from my Muslim brothers. I see their faces, they don't want me to go and talk. But this is my opinion. I'm not living in Sudan, or Saudi Arabia. I'm living in a free land," Elhassan says.

Elhassan says he heard Jones's church was looking for someone to bring a legal defense of the Quran in their court, and was glad to be the one they picked. "They put an ad on their channel: 'Whoever feels in himself he has the power to defend Quran is welcome,'" he recalls. "I was chosen by accident. It was not a setup, as other media said."

Elhassan says he knew Jones had threatened to burn a Quran in the past, but understood that this time the church was simply holding a trial.

"They said they were not going to do it," he says. "So I went there. But when they did burn the Quran, I was not there." He says Jones gave him and his family the opportunity to leave the church before the book met its sentence.

Still, Elhassan says he didn't nearly get a fair shake in their trial, and he's looking to make it right.

"It was far from fair. It was not fair," he says, "so now we are doing an appeal. I am looking for a brave priest like Terry Jones, because I am going to bring all the evidence that the Quran is not guilty." Today, he says, he's making calls to local churches in Dallas and Irving, hoping to find another pastor interested in church into a courtroom for the Quran.

Elhassan, who was born in Sudan, is no stranger to debate -- he **ran against Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir last year**, and says he faced the same backlash he's hearing now from traditional Muslims who disagree with his "New Testament" view of the Quran. He says he has serious issues with the hardline, traditional readings of the text, and he's writing a book about his reading of the Koran -- with working titles like *Jesus Among Us With the Quran*, or *The New Understanding of the Quran*.

"Now Terry Jones has made a path," he says. "People need to understand the meaning of the Holy Quran. Whoever follows the Old Testament needs to ask himself why he does not go to

the market and kill everybody, any nonbeliever wherever he finds them."

EXHIBIT “A-7”

The Washington Post

Local

Muslim at Koran 'trial' says he didn't know the holy book would be burned

By **Annie Gowen** April 6, 2011

When the Rev. Terry Jones was preparing to put the Koran on trial last month, his supporters could find only one Muslim willing to take part in the bizarre proceeding, which ended with the holy text being set ablaze.

Mohamed Elhassan, a 50-year-old computer store owner who leads a tiny Sufi congregation in Irving, Tex., readily agreed to defend the Koran. He'd debated Islam with Jones's supporters before and wasn't put off by the prospect of interacting with Jones himself, though he knew that the pastor had threatened to burn the Koran in September.

"I thought it would help other Muslims, other Christians and Terry Jones himself. I thought we were just going to discuss the Koran. That's why I went there," Elhassan said.

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But he had never seen anything quite like Jones's mock trial, in which the walrus-mustached pastor dressed up in judicial robes at the Dove World Outreach Center in Gainesville and solemnly pronounced the Koran "guilty" of inciting terrorism and violence. Elhassan said he had no idea that the Koran would be desecrated at the end of the trial — an act that led to three days of deadly violence in Afghanistan.

"They didn't tell me that," he said plaintively, in a telephone interview from his home in Irving, near the Dallas-Fort Worth airport.

Elhassan, a native of the Sudan who is now an American citizen, likes to call himself a sheik. He wears a cleric's flowing white robes and claims hundreds of followers throughout Egypt, Sudan and in the United States.

But he is unknown as a scholar or holy man in the state he has called home for two decades. Religious leaders in Texas say they have never heard of Elhassan, including the imam at the mosque where he worships.

"This so-called leader, we have never heard of this person," said Imam Zia ul Haque Sheikh, the head of the Islamic Center of Irving. "I believe the whole thing is made up."

Elhassan has only a handful of followers who chant with him on Saturdays and Sundays at a small prayer center, located in a strip mall, that he founded in 2001 for other Sufi Muslims — a sect that embraces mysticism and a personal relationship with God.

Elhassan has sought the spotlight before. Last year he declared himself a candidate for the president of Sudan, but never made it onto the official ballot.

He said he agreed to serve as the defense attorney at Jones's mock trial because the Koran teaches that Muslims should engage in peaceful dialogue with Christians.

But there was also a more pragmatic reason. It was spring break and he wanted to take his wife and five kids to Disney World — to "kill two birds with one stone," as he put it.

The family enjoyed their trip to the Magic Kingdom, but on the appointed day when their minivan drew close to the church, Elhassan's heart filled with trepidation.

"I said to myself, 'It doesn't matter, I'm not going to back down,'" Elhassan recalled. "All I wanted to do is give a message to Mr. Terry Jones that the holy Koran is a good book."

Waiting inside was Ahmed Abaza, a former Muslim and the owner of the Truth TV. Abaza was broadcasting the mock trial and also serving as "the prosecutor." Elhassan had appeared on the Truth TV before, and it was Abaza who had invited him to come to Florida to defend the Koran.

After several hours of debate about the Koran's true meaning, Jones called an end to the proceedings and listened as a jury rendered its "verdict." The Koran was "guilty" of "crimes against humanity." Jones then ordered the book doused with kerosene and burned in a portable firepit.

Elhassan and his family couldn't watch.

"I just stood and I told my family, 'Let us go, I cannot see it,' " he said. "I was coming to defend it so how can I see it burning?"

In the aftermath of a spectacle that led to at least 21 deaths and 150 injuries in Afghanistan, Elhassan said he now pities Jones but does not regret his own actions.

"I feel sad of him and the people who follow him," he said. "He's doing something he's going to regret later."

Now back home in Texas, Elhassan says he has been questioned by others about his participation in the trial. Some of his small group of followers have asked that he no longer lead prayers. Others have refused to drive for the taxi fleet that his family owns, he said.

"There are some people who blame me, who say you don't need to go there," he said. "You were in the place of the devil. I told that that is your response. My response is I believe in my book, the holy Koran. It tells me to go and dialogue with them."

Annie Gowen is The Post's India bureau chief and has reported for the Post throughout South Asia and the Middle East.  Follow @anniegowen

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EXHIBIT “A-8”

Print

HOME | NEWS MONDAY 16 FEBRUARY 2016

Sudan presidential contender vows to lift US sanctions in first 100 days if elected

February 15, 2015 (DALLAS, TEXAS) – One of the dozen contenders in Sudan's presidential elections pledged that he will work with the US administration to lift the decade-long economic sanctions imposed on the country and remove it from the list of states that sponsor terrorism.

"This can be done easily. You put laws that conform to international conventions on human rights that would achieve social justice and assert individual freedoms. All laws that restrict freedoms will be abolished," said Mohamed El-Hassan who is running on the National Reform Party (NRP) ticket.

Washington imposed economic and trade sanctions on Sudan in 1997 in response to its alleged connection to terror networks and human rights abuses. In 2007 it strengthened the embargo, citing abuses in Darfur which it labeled as genocide.

Sudan is also on the US list of states that sponsor terrorism since 1993 even though the two countries have strengthened their counterterrorism cooperation since September 2001 attacks on Washington and New York.

Washington acknowledges Sudan's cooperation in the fight against terrorism, but attached new conditions to normalizing ties related to the end of the conflicts in Darfur, Blue Nile and South Kordofan.

Sudanese officials however, insist that issues of bilateral relations should be discussed without interfering in Sudan internal affairs.

El-Hassan told *Sudan Tribune* during an interview that he hopes to establish the rule of law in Sudan that would eventually lead the international community to view the country with respect contrary to its "pariah state status".

"All countries today respect the United States because it is a nation of laws. Refugees come from all over the world seeking protection there," said El-Hassan who holds dual US-Sudanese citizenship.

The presidential candidate also vowed to ratify all international treaties that deals with human rights.

El-Hassan expressed sympathy with rebels fighting Khartoum saying they resorted to arms after failing to get their rights in other means and because of a non-responsive military government.

"This is a military government led by a military man even if tried to appear as a democratic one. All laws and legislation are tailored to their needs which is why wars in Sudan have erupted," he said.

"To stop the wars in Kordofan, Darfur and Blue Nile we need new laws that achieve the aspirations of the Sudanese people," El-Hassan added.

He also endorsed the call by the National Umma Party (NUP) leader al-Sadiq al-Mahdi to hold a constitutional conference attended by all actors that is to be preceded by a declaration of ceasefire in all fronts.

On terrorism, El-Hassan accused the government of encouraging fundamentalist groups which thrived under the military rule of president Omer Hassan al-Bashir.

"We will have a moderate view of religion. Anyone who breaches [that view] and harms people will be swiftly dealt with by law," he said.

He declined to spell out his view of Sudan's relations with Iran which has irked Arab gulf states.

"When I hold office god willing, we will review the links [with Iran] in light of the sweeping reforms I will introduce across the government," El-Hassan said.

On the apostasy law, El-Hassan said that it is no longer relevant and will repeal it stressing that no one can be forced to adopt a faith he does not believe in.

He also expressed willingness to appoint a female or a non-Muslim Vice President should he ascend to presidency.

El-Hassan's first foreign visit if elected will be to the US seeking to lift "harmful economic sanctions" expressing optimism that he can start the process of having Washington undoing these sanctions during his first 100 days in office.

Most of Sudan's major opposition parties have declared that they will boycott the elections scheduled for next April, citing government's crackdown on political and press freedoms and insist on forming a transitional government that would draft a new constitution and prepare for fair and free elections.

Observers say it is all but certain that incumbent president Omer Hassan al-Bashir will comfortably win a new term and that the ruling National Congress Party will also sweep state and parliamentary elections.

(ST)



FILE - National Reform Party (NRP) presidential candidate Mohamed El-Hassan (ST)

EXHIBIT “A-9”

The Washington Post

Style

A year ago, Ahmed Mohamed became 'Clock Boy.' Now, he can't escape that moment.

By **Jessica Contrera** August 2

The news crew is here, but the famous boy is still asleep. He had just flown 22 hours, back to this squat stone house where he used to live when he was just a regular 14-year-old. His bright green go-kart is still out back. A year ago, he could have woken up and spent hours tinkering with its engine. He could have spent the day on his trampoline, or just watching funny YouTube videos on his phone.

Instead, he's waking up to the sound of more reporters in the living room. Because he's not Ahmed Mohamed, a regular 14-year-old. He's "Clock Boy," a viral sensation, the accidental embodiment of a national debate about Muslims being dangerous — or not. A black youth mistreated by overzealous cops — or an example of vigilance against potential terrorism.

So Ahmed gets out of bed, opens the bedroom door and steps into the hall. He lifts his arm in a half wave.

"There he is!" The cameraman shouts, like he's seeing an old friend. Ahmed got taller, they all point out. New glasses and a growth spurt have subtly transformed him from boyish to teenage.

"He is still sleepy," his father, Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed, apologizes.

The reporters are from Fox 4, a local TV channel. Mohamed invited them here, on Ahmed's first day back in Texas after nine months in Qatar. They moved a month after Ahmed was arrested for possessing a

homemade clock that his school deemed suspicious-looking. The move, it seemed, was an attempt to escape the spotlight, or at least the hate mail and death threats that came with it.

And yet, Ahmed's summer homecoming was heralded to reporters with a news release sent out by the family and its supporters: Clock Boy is back, and ready to be interviewed.

"You just wake up?" Ahmed's uncle, Aldean, says. "Go prepare yourself."

Ahmed changes into a T-shirt with the number 23 — for LeBron James — across the chest. They hand him a microphone. He doesn't need to be told how to put it on. They seat him on a velvet-tufted chair.

"All right, Ahmed, it's just you and me talking, the rest of the world listening," the reporter says. "So don't be nervous."

His father interrupts.

"Do you want to talk to me? Or just him?"

"Oh. Yeah, we'll talk to Dad, too. We'll just do it separate."

The living room is packed: cousins, aunts, grandmother. Ahmed's Uncle Aldean, who in the early 1980s was the first Mohamed to move from Sudan — where their family owned a successful cotton farm and attended prestigious schools — to New York, where he sold balloons and hot dogs in front of Rockefeller Center. Ahmed's father, an imam, who followed his brother to America and ever since has been explaining to anyone who will listen that real Muslims are peaceful. Their family friend Anthony Bond, the founder of the Irving NAACP, who has been calling the Mohameds in Qatar to tell them how, since they left, things are getting worse. Clashes between black communities and the police are in the news every day. Donald Trump, the man who wants to ban Muslim immigrants like the Mohameds from the United States, may become president.

Everyone's eyes are on Ahmed.

The reporter leans forward.

"How empowered do you feel to help make a difference in the world today, given what you've been through?" he asks.

"Wait," Ahmed says. "Did the interview start?"

Yes. The reporter moves on to another question.

Bond gives Ahmed a reassuring smile. He was the first person the family called when they brought Ahmed home from the police station. They wondered: Would this have happened if his name wasn't Ahmed Mohamed?

Bond said: Let's call the media.

He said: This city has transformed from whitewashed to incredibly diverse, and we're still being mistreated.

He said: With all the discrimination going on in the world, this little boy can make a positive difference.

"Upon coming back, what went through your mind?" the reporter is asking. "Did you have thoughts in your head like, 'Oh, God, there may be protesters?'"

"Why would people protest me?" Ahmed says.

"Well, I'm just asking. So you came in and you're like, 'I'm a rock star!'"

"I came in — I was just — heading home, because I was tired."

Ahmed walks in the house that evening to find his uncle, dad and Bond in front of the TV, searching for his name again.

"We want to watch you on the Dallas Morning News," his dad says. Ahmed had a Facebook Live interview with the newspaper after talking to Fox 4, and they're trying to find it on YouTube.

"It's on Facebook," Ahmed says, raising his voice over the clang of dishes being washed by his aunts in the kitchen. His mom and four of his siblings haven't yet come from Qatar, so Ahmed, his brother and his father are staying with the cousins who now live in their old house. They push the remote into Ahmed's hand.

Searching for his name is a daily ritual. The family is its own public relations firm, founded Sept. 14, 2015, as they brought Ahmed home from the police station.

Mohamed was ranting about how only God will judge his son. Ahmed was still hearing the "Ooooooh" sound the other students made as he was led out of class. The police were going to charge him with possession of a hoax bomb.

His parents had a choice: deal with this quietly, or tell someone. Their son had been placed in handcuffs and interrogated, in a town known for its resentment of Muslims. So they called the media, and soon Ahmed was trending on Twitter, and everyone from Mark Zuckerberg to President Obama was sharing messages of support.

Two days after he was arrested, the charges were dropped.

"This is what happens when we (IPD) screw something up," one Irving Police Department detective wrote in an email later uncovered as part of a public records request from Vice. "That thing didn't even look like a bomb."

And so came the next choice: Let this all die down, or seize the platform they'd been given and use it.

So they put Ahmed on "Good Morning America," MSNBC and "The Nightly Show With Larry Wilmore." He told reporters how kids in school called him ISIS Boy. Sympathetic crowdfunders raised \$18,000 for his education. He visited the White House, the Google Science Fair and the president of his home country of Sudan (a wanted war criminal, but Mohamed said it would be rude not to accept the invitation).

"It's not on here," Ahmed is saying, trying to find the video for his dad. "It's on Facebook. It's not on YouTube." His 8-year-old cousin Dooly is hanging on his legs.

"Ahmed, hold me!" Dooly whines.

"Ahmed, go to the Dallas Morning News," Bond says.

Soon an argument has broken out: They've learned that Fox 4, the channel that interviewed Ahmed that morning, had conservative commentator Ben Ferguson on the 10 p.m. news to say that the Mohameds plotted Ahmed's arrest and are obsessed with being famous.

"They've never been fair about Ahmed," Bond growls at Mohamed. "If I had known you were going to invite them, I would have told you! I would have told you to work with Channel 8!"

"They're going to talk no matter what we do!" Mohamed snaps back.

In his eyes, the more Ahmed is seen, the better. It's good for the family, he says. Twice in his life he has run for president of Sudan. He plans to run again in 2020. The more people who know him, the better his chances.

Ahmed slinks away to the corner of the room and gets on his phone.

Does he want to do all these interviews?

"For the most part, yes, and sometimes no. If I wouldn't get tired, I would do more interviews so I would have more influence."

His dad tells him that this is God opening doors for him. Something bad happened, but God turned it to make it good. God chose him for this, so he can make the world a better place.

Only now, he feels safer on the other side of the world. As trolls tried to pick apart his story, someone posted the Mohameds' home address on Twitter.

Many American schools contacted them, but Mohamed says they would only take Ahmed and not his siblings. Qatar Foundation, the government-sponsored organization in what is known as the country's elite "Education City," offered to take them all and pay for his older sisters' college.

In Qatar, his parents don't work. Ahmed goes to school at 7 a.m., comes home to the four-bedroom townhouse where their family of eight lives, and gets on his laptop.

"Not many kids play outside. I never really do anything," he says. "I just watch stuff online and I get bored. Sometimes I just go outside and stare at the sun, and then go back inside."

The Internet is his refuge — and his attacker. He reads every story and long, rambling conspiracy theory about him. Countless blogs and videos have been dedicated to proving Ahmed's clock was just a RadioShack clock he put in a new box. (It was partially made of RadioShack parts, but the design was all his own, he says.) Others insist that this was all a stunt masterminded by Mohamed to get attention. ("He can't plan the reaction. And why would he want me to get arrested?" Ahmed says.) Still more have proclaimed that the Mohameds are terrorist sympathizers because they once owned a company called Twin Towers Transportation. (They did own a company by that name, because their offices were housed in a Dallas office building called the Twin Towers.)

Ahmed would like to respond, but he never does because then he will have allowed himself to be angry. In Islam, Ahmed says, you are most vulnerable to the Devil when you are angry.

Instead he tweets only positive messages to his 97,000 followers. Like when he announced "Just Arrived in Dallas!" with a heart emoji and "It feels good to be back!"

plz go back to Qatar. You're not welcome here.

Go back with your terrorist dad

"They think that all Muslims are terrorist people who kill for their religion," Ahmed says.

A mosquito lands on the floor in front of him and he sets down his phone.

"I can catch a mosquito," he tells his cousin Dooly. He lunges. It flies away. He sits back down, waiting until it zooms around again.

#BinLaden Reincarnated ANYONE?

The mosquito lands, and he nabs it. Instead of killing it, he picks off its wings.

"Ohhhhh," his cousin says in awe.

"Mosquitoes are bad. They kill a lot of people."

Ahmed pauses, smirking.

"That's wrong. I shouldn't generalize mosquitoes."

Some days, Ahmed lets himself imagine what life would be like if none of this had happened. Amy Schumer wouldn't follow him on Twitter. He wouldn't know what it feels like to shake Obama's hand.

But he wouldn't be scared when he sees police cars. Maybe he would have made new friends in high school. By now he could have invented something new — not just a clock that only took him a few minutes to put together from parts in his family's garage, which was full of '90s-era electronics from when his uncle ran a chain called Beeper Warehouse.

His middle school tutors say shy Ahmed would always perk up when talking about his latest creation: a DVD player, a remote, things that lit and beeped and buzzed. Ahmed would charge his older sisters' friends \$10 to fix their cracked phone screens, then use the money to buy the parts he was missing for his next gadget.

The family moved back and forth between Texas and Sudan, where Ahmed was born. In Irving, Mohamed owned a taxi company and served as religious leader for a small group of Sufi Muslims. Sufism is a mystical interpretation of Islam centered in rituals such as the prayer chants Mohamed writes himself. Whenever there's a reporter around, he insists on explaining passages of the Koran: "When you kill one person, it is as if you are killing all mankind."

When Ahmed was 9, Mohamed decided to run for president of Sudan. The current president, Omar Hassan al-Bashir — whom they would later visit after Ahmed became famous — had just been indicted by the

International Criminal Court for directing genocide in Darfur. Without him in power, Mohamed argued, the United States might lift its sanctions on Sudan, and the country could prosper.

He never made the ballot. But the next year, in 2011, he made international headlines. Inflammatory Florida pastor Terry Jones held a "trial of the Koran." Mohamed, who saw the trial as a chance to spread his message — and take his kids to Disney World — showed up to defend the Koran. International outrage over the event, which ended in the burning of the holy book, led to rioting in Afghanistan. At least 20 people were reportedly killed, including seven U.N. employees.

"I did what I think is right," Mohamed says.

While he was trying to make a name for himself, his American home town was rapidly changing. Irving was once a white-flight suburb best known for housing the Dallas Cowboys' Texas Stadium. By the time Ahmed entered middle school, the Cowboys had moved to Arlington and the Mohameds' Zip code was deemed the most diverse area in the country. Only 9 percent of the students in Ahmed's school district are white. (However, there's only one nonwhite person on the Irving City Council.)

The neighborhood surrounding the Islamic Center of Irving, which serves about 10,000 area Muslims, began to flourish with condos and mansions built by those who wanted to live close to the mosque. Rumors spread that the neighborhood was a "no-go zone," an area only Muslims could enter, and that the mosque was imposing sharia law in the city. The rumors were false.

Meanwhile, Ahmed was preparing to start high school. He kept the same Adidas backpack he'd had since sixth grade. He planned out his outfits, one for each day of the week. He would wear his NASA T-shirt every Monday.

On Friday of his third week of school, the architecture teacher was about to throw away some dead batteries. Ahmed, always the hoarder of scrap materials, asked whether he could have them. Later in his English class, he taped the batteries together to make a sword. He slid the creation up his long-sleeved shirt, walked up to his teacher's desk and slid the sword out of his arm, "like Iron Man," he says. She laughed.

"That's not the only thing I can make," he told her. He promised to bring her something else on Monday.

Sunday night, he made his clock. It had a motherboard, an LCD screen, a 9-volt battery, an alarm. All the pieces fit into a pencil case from Target adorned with a tiger hologram.

In English class, he plugged it in to show a girl in the corner of the classroom. When the alarm on it vibrated loudly, he stuffed it back in his backpack.

He always thinks: What if he had just left it in the bag? And left class without showing the teacher anything?

But he took it up to her desk, eager to show his creation as he had promised.

"That looks like a bomb," she said.

Here is what Ahmed's school now has to say about what happened: "At no point did we think it was actually an explosive device. It looked suspicious and was presented in a way that the teacher took the appropriate actions, and we support the teacher."

Although the Irving police dropped the charges against Ahmed, stating that "the student apparently did not intend to cause alarm bringing the device to school," Ahmed was suspended for three days.

The Justice Department is now investigating the incident. Rather than release the letter of inquiry from the agency, which states the reason for the investigation to the public, the district is suing the Texas attorney general's office.

"Irving ISD has argued that the information is confidential because it reasonably anticipates litigation regarding this matter," the district's spokeswoman said.

Ahmed's father is expected to file suit against the school district this week. In November, the family asked for formal apologies — from the district, the police chief and the mayor — and \$15 million in damages for alleged violations of federal and state law, arguing that the teenager's arrest violated his civil rights. Citing a potential lawsuit, city officials declined to comment on Ahmed's arrest.

Ahmed's parents are adamant that their children have been discriminated against even before Ahmed was arrested.

When their daughter Eyman was in eighth grade, another student reported that Eyman said she wanted to blow up the school. Eyman says she never said anything like that, but she was suspended for three days anyway.

In middle school, Ahmed was suspended multiple times for getting in fights. His tutors remember the conflicts stemming from Ahmed's small size; Ahmed and his family claim he was only defending himself against students who picked on him because of his religion and race.

"Our employees work with students from different cultural backgrounds," the district said in response to these claims. "Our policies and training stress making sure that all students enrolled at Irving ISD feel respected and safe."

Ahmed's face is expressionless as he stares at his father's phone. Mohamed is showing him another news video he found online. They're at a gas station on their way home from Dallas, where they spent the afternoon of Ahmed's second day home in the office of their lawyer.

"Since he was arrested, he has been in high demand and he's got some events with tech companies lined up," the news announcer says. "Sounds like life isn't so bad for Ahmed."

Later, they'll stop at a sculpture of galloping horses where Ahmed used to play as a child. Tourists will recognize him from a distance, yelling "Clockmed! Clockmed!"

"Next year," the video says, "he'll be 15, and planning to sue the Irving school district and the city, all over a clock that gave him 15 minutes of fame."

The screen goes black.

"Fifteen minutes of fame?" Mohamed repeats.

"That's all you heard?" Ahmed retorts.

"Maybe 15 million, that's what I'm looking for."

Ahmed looks at his father.

"I'm just joking with you," Mohamed says.

"Everyone gets 15 minutes of fame who gets covered," Ahmed says. "But it's always your choice to extend it."

"You know, I am a Sufi. I don't worry about the money," Mohamed replies.

"I'm not worried about the money," Ahmed says.

"But it will help, yeah?"

"Yeah," Ahmed says, "Money will help you, temporarily."

His dad's phone rings, and Ahmed gets back on Twitter, thumbing through the messages in his notifications.

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The day's most important stories.

should have never let those terrorists back in the US.

That Little Bastard Needs to Leave American Soil.

Go back!

There's one with a picture of a plastic bag.

since you left there's a new invention for breathing under water put this on your head & jump in

Jessica Contrera is a staff writer at the Washington Post. [Follow @mjcontrera](#)

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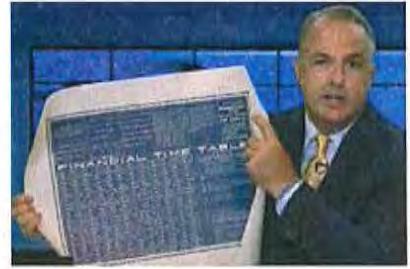
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EXHIBIT “A-10”

Father of Muslim teen arrested for clock previously battled Fla. Koran burner, has run for president of Sudan twice

BY NINA GOLGOWSKI

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS Updated: Wednesday, September 16, 2015, 9:46 PM



Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed is seen next to his 14-year-old son, Ahmed Mohamed, who was arrested on Monday for bringing a homemade clock to his Texas high school. (BRANDON WADE/AP)

The apple doesn't fall far from the tree.

The father of the Muslim teenager, who was arrested for bringing a homemade clock to school, is a Sudanese immigrant who went from selling New York City hot dogs to twice running for president in his native country.

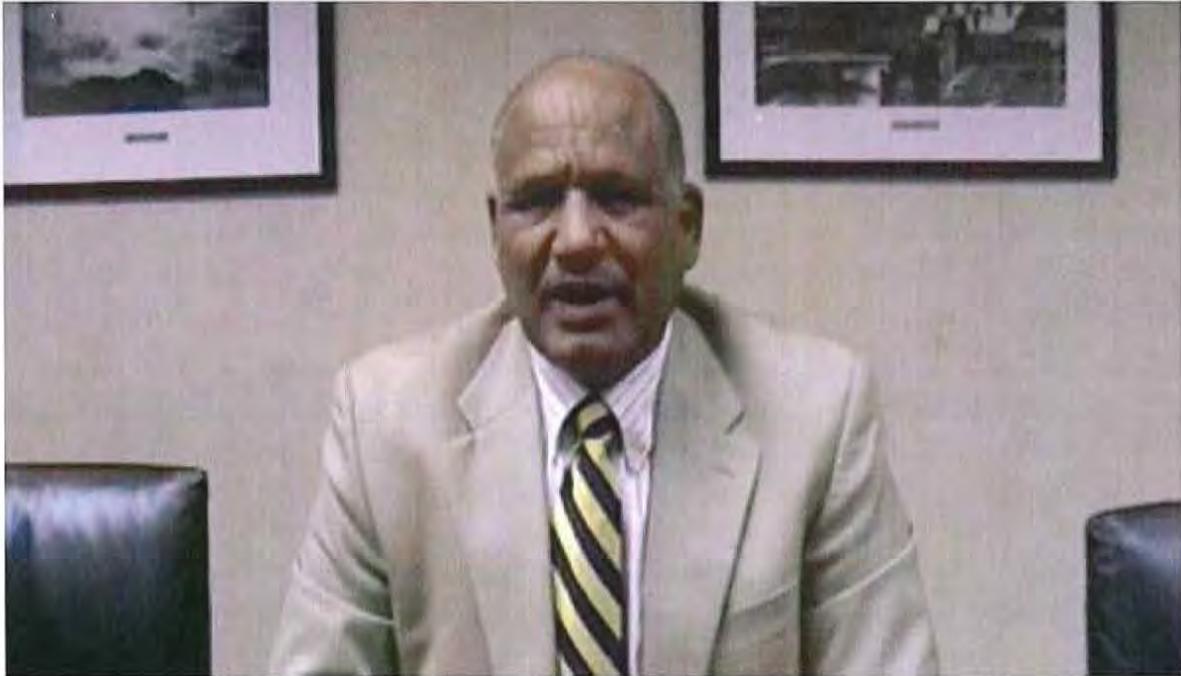
Mohamed ElHassan, who stood beside his son Ahmed Mohamed Wednesday and expressed how "proud" he is of him, grew up in an African village before moving to the U.S. to achieve the American dream, the *North Dallas Gazette* reported.

"Once I realized my dream was bigger than what Sudan had to offer I immigrated to America in the mid-1980s," the father of seven told the paper in February.

Though college educated, the hardworking dad said his philosophy degree from Cairo University wasn't accepted in the states, so he had to start from the ground up — first hitting the streets of New York as a vendor before moving his family to Dallas and working as a taxi driver, all while taking classes at a community college.

ElHassan went on to create his own taxi company which he later sold to Yellow Cab, he said.





The Sudanese immigrant has gone from selling New York City hot dogs to owning his own taxi company and twice running for president in Sudan. (MOHAMEDFORPRESIDENT/VIA YOUTUBE)

One of the earliest instances of the standout citizen making national news was in 2011, when he sensationally stood up to an anti-Islamic pastor and defended the Koran as its defense attorney. That mock trial at a Florida church ended with the book's burning, to ElHassan's claimed shock.

In an interview with the *Washington Post* at the time, the devoted Muslim said he'd take on Rev. Terry Jones' challenge because the holy book teaches that Muslims should engage in peaceful dialogue with Christians.

He also admitted that he wanted to take his family to nearby Disney World and "kill two birds with one stone."

That wasn't his only instance of fame back then.

In 2010, and again this year, the busy dad was nominated and ran for president of his native North African country from his home in Texas.

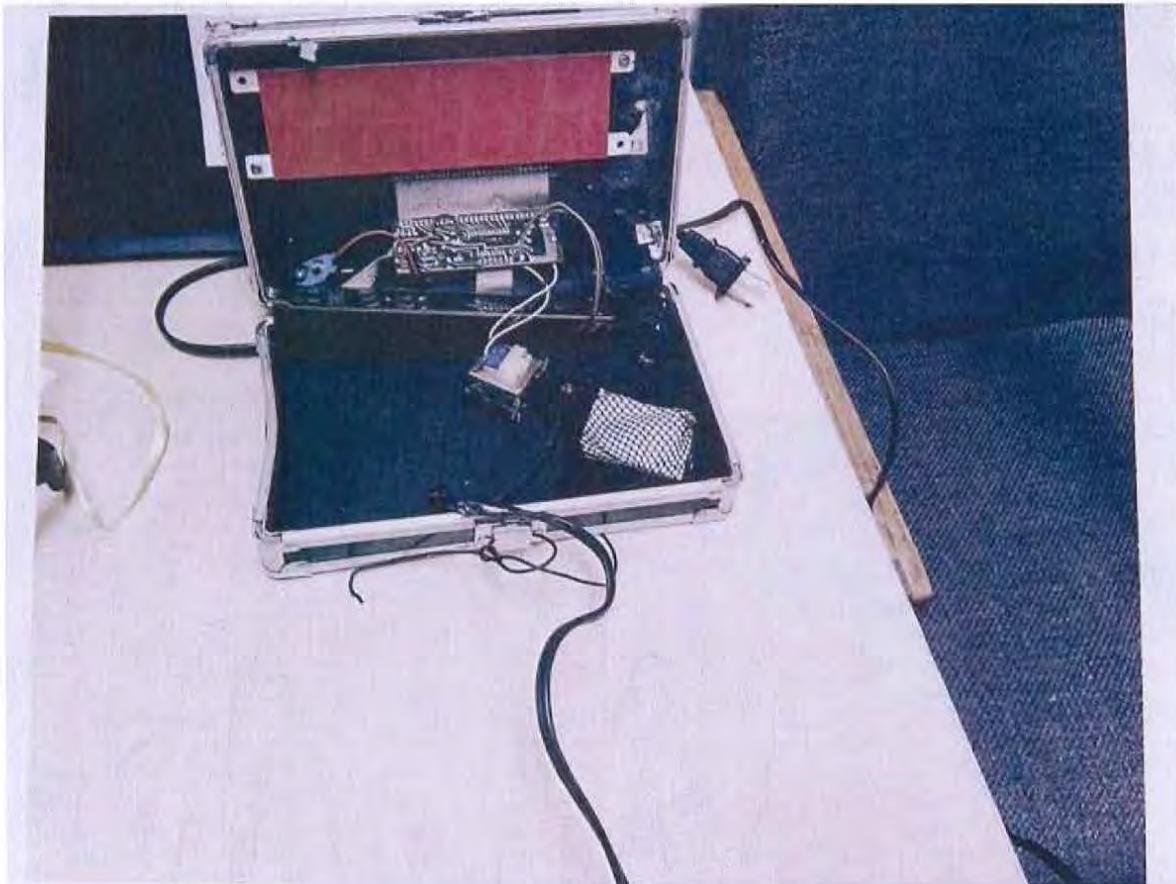
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"Mr. ElHassan is no stranger to adversity and experienced hardship firsthand, and during his lifetime has cultivated a deep sense of humanitarianism, tolerance and patience," his [latest campaign's website](#) read.

He further credited a Sufi spiritual leader and mentor in Africa for inspiring him with "wisdom and leadership."

Today, ElHassan serves as a mentor at Jack E. Singley Academy High School in Irving and also as the vice president of the National Reform Party in Sudan, the Gazette reported. "We have been here in this house for more than 30 years. We love it. We love all the people here," he said Wednesday while standing beside his family outside their Irving, Texas home.

Among his many accomplishments, one of his proudest, he said, is having raised his 14-year-old son.



This is the digital clock which was mistaken as a bomb earlier this week. (AP)

"I'm proud of him," he said before crediting him as "a very smart, brilliant boy."

"He fixed my car, my electricity, my phone, my TV, his go-cart, my computer. I swear it's the truth," he gushed.

Despite his upset with local police and school administrators' handling of his son, he continued to speak highly of his country.

"I'm grateful to the United States of America," he said. "What's happening is touching the heart of everyone who has children, and that is America."

ElHassan recognized that all people make mistakes but said that the treatment that his son experienced, "in front of his friends and his teacher inside of his school — that is not America. That is not us. That is not like us."

ON A MOBILE DEVICE? WATCH THE VIDEO HERE.

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EXHIBIT “A-11”

POLITICS

Ahmed Mohamed Visits The White House, Meets Obama

The visit came one month after he was arrested for bringing a homemade clock to school.

10/19/2015 07:42 pm ET | Updated Oct 19, 2015



Mollie Reilly  
Deputy Politics Editor, The Huffington Post



CHIP SOMODEVILLA VIA GETTY IMAGES

Ahmed Mohamed and President Barack Obama met during White House Astronomy Night.

Ahmed Mohamed, the Muslim teenager who was [arrested](#) and sent to juvenile detention last month after bringing a [homemade clock](#) to his high school, visited the White House Monday evening following a personal invitation from President Barack Obama.

Ahmed, 14, attended the White House's [Astronomy Night](#), along with other

has hosted the event, which includes stargazing on the White House's South Lawn.

Obama and Ahmed met and chatted briefly during the event.

"We have to watch for and cultivate and encourage those glimmers of curiosity and possibility, not suppress them, not squelch them," Obama said at the event. "Not only are the young people's futures at stake, but our own is at stake."

Ahmed also took a selfie with former astronaut John Grunsfeld:



CHIP SOMDEVILLA VIA GETTY IMAGES

Ahmed Mohamed poses with former astronaut and NASA Associate Administrator for the Science Mission Directorate John Grunsfeld.

According to the Associated Press, Ahmed toured the National Institute of Standards and Technology's labs before heading to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Ahmed was arrested at MacArthur High School in Irving, Texas, on Sep. 14 after bringing his clock to school, which he said he did in hopes of impressing some of his teachers. However, the first teacher he showed the homemade clock to told him not to show it to any others. Later, he was pulled out of class, asked if he had intended "to make a bomb" and handcuffed by police.



Anil Dash
@anildash

Follow

I expect they will have more to say tomorrow, but Ahmed's sister asked me to share this photo. A NASA shirt!

12:30 AM - 16 Sep 2015

6,872 4,304

After his arrest made national news, Obama invited Ahmed — and his clock — to visit the White House.



President Obama
@POTUS

Follow

Cool clock, Ahmed. Want to bring it to the White House? We should inspire more kids like you to like science. It's what makes America great.

11:58 AM - 16 Sep 2015

410,349 442,994

Ahmed, who decided withdraw from his high school, has kept busy in the month since his arrest, attending a Google Science Fair, meeting Sudanese President Omar al Bashir and traveling to Mecca with his family.

[Read more on what he's been up to here.](#)

EXHIBIT “A-12”

Father of Texas 'clock boy' Ahmed Mohamed sues Glenn Beck, Fox for defamation

USA TODAY NETWORK Josh Hafner, USA TODAY 10:09 p.m. EDT September 26, 2016



(Photo: AP)

The father of the Muslim teen arrested last year after bringing a homemade clock to school claims in a new lawsuit that Glenn Beck and Fox News, among others, made false and damaging statements about his son.

Mohamed Mohamed filed the defamation suit on behalf of himself and his son, Ahmed Mohamed, late last week, [NBCDFW reported \(http://www.nbcdfw.com/news/local/Defamation-Lawsuit-Filed-for-Clock-Teen-Ahmed-Mohamed-394880181.html\)](http://www.nbcdfw.com/news/local/Defamation-Lawsuit-Filed-for-Clock-Teen-Ahmed-Mohamed-394880181.html).

Last September, Irving, Texas, police charged then 14-year-old Ahmed Mohamed with having a "hoax bomb" after the student brought a homemade digital clock to school. The school suspended Mohamed for three days, though police eventually dropped the charge.

Now the teen's father has alleged that several media outlets, including Beck and his conservative television network, TheBlaze, made false statements about his son in coverage in the event's aftermath.

"The Mohamed family are peaceful Muslims who have been falsely accused of being terrorists and engaging in a jihad," the suit stated, [according to the Dallas Morning News \(http://www.dallasnews.com/news/news/2016/09/26/father-clock-boy-ahmed-mohamed-sues-glenn-beck-foxtheblaze\)](http://www.dallasnews.com/news/news/2016/09/26/father-clock-boy-ahmed-mohamed-sues-glenn-beck-foxtheblaze).

"The correction must also be made that the arrest and suspension of Ahmed Mohamed was not a stunt and it was not pre-planned, staged or engineered by anyone, including [his father]."

The suit's defendants also include commentators Jim Hanson and Ben Ferguson, journalist Ben Shapiro and Irving Mayor Beth Van Duyne, NBCDFW reported. The Center for Security Policy, a think tank where Hanson works, is also named.

The lawsuit claims Van Duyne participated in on-air discussions and described Mohamed as uncooperative, the *Morning News* reported, making statements that "were obviously hurtful to the Mohamed family."

Shapiro and Ferguson made similar statements on FOX channels, the suit also claims.

"The public has been misled into believing that the Mohameds are terrorists who plotted to have the Irving police wrongfully arrest a teenage boy for bringing an alarm clock to school," the lawsuit says, per the *Morning News*.

"These broadcasts irresponsibly fan the flames of fear and anger toward Muslims and immigrants."

Mohamed's family previously sought \$15 million in damages from the city of Irving and the Irving School District in relation to the event.



USA TODAY

[Facebook, Google roll out welcome mat to Ahmed Mohamed](http://www.usatoday.com/story/tech/2015/09/16/mark-zuckerberg-facebook-google-box-aaron-levie-ahmed-mohamed-clock/32510935/)

[\(http://www.usatoday.com/story/tech/2015/09/16/mark-zuckerberg-facebook-google-box-aaron-levie-ahmed-mohamed-clock/32510935/\)](http://www.usatoday.com/story/tech/2015/09/16/mark-zuckerberg-facebook-google-box-aaron-levie-ahmed-mohamed-clock/32510935/)

Read or Share this story: <http://usat.ly/2dxRuYf>



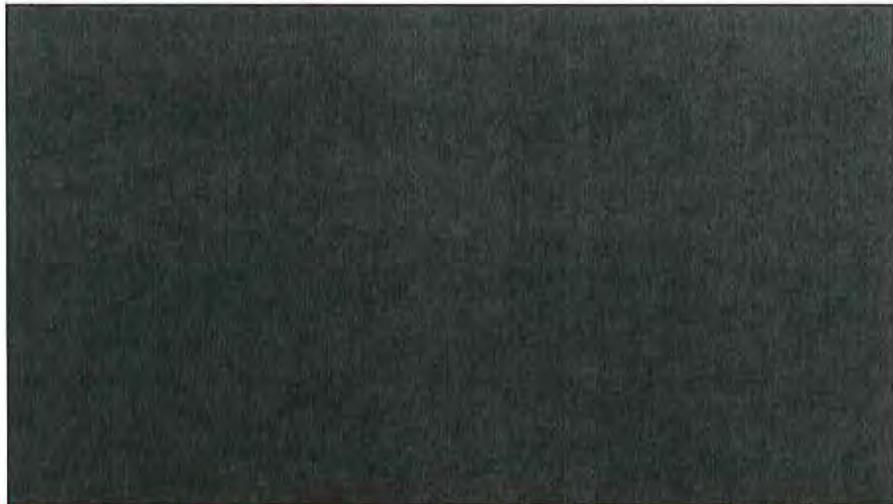
EXHIBIT “A-13”



Teen clockmaker gets offers from Twitter and MIT - and a T-shirt from space

by Ahiza Garcia @ahiza_garcia

September 17, 2015: 12:00 PM ET



Muslim student brings clock to school, gets arrested

The offers keep rolling in for Ahmed Mohamed.

After the 14-year-old boy was arrested for bringing a homemade digital clock to his high school, he was soon offered a long list of unique opportunities from an invitation to tour MIT to a Space Camp scholarship.

Twitter: The hashtag "#IStandWithAhmed" took off and among the many offers the Muslim teen received was an internship from Twitter. The company said its employees also love building things.

Foursquare: Foursquare said it stood with Mohamed "because we love to make things too." The company reminded him to "never stop inventing the future."



FoursquareCityGuide Foursquare Follow #IStandWithAhmed because we love to make things too. Never

stop inventing the future.

4:23 PM - 16 Sep 2015

139 179

Reddit: Alexis Ohanian, one of the co-founders of Reddit, asked how to get in touch with Mohamed because the site wanted to introduce him to some of their "friends in science."



But the offers didn't end with social networking sites.

Autodesk: Carl Bass, the CEO of the software company Autodesk, invited Ahmed to "come hang out" at the company so they could "make something new together."



123D Circuits: Ahmed was also offered a free circuit kit from 123D Circuits so he could continue to build things.



MIT: Mohamed, who **aspires to be an engineer**, built the alarm clock out of a pencil case. In middle school he was a member of the robotics club and won awards for his inventions.

Mohamed said his dream was to attend MIT. During an appearance Wednesday on **MSNBC**, he was surprised by a special guest from the university.

Astrophysicist Chanda Prescod-Weinstein invited him to tour the school and said that he was her "ideal student" because he was "a creative, independent thinker."

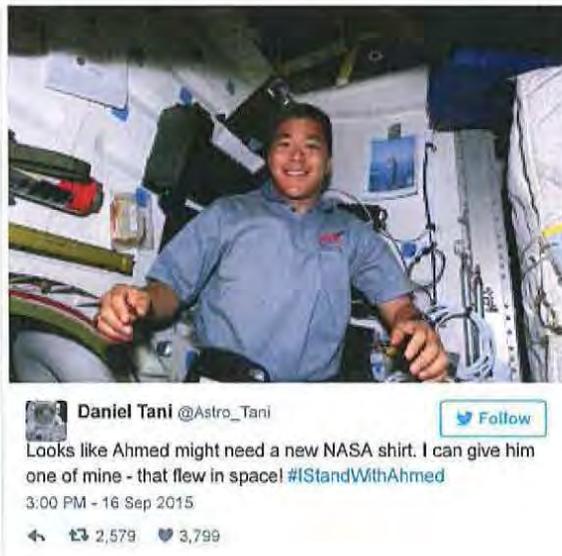
"You are the kind of student that we want at places like MIT and Harvard," Prescod-Weinstein said.

Prescod-Weinstein also extended a tour invitation from her former advisers at the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics and prompted an offer from an [astrophysicist at UT Austin](#).

On Thursday, MIT's president, L. Rafael Reif, tweeted that the university was "delighted" that Mohamed was interested in STEM and MIT.



NASA: Former NASA astronaut Daniel Tani offered Mohamed a NASA shirt that was worn in space.



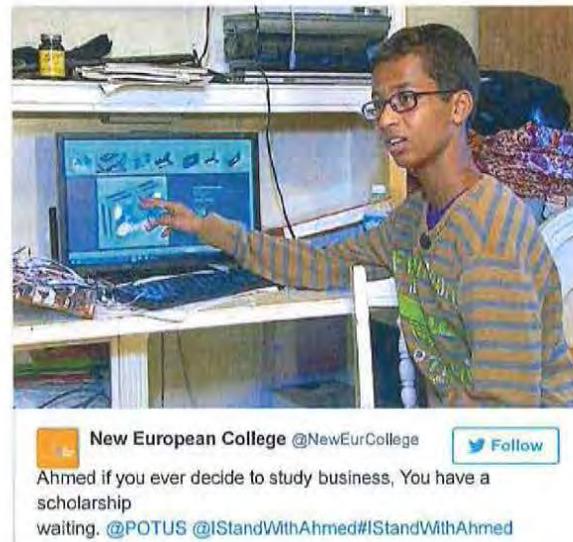
And Homer Hickam, a former NASA engineer and the inspiration for the movie "October Sky," was part of a group that offered Ahmed a scholarship to [Space Camp USA](#).



NASA itself said it supported STEM and "inspiring kids like Ahmed to pursue their dreams."



Business school: Ahmed even got a scholarship offer from the international business school, the New European College.



8:14 AM - 17 Sep 2015

🔗 4 ❤️ 5

Music career: And R&B artist Ne-Yo tweeted that Mohamed should let him know if he had aspirations of getting into the music industry.

 **NE-YO** [NeYoCompound](#)

[Follow](#)

Hey @IstandwithAhmed, if you ever want to get into the world of music, let me know. #theworldisyours #IStandWithAhmed

8:58 PM - 16 Sep 2015

🔗 4,034 ❤️ 4,933

EXHIBIT “A-14”



President Obama
@POTUS

Follow

Cool clock, Ahmed. Want to bring it to the White House? We should inspire more kids like you to like science. It's what makes America great.

RETWEETS 409,460
LIKES 441,971



9:58 AM - 16 Sep 2015

410K 440K



Justin Haskell @ChefJustinH · 16 Sep 2015
[@DeadLovell](#) [@POTUS](#) [@thebigkhalifa](#) Please STFU with your racist bullshit

14 281

[View other replies](#)

Tweet unavailable



Justin Haskell @ChefJustinH · 16 Sep 2015
[@DeadLovell](#) [@POTUS](#) What truth? That you're a racist dick? Not mad at all, I'm glad people are showing their true selves online

17 252

[View other replies](#)

Tweet unavailable



Justin Haskell @ChefJustinH · 16 Sep 2015
[@DeadLovell](#) [@POTUS](#) Yeah you are a special kind of racist. Hiding behind social media so nobody can see who you are and you can be all brave

28 286

[View other replies](#)



Sean Beck @seanmckaybeck · 16 Sep 2015

EXHIBIT “A-15”



Mark Zuckerberg
September 16, 2015 · Palo Alto, CA ·

Follow

You've probably seen the story about Ahmed, the 14 year old student in Texas who built a clock and was arrested when he took it to school.

Having the skill and ambition to build something cool should lead to applause, not arrest. The future belongs to people like Ahmed.

Ahmed, if you ever want to come by Facebook, I'd love to meet you. Keep building.

Like Comment Share

1.3M

Top Comments

181,647 shares

31K Comments



Write a comment...



Usman Kazmi There you go Ahmed Facebook Scholarship right here and now

Like · Reply · 28,082 · August 8 at 5:33pm · Edited

251 Replies



Marwen Belhaj #ahmed come to MBC2 if you want... I wanna meet you too

Like · Reply · 435 · September 16, 2015 at 1:36pm

14 Replies



Ahmed Rehab Thanks Mark! Care to contribute to the (family approved) crowdfunding page for a scholarship fund for Ahmed? <https://www.launchgood.com/project/standwithahmed#>



#IStandWithAhmed | LaunchGood
A scholarship fund to support Ahmed and other students like him in STEM fields
LAUNCHGOOD.COM

Like · Reply · 241 · September 16, 2015 at 1:42pm

42 Replies



Rehan Allahwala WOW, Lucky boy

Like · Reply · 232 · September 16, 2015 at 12:58pm

21 Replies



Elaine Atkinson Wittmeyer Mark....BRING him to Facebook!!! not come by sometime....

Like · Reply · 154 · September 16, 2015 at 12:48pm

14 Replies



Muhammad Tahir Valli Hello Mark Zuckerberg!

My name is Muhammad T. Valli and I am running for president of the CUNY Queens College A.C.M club. I took the initiative to re-instantiate the club because it last existed in 2007 and because of that, there was no way to get ... See More

Like · Reply · 123 · September 25, 2015 at 11:14am · Edited

8 Replies



James Quinlan reach out to him Mark Zuckerberg make it happen

Like · Reply · 114 · September 16, 2015 at 12:37pm

2 Replies



Navas Jane സൂപ്പർ ബർഗെ അണക്ക് സുഖമല്ലേ? ട്വബ്കൾ അൻ്റെ ആളാണെന്നു പറഞ്ഞു നടക്കാൻ തുടങ്ങിയീട്ട് കുറെ കാലമായി.

Like · Reply · 111 · September 16, 2015 at 2:50pm

22 Replies



Mohamed Shafeeque Ahmed you are one of the luckiest student.... got an open offer from Mark Zuckerberg to Facebook. Zuck you always rocks... a true LEADER.... proud on you

Like · Reply · 85 · September 16, 2015 at 1:01pm · Edited

6 Replies



Younus Khan മക്കയിൽ വീശാസികൾ മരിച്ചപ്പോൾ സന്തോഷിച്ച യുക്തിവാദികളുടേയോ ഇന്ത്യൻ സങ്കീകളുടേയോ നിലവാരമല്ല സൂപ്പർ ബർഗിനുള്ളത്. ഇന്നിയെങ്കിലും സൂപ്പർ ബർഗിനെ യുക്തിവാദി ആക്കി തനിക്കാക്കുന്നത് നിർത്തുക.

Like · Reply · 96 · September 16, 2015 at 4:00pm

5 Replies

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Facebook © 2016

5 Replies



Mahmoud Aamir Dear mark , I built a toy car but no one arrest me till now , can i come to facebook ?

Like · Reply · 88 · September 16, 2015 at 2:52pm · Edited

13 Replies



Johannes O'Mayor Mark did you took an espa to make Facebook? You can move your company in Greeca where we have low taxes and stable business environment

Like · Reply · 88 · September 16, 2015 at 2:48pm

18 Replies



Stephanie Lang Beckmeyer Mark, I think you could search the couch cushions to come up with plane fare to BRING Ahmed to Facebook, don't you? What do you say? If you think the future belongs to people like Ahmed, then put your money where your mouth is.

Like · Reply · 70 · September 16, 2015 at 2:23pm

12 Replies



Navas Jane അതൊക്കെ പോട്ടെ, എവിടെ പഠിയാ അങ്ങനെയെടുക്കണം?

Like · Reply · 67 · September 16, 2015 at 2:54pm

5 Replies



Daron Aucoin Mark Zuckerberg I will paraphrase you from an interview back in 2010. Some people can't "wrap their heads around the idea that someone might build something because they like building things." -Mark Zuckerberg <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1qfcWSZAHVM...>



From Business Insider:
Zuckerberg On The Social...

YOUTUBE.COM

Like · Reply · 57 · September 16, 2015 at 1:09pm

2 Replies



Mohammed El-Hussiny lucky Ahmed 😊 I wanna come to facebook too

Like · Reply · 61 · September 16, 2015 at 12:39pm

8 Replies



Imran Mahmood appreciate your encouragement Mark Zuckerberg for people like Ahmed

Like · Reply · 51 · September 16, 2015 at 12:42pm · Edited

4 Replies



Rym Harfouchi Probably cause his name is Ahmed? !

Like · Reply · 48 · September 16, 2015 at 12:48pm

13 Replies



Paola Camacho Wow its amazing that you help creative people like Ahmed!! 😊 Can i come to facebook?

Like · Reply · 56 · September 16, 2015 at 12:40pm

17 Replies



Lee Benny I built a clock too mark!

Like · Reply · 57 · September 16, 2015 at 12:48pm

15 Replies



Joe Tomasello Mark for president in the future

Like · Reply · 64 · September 16, 2015 at 12:39pm

2 Replies



Praenjit Ghosh All this probably happened because his name was Ahmed.. But it's good of you Mark that you are addressing this issue of fear based discrimination and inspiring youngsters to become people with better hopes and dreams for the society..

Like · Reply · 61 · September 16, 2015 at 1:28pm · Edited

8 Replies



Ana Marta Bird-Picó Good for you Mark! Its people like you that will rescue us from the fires of prejudice....

Like · Reply · 37 · September 16, 2015 at 12:39pm

4 Replies



Bob C Ibeneme Awesomeness ! You never know how greatness can come. Ahmed your door to success is wide open.



Mona Sayed Galal Humanity is you Mark Mark Zuckerberg

Like · Reply · 25 · September 16, 2015 at 12:53pm

4 Replies



Azz Fahmi Mark, if he does visit FB, can you please post pics. Would love to see them.

Like · Reply · 45 · September 16, 2015 at 12:55pm



Betty Bler great job, Ahmed. Too bad the school isn't as smart as you

Like · Reply · 25 · September 16, 2015 at 1:10pm



Usharani Narayana why should he come to Facebook to meet Zuckerberg? No this boy has his creative mind. Ahmed, please continue your innovation and create a niche for yourself...

Like · Reply · 1 · September 17, 2015 at 5:17am



Karma Sundar Karmacharya Instead of Ahmed if his name was Mark, school would reward to him.....

Like · Reply · 52 · September 16, 2015 at 1:21pm · Edited

3 Replies



हरिश् चंद्र The reason to get arrested is his name "Ahmed"...

If it was "Adam", Nobody would even know about it..

Like · Reply · September 17, 2015 at 1:40pm



Sonia Ortiz Congratulation to Ahmed and thank u Mark for inviting Ahmed to Facebook !

Like · Reply · 11 · September 16, 2015 at 2:41pm



Amir Gdayem can i come to facebook ?

Like · Reply · 29 · September 16, 2015 at 12:37pm



Monjur Alom Ahmed was arrested because his name was Ahmed and Ahmed is a muslim.

Like · Reply · 19 · September 16, 2015 at 1:32pm

1 Reply



Hermione Way Zuck for President

Like · Reply · 27 · September 16, 2015 at 8:50pm

5 Replies



Uzma Ahmed Ahmed whenever you go please msg me I wanna go n meet mark zuckerberg too 🙌🙌

Like · Reply · 7 · September 16, 2015 at 6:23pm



Sahota Gur Preet Ahmed build a clock and now facebook will build ahmed

Like · Reply · 18 · September 16, 2015 at 1:17pm



Alana V Brown really awesome response, Mark

Like · Reply · 16 · September 16, 2015 at 4:56pm



Syed Waqas Munir 14 year old "Muslim" student reaction to being arrested for bringing a clock into school. I mean why you arrest him, tell him not to bring that clock in the school next time, Problem solve.

Like · Reply · 16 · September 16, 2015 at 12:40pm

1 Reply



Yofanda Figueroa Ahmed, got the call 📞 now run 🏃 to California the land of opportunity, and meet MARK.

Like · Reply · 28 · September 16, 2015 at 1:25pm

4 Replies



Abdullahi Ali Big respect to Ahmed and Mark zuckerberg future belongs to people like you.

Like · Reply · 15 · September 16, 2015 at 1:54pm

1 Reply



Jennifer Crisantez Thanks Mark zuckerberg! This is terrible what they did to him! Glad you stepped up!! Ahmed keep dreaming and keep building!! You are our future!

Like · Reply · 20 · September 16, 2015 at 12:45pm

1 Reply



Tarin Khan They should be grown up to recognize peoples by their work, not by their name or religion. Thank you Mark Zuckerberg for your support to Ahmed and Ahmed, we're all with you boy. Keep it up

Like · Reply · 21 · September 16, 2015 at 1:30pm

1 Reply



Anwar Dafa-Aifa It's important to mention that millions of kids are left behind and stripped from their innovation capacity because of the U.S. Sanctions on #Sudan and other embargoed countries.

They've become what I call "internet prisoners".

I hope you take a look at the struggle of those millions. Our world is going to be much better...

Like · Reply · 18 · September 17, 2015 at 2:00am

 not arrested I was just kicked by my teacher out of class so future also belongs to me.....
Like · Reply · 20 · September 16, 2015 at 12:44pm

 Anwar Dafa-Alla Thanks Mark Zuckerberg
Like · Reply · 27 · September 16, 2015 at 4:16pm

 Mohammed Shafi Aboobacker Dear Mark...You made your "Mark" here...Only people like you can make this world a better place...You made it possible for billions of human beings to keep their dear and near one close to their heart....People like me follow you to be like you....to be inspired by "You"....keep doing the best you can for making this world a better place filled with Love...!!
Like · Reply · 21 · September 16, 2015 at 1:01pm

 Ahmed Melouk My name is Ahmed can I come too ? XD
Like · Reply · 15 · September 16, 2015 at 2:14pm
4 Replies

 Lance Schamberg The faculty at Ahmed's school directly involved in getting him arrested should be fired immediately
Like · Reply · 14 · September 16, 2015 at 2:21pm
11 Replies

 Parry Sidhu wow Mark you are a kind heart person I salute to you keep supportin ahmed and I also want to work in facebook
Like · Reply · 14 · September 16, 2015 at 12:56pm

[View more comments](#)

50 of 31,807

EXHIBIT “A-16”

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FELLOW, SINCE 1995

November 23, 2015

Via email: CAO@cityofirving.com

Via facsimile (972) 721-2750

Charles R. Anderson
City Attorney – Irving, Texas
Irving City Hall
825 Irving Blvd.
Irving, Texas 75060

Re: Notice of Claims and Demand regarding the arrest, detention, and public mistreatment of Ahmed Mohamed by Mayor Beth Van Duyne, Chief of Police Larry Boyd, and numerous other City of Irving officials

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Our firm has been retained by Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed to represent his son, Ahmed Mohamed. As you know, until a short time ago, Ahmed was a student at MacArthur High School in the Irving ISD and a resident of the City of Irving. For personal security reasons, Ahmed and family are in Doha, Qatar. However, when they feel safe again, all of them would like to come home, to Irving, Texas.

The primary purpose of this letter is to provide the City of Irving with formal notice regarding the events of September 14, 2015, involving Ahmed, in which several Irving Police personnel, acting league with numerous others, deliberately disregarded and violated Ahmed's rights under 42 U.S.C. §1983, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Texas Juvenile Justice Code, Irving ISD's policies and procedures, and Texas tort law.

Our firm was only retained by this family a short time ago. Please do not take the list of rights violations in this letter as exhaustive of the possible causes of action which may be relevant on these facts. Please accept this notice as an expression of our intent to pursue all litigation necessary to achieve a full vindication of all of Ahmed's and his family's rights.

Statutory Notices

Chapter 101 of the Texas Civil Practice & Remedies Code ("CPRC") – the Tort Claims Act – requires that certain notices issue in relation to some of these claims. Our primary position

on this matter is that the City of Irving has actual notice of Ahmed's injuries, and that under CPRC §101.101(c), additional, formal notice is unnecessary. City of Irving internal emails demonstrate that the Irving ISD has actual notice of the claims that Ahmed has been damaged by the events at issue. Furthermore, nothing in this letter should be construed as an election of remedies under the Tort Claims Act.

In an abundance of caution, however, please accept this as Notice under CPRC §101.101(a) and Irving City Charter ART. III §8 of the injuries and damages sustained by Ahmed Mohamed as a result of the violations of his rights by Irving ISD and its employees, acting in concert and participation with the City of Irving and its employees. Further, these notice requirements relate only to Irving ISD as a "governmental unit." No such notice is required with respect to the individuals involved, who also will be defendants if resolution is not reached.

The Incident

Ahmed Mohamed is a fourteen year-old American citizen of Sudanese origin – just like his parents. It is well-known by Ahmed's fellow students and his teachers that he is an electronics enthusiast. When he was at Sam Houston Middle School, Ahmed participated quite successfully in a robotics team competition. In his room at his Irving home, Ahmed has tons of gadgets and the soldering and assembly tools necessary to work with them.

As a freshman who was new to MacArthur High School, Ahmed was looking for a way to demonstrate his technical abilities to some of his new teachers. The Friday before the incident, he told some of his teachers – including both Mr. Kelton Lemons (whom Ahmed calls his "engineering teacher") and Ms. Erin West (his English teacher) – that he was going to build something over the weekend to show them and bring it for them to see on Monday. This very much comports with Ahmed's personality. He loves what we used to call "show and tell" – bringing a unique or interesting item to school and showing it to his friends and teachers as a conversation piece.

Sunday night, Ahmed used some spare parts and scrap pieces he had around the house to assemble a digital clock. He routed the circuitry to run through a motherboard and enclosed his creative contraption in a little locking pencil case with the dimensions of approximately 8.5 x 5.75 x 2.5 inches. These Vaultz brand lockable cases are advertised by Target, Walgreen's, CVS and other major retailers as "school supplies." They come in numerous decorative colors and themes. Some are pink with big hearts on the front of them; some are "tie dye" pattern with a peace sign. Ahmed's had a tiger hologram on the front of it.

September 14, 2015

On Monday, September 14, 2015, Ahmed took the clock to school. Early in the school day, Ahmed showed the clock to Mr. Lemons. When Mr. Lemons saw the clock, he told Ahmed, "That's really nice," but Mr. Lemons also advised Ahmed to keep the clock in his backpack for the remainder of the school day. During Ahmed's English class in the late morning, the alarm clock accidentally sounded when Ahmed plugged it in to show it to a friend.

Ms. West noticed the alarm, but did not identify where it came from. Ahmed turned the alarm off without incident.

As Ahmed was leaving at the end of class – after most of the other students were already gone – Ahmed reminded Ms. West that he said he was going to bring her something and asked her if she wanted to see the clock he had built. Ms. West responded that she did want to see it. When Ms. West saw the clock, she told Ahmed it looked like a bomb, immediately confiscated the clock and reported Ahmed to the school principal's office. During the exchange with Ms. West, Ahmed started what would become his refrain for the day: "It's an alarm clock. It's only an alarm clock." The basis for Ms. West's actions is unclear. She certainly did not treat the clock as though it were dangerous. Ms. West initially placed the clock on her desk.

Right around 2:00 p.m., during Ahmed's AVID class, Principal Daniel Cummings and an Irving police officer appeared and escorted Ahmed out of his class. They took Ahmed into another room where four more Irving police officers and Assistant Principal Patrick Smith were awaiting Ahmed's arrival. Immediately upon Ahmed entering the interrogation room, Irving Police Officer Charles Taylor commented, "Yep. That's who I thought it was." Ahmed found this to be quite unnerving because he had never had any prior contact with Officer Taylor.

The on-campus detention and 7-on-1 interrogation went on for approximately one hour and 25 minutes. Ahmed asked nearly immediately if he could contact his parents – which as you know, is his right under the Texas Juvenile Justice Code. His request was refused: "No. You're being interrogated, so you cannot talk to your parents." No one involved treated the clock as a potential explosive or incendiary device. The City of Irving's documents support that the on-campus detention and interrogation lasted so long because the police were walking the decision about whether to arrest Ahmed up the chain of command. They were stretching the interrogation as long as possible, so they could find someone willing to take responsibility for arresting Ahmed. The decision to arrest apparently was made by the Assistant Chief.

Throughout the on-campus detention and interrogation – which was recorded on the iPhone of the one female officer present during the interrogation – Ahmed constantly was pressured to sign a written statement admitting that he intended to bring a "hoax bomb" to school. As if the pressure of having five uniformed Irving police officers were not enough – none of whom saw fit to Mirandize Ahmed – Mr. Cummings was threatening that if Ahmed did not sign the confession, he would be expelled. That is a huge threat for a kid like Ahmed. He rated MIT's interest in having him as a student as more exciting than meeting the President of the United States.

The detention, interrogation, search of Ahmed's belongings, and the arrest all occurred despite there being no reasonable suspicion to believe that Ahmed had committed or was about to commit any crime. Through the entire ordeal, Ahmed steadfastly maintained that the only reason he brought the clock to school was to show it off to some of his teachers. City and school personnel commented later to the press that Ahmed was not forthcoming during the inquisition. It seems not to have dawned on any of them that he was scared to death, and that despite having never been read his rights, he in fact had a right not to talk.

No one who saw Ahmed's clock that day thought it was a bomb. Ahmed did nothing to support the inference that he intended to cause alarm, or any reaction at all (other than his teachers' approval), in anyone. Irving police quickly determined that the clock was not dangerous. It appears that the police kept escalating the situation because they were frustrated that they failed to coerce Ahmed into signing a false confession. With no evidence whatsoever, Irving Police arrested Ahmed anyway. He was not Mirandized at this point either. After he was senselessly arm barred, four officers escorted Ahmed out of school in handcuffs. Police Chief Larry Boyd later claimed that Ahmed was handcuffed, "for his safety and for the safety of the officers." One must ask, whose safety was the arm bar for? Ahmed remembers the look of bewilderment on the face of his school counselor, who Ahmed said "knows I'm a good boy."

Irving Police took him to a detention center where he was fingerprinted, photographed, and illegally questioned – again – without his parents present. In violation of the Texas Juvenile Justice Code, Police officials left Ahmed alone while he was in custody. When Police finally contacted Ahmed's father, Mr. Mohamed was at the police station within moments. The Irving Police were openly hostile to Ahmed's family when they arrived at the station.

Understandably, Mr. Mohamed was furious at the treatment of his son – and at the rancid, openly discriminatory intent that motivated it. Irving Police did not, however, want to hear any of it from Mr. Mohamed. When he asked Lieutenant John Mitchell to speak to his boss, Lt. Mitchell responded brusquely, and inaccurately, that he was the boss. When Mr. Mohamed started talking about the enormous power Mitchell had and how he had abused that power against a young boy, Mitchell wanted to hear nothing of it. Instead, Lt. Mitchell told Mr. Mohamed to take his son and leave, or they would arrest Mr. Mohamed, too. Start to finish, the Irving Police bullied Ahmed Mohamed, and when Ahmed's dad tried to voice his concerns, he got threatened, too.

United States Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis once noted that, "Sunlight is said to be the best of disinfectants." Intuitively understanding this, Ahmed's sister took a picture of Ahmed in handcuffs and tweeted it out. Before long, and to the great dismay of the Irving authorities who caused this mess, the sunlight of global scrutiny shone bright on MacArthur High School and the City of Irving. Naturally, it was not long before people remembered the notoriety Mayor Van Dwyne had gained for herself earlier this year by stoking the flames of Islamophobia.

The City Scrambles to Save Face (and Kneecap a Kid in the Media)

Knowing they could not really defend what they had done, City of Irving and Irving ISD officials chose another course: trash Ahmed. This was going to be tricky in light of Ahmed's well-recognized right to privacy in his educational information. Thus, they devised a plan to do an end run around Ahmed's privacy and achieve their purposes anyway:

- (1) Publicly pressure Ahmed's parents to release his educational information;
- (2) Claim repeatedly that the media is not providing balanced coverage or the story;

- (3) Assert that the whole thing was a misunderstanding that could have been avoided if Ahmed had not exercised – to the best of his abilities – of his 5th Amendment right to remain silent in the face of police and school interrogation;
- (4) Claim the action was justified in today’s climate, and distort the size of the clock; and
- (5) Push the false narrative that the school’s hands were tied by Texas’ “zero tolerance” law on school discipline.

Coordinating with Principal Cummings and others at Irving ISD, Irving Police Chief Larry Boyd and Mayor Beth Van Duyne launched their plan. Items one and two were handled primarily by the school district. Items three and five were shared by the city and the district, and item four was taken care of primarily by the city.

Mayor Beth Van Duyne

Mayor Beth Van Duyne went on Glenn Beck’s television show, helped with some of the set up, then sat back and watched – and apparently approved – as Beck and his other guest at the time turned Ahmed’s story into what they called “an influence operation” that was undertaken – probably by Ahmed’s father (and maybe his sister) – in furtherance of a coming “civilization jihad.” Beck later opined that this was the “Islamists” conspiracy to soften us up, so that we could later be attacked from inside. When the guest sitting less than an arm’s length from Mayor Van Duyne called the pencil box a “briefcase,” she did not say a word. She just nodded.

Mayor Van Duyne also characterized Ahmed as “passive aggressive” and “less than forthcoming” because he exercised his constitutional right to remain silent while he was being illegally detained and interrogated by the police. Combined with the “civilization jihad” backdrop established by her friend, Glenn Beck, the Mayor fed a completely false impression about Ahmed and his family.

Van Duyne’s appearance with Glenn Beck came well after Irving Police had ruled out any wrongdoing by Ahmed under the “hoax bomb” law. Chief Boyd called the whole thing a “naive mistake.” The official investigation had already concluded that Ahmed did not intend to cause any alarm or reaction with his clock. Nonetheless, during the Beck interview, Mayor Van Duyne called the clock a “hoax bomb.” By doing so, Van Duyne defamed Ahmed, because she asserted (1) that he committed a crime that had already been ruled out, and (2) she implicitly claimed that Ahmed did in fact intend to cause alarm. Without Ahmed’s intent, there could be no hoax bomb.

Finally, along with Irving ISD personnel, Van Duyne said that the reason Ahmed was suspended from school was because of Irving ISD’s “zero tolerance” policy. Mayor Van Duyne did not explain where she got Ahmed’s private educational information. Nor did she assert any justification for her choice to release it to an audience that is paranoid about the “final confrontation” between “Islamists” and “Americans.” Not only was this dangerous “baiting”

that destroyed any chance the Mohamed family ever had of being truly safe and secure in the United States, but it was also defamatory. In order for the Texas zero tolerance standard to apply, the incident must have involved (1) a weapon, (2) drugs or alcohol, or (3) threats of harm to someone. There was no weapon. There were no drugs and alcohol involved. And the only person threatened that day was Ahmed. Mayor Beth Van Duyne lied about Ahmed and his family, and she did it to an audience that is on the absolute fringe of American life. Van Duyne irreparably endangered the safety of the Ahmed family.

Police Chief Larry Boyd

Two days after the incident, Chief Boyd went before the media and called the clock a “very suspicious device.” He referred the media to a photo of the clock that the police released. The first photo released was cropped in a way that it was impossible to get a perspective on its size. It was, in fact, tiny. It was also open, and taken from an angle that obscured the tiger hologram which would have immediately identified it as pencil case. In the large segment of the media who were anxious to label Ahmed as a budding bomb builder, the pencil case became a “briefcase” or even a “suitcase.”

Chief Boyd also claimed that “we live in an age where you can’t take things like that to school.” Irving Police Department spokesman James McLellan later said that the clock “could reasonably be mistaken as a device if left in a bathroom or under a car.” This is an absurd rationalization, designed to head off or blunt what internal communications called, “the highly likely event that we get sued over this arrest.” If the clock had been left somewhere that it looked “planted,” it would have looked like Ahmed lost his tiger hologram pencil box. But the city’s carefully calibrated message fed the misperception that the actions of the police and school toward Ahmed were justified.

Violations of Ahmed’s Fourth Amendment Rights

Both on campus and at the station, Irving police knowingly disregarded Ahmed’s rights against unreasonable searches and seizures. Ahmed was detained and interrogated when there was no reasonable suspicion to belief that a specific crime had been committed or that he was about to commit any crime. The attempt to coerce from Ahmed a confession to a “hoax bomb” violation, and the later public castigation he received from Irving officials for his refusal to be coerced violated both Ahmed’s procedural and substantive due process rights. This is not a case where a few of Ahmed’s rights were disregarded. From the time Ahmed was escorted out of class and into the interrogation room, he was treated by ALL of the adults responsible for his safety as though he had not rights at all.

This was a complete breakdown in the City’s protection of Ahmed’s fundamental constitutional rights. Ahmed should have been allowed to have his parents or an attorney present during his detention and interrogation. He should have been Mirandized before the on-campus interrogation – which he obviously was not free to end – even commenced. If you want to argue that he was not in custody during the on-campus interrogation, then Ahmed should have been Mirandized when he was cuffed. Ahmed should not have been detained when police knew immediately that there was no threat. The detention should have ended – rather than been

prolonged – while police walked the arrest decision up the chain of command. This who chain of events was an extraordinary rendition in miniature, in which Ahmed was treated as though he had no rights at all, despite his American citizenship.

42 U.S.C. § 1983

Ahmed also has claims against the City employees under 42 U.S.C. § 1983, which permits claims against individuals who “under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory or the District of Columbia, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States . . . deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution.” Section 1983 has been interpreted to allow suits for suits against police officers and other state officials (such as school personnel) acting in their official capacities. *Hafer v. Melo*, 502 U.S. 21, 112 S.Ct. 358 (1991); *Gillette v. Delmore*, 979 F.2d 1342 (9th Cir. 1992).

Liability also attaches to the city itself if the actions of the officers were pursuant to the official policy of the City of Irving. Chief Boyd repeatedly stated that Irving Police acted in accordance with policy. This means that the City of Irving a governmental unit is equally responsible for Ahmed’s damages.

As American citizens, all of us – even the ones with “Muslim-sounding” names like Ahmed Mohamed – are entitled to have public officials with whom we come in contact to respect our rights. Ahmed’s rights were clearly violated. He was detained and interrogated by high-ranking employees of Irving ISD and the Irving Police Department, pressured to falsely confess to a crime he did not commit (and that no responsible person believed he had committed), and then interrogated again by the Irving Police Department at the juvenile detention center, all without his parents being notified or present. These are real, substantive rights, and their loss damaged Ahmed as a matter of law.

Title VI

Ahmed also has claims under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. 42 U.S.C. § 2000D states that , “No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.” A deciding factor in private Title VI suits is whether "a challenged action was motivated by an intent to discriminate." *Elston v. Talladega County Board of Education*, 997 F.2d at 1406. One of the factors used to determine if discrimination intent exists is any departure, substantive or procedural from the normal decision making process. *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp*, 429 U.S. 252 (1977).

Ahmed clearly was singled out because of his race, national origin, and religion. Irving Police officials immediately determined that the clock was harmless. The only reason for the overreaction was that the responsible adults involved irrationally assumed that Ahmed was dangerous because of his race, national origin, and religion. Let’s face it; if Ahmed’s clock were

“Jennifer’s clock,” and if the pencil case were ruby red bedazzled with a clear rhinestone skull and crossbones on the cover, this would never have happened.

The Aftermath

The Irving ISD and City of Irving Police Officers with whom Ahmed came in contact that day were tasked with the same responsibilities toward Ahmed as they were for all the other students. Ahmed never threatened anyone, never caused harm to anyone, and never intended to. The only one who was hurt that day was Ahmed, and the damages he suffered were not because of oversight or incompetence. The school and city officials involved knew what they needed to do to protect Ahmed’s rights. They just decided not to do it. Their after-the-fact attempts to couch their deliberate disregard of Ahmed’s rights as being motivated by concerns for the safety of the other students has only added to the harm Ahmed and his family have suffered. Ahmed endangered no one.

Some aspects of the damages Ahmed has suffered as a result of this are quite difficult to quantify with certainty, though they are clearly severe. It is difficult to say how much monetary damage is caused by any of the following:

- Ahmed having his 14-year-old face superimposed onto a famous image of Osama bin Laden – beard included – appearing below a blogger’s rant against the “parents of this little terrorist in training;”
- Ahmed being turned into Glenn Beck’s latest object lesson in how “this is really kind of the final throes of weakening us to the point to where we don’t ask any questions, to be ready for final confrontation, total confrontation,” while Mayor Beth Van Duyne, listens and nods, putting her imprimatur on Beck’s delusional conspiracy theories;
- Ahmed being portrayed as the “Clock Boy” on a Halloween costume website;
- having Ahmed’s name, and particularly his likeness, forever associated with arguably the most contentious and divisive socio-political issue of our time;
- Ahmed feeling the burden of responsibility for his siblings being harassed and scared to go to school, for his father’s business suffering greatly from Mr. Mohamed’s absence, for one of his sisters being fired from her job, and for neither of his older sisters being able to find schools in Qatar; and
- the loss of security that goes with having Ahmed’s Irving home address tweeted out, and being labeled on Beck’s show as “pawn” of the architects of a “global jihad.”

Other damages are more conducive to quantification. Ahmed and his siblings had the right to a free and adequate public education, just like every other American child does. Ahmed first attended Irving ISD in pre-K, and he and all of his siblings had gone to school nearly exclusively in the Irving ISD. When, two days after the incident, in coordination with the City, Mr. Cummings went onto the MacArthur High School intercom system and called Ahmed and his family liars, he took that opportunity away from Ahmed and all of his siblings.

Ahmed also has suffered severe psychological trauma during his involuntarily separation from his grandmother and extended family. This trauma has since been amplified due to the global media attention this incident has gathered. Ahmed and his siblings know that his life has inalterably changed. Ahmed will now forever be associated with bomb making wholly without basis. Many believe that Ahmed and his family are terrorists, similar to those responsible for the September 11th attacks on the Twin Towers.

This false characterization brings both short- and long-term challenges. In the short-term Ahmed fears for his physical safety after receiving many threatening emails. In the long-term, we adults should know that – despite Ahmed’s efforts to be strong, and to prove that he is “a good boy” – he will experience pain and suffering as result of this for the rest of his days. A large segment of potential employers will steer clear of Ahmed to avoid controversy, despite his many obvious talents. There is no other way to put it: *Ahmed’s reputation in the global community is permanently scarred.* One also would anticipate that Ahmed, quite reasonably, will have a lifelong fear of the law enforcement and educational establishments that have let him down so terribly.

Consider for a moment the true reason that Ahmed brought the clock to school. He was trying to impress his teachers. Anyone who has been around teenage boys knows that they are looking for leaders and mentors. They yearn to find acceptance in the results of their labors, whether it is in sports, the arts, or something technical. Ahmed was reaching out that day. Irving ISD and the Irving PD unceremoniously slapped him away, and then sought to cover their mistakes with a media campaign that further alienated the child at the center of this maelstrom. What must that do to a young man?

Finally, Ahmed and his family lost their home. The address that was tweeted out for the entire world to see was the only home Ahmed and his five siblings had ever known. This family left their home in Irving because of a very rational fear for their physical safety. On an elemental level, the Mohamed family’s life as any of them had known it evaporated that day at the hands of the Irving ISD and City of Irving. While many people online were gleeful to see them leaving their home in Irving, Texas, U.S.A., Ahmed and his family miss Texas. They miss their friends. They miss their grandmother. They miss their extended family. They miss their neighbors, many of whom cried hugged them as the Mohamed’s left their home. They very much appreciate the hospitality they have received in Qatar, but it’s not Texas.

In ways that are virtually impossible to comprehend, this thing turned the Mohamed family’s lives upside down. All semblance of what they knew before has vanished. But even after the scale of the eruption became clear, rather than trying to calm the waters, Irving ISD and the City of Irving launched a public relations campaign against Ahmed. They stoked the flames.

They tried to push responsibility off on the victim – Ahmed. They have even implied publicly that what has come of this has been good for Ahmed, as though the resilience of this fine boy and his fine family somehow excuses what they did. It does not, for there is no excuse. As Justice Clarence Thomas once said: “This is a high-tech lynching.”

Demand

As a result of the above-described violations of Ahmed’s constitutional, statutory, and common law rights, and the damages flowing from those violations, we demand the following:

1. Ten million dollars as compensation for the damages Ahmed suffered at the hands of the City of Irving and its employees.
2. A written apology from Mayor Van Duynes acknowledging that she has never been presented with any evidence that Ahmed was a “pawn” in any “civilization jihad” or that the events here were planned by Ahmed’s family or friends as part of an “influence operation.”
3. A written apology from Police Chief Larry Boyd acknowledging that Ahmed Mohamed never intended to threaten anyone, and that his detention, interrogation, and arrest were wrongful and were made at a point in time when there was no reasonable suspicion to believe that Ahmed had committed a crime or was about to commit any crime.

If you fail to comply with the above demands within sixty days from the date of this letter, you should expect that we will file a civil action addressing the causes of action and events described in this letter.

If you have any questions concerning these matters, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Very truly yours,


Kelly D. Hoffingsworth

EXHIBIT “A-17”

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CIVIL TRIAL LAW, SINCE 1982

COLLEGE OF STATE BAR OF TEXAS

CHARTER MEMBER, SINCE 1983
FELLOW, SINCE 1995

November 23, 2015

Via email: tpatel@irvingisd.net

Via Facsimile (972) 215-5296

Tina R. Patel

Chief Legal Counsel, Irving ISD

P.O. Box 152637

Irving, Texas 75015-2637

Re: Notice of Claims and Demand regarding the unlawful detention, interrogation, arrest, and public mistreatment of Ahmed Mohamed by administrators and teachers of the Irving ISD

Dear Ms. Patel:

Our firm has been retained by Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed to represent his son, Ahmed Mohamed. As you know, until a short time ago, Ahmed was a student at MacArthur High School in the Irving ISD. I am writing to provide Irving ISD with notice regarding the events of September 14, 2015, involving Ahmed, in which several Irving ISD personnel – among many others – deliberately disregarded and violated Ahmed’s rights under 42 U.S.C. §1983, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Texas Juvenile Justice Code, Irving ISD’s policies and procedures, and Texas tort law.

I am relatively new to this engagement, so please do not take the list of rights violations in this letter as exhaustive of the possible causes of action which may attach on these facts. You should take the notice herein as notice of our intent to pursue full vindication of all of Ahmed’s rights in relation to the events at issue.

Statutory Notices

Chapter 101 of the Texas Civil Practice & Remedies Code (“CPRC”) – the Tort Claims Act – requires that certain notices issue in relation to some of these claims. Our primary position on this matter is that the Irving ISD has actual of Ahmed’s injuries and their causes, and that additional, formal notice is unnecessary based on CPRC §101.101(c). Furthermore, nothing in this letter should be construed as an election of remedies under the Tort Claims Act. Internal email communications produced by the City of Irving demonstrate that the Irving ISD has actual notice of Ahmed’s claims and damages.

In an abundance of caution, however, please accept this as Notice under CPRC §101.101(a) [and Irving City Charter ART. III §8] of the injuries and damages sustained by Ahmed as a result of the violations of his rights by Irving ISD and its employees, acting in concert and participation with the City of Irving and its employees. Further, these notice requirements relate only to Irving ISD as a “governmental unit.” No such notice is required with respect to the individuals involved, who also will be defendants if resolution is not reached.

The Incident

Ahmed Mohamed is a fourteen year-old American citizen of Sudanese origin – just like his parents. It is well-known by Ahmed’s fellow students and his teachers that he is an electronics enthusiast. When he was at Sam Houston Middle School, Ahmed participated quite successfully in a robotics team competition. In his room at his Irving home, Ahmed has tons of gadgets and the soldering and assembly tools necessary to work with them.

As a freshman who was new to MacArthur High School, Ahmed was looking for a way to demonstrate his technical abilities to some of his new teachers. The Friday before the incident, he told some of his teachers – including both Mr. Kelton Lemons (whom Ahmed calls his “engineering teacher”) and Ms. Erin West (his English teacher) – that he was going to build something over the weekend to show them and bring it for them to see on Monday. This very much comports with Ahmed’s personality. He loves what we used to call “show and tell” – bringing a unique or interesting item to school and showing it to his friends and teachers as a conversation piece.

Sunday night, Ahmed used some spare parts and scrap pieces he had around the house to assemble a digital clock. He routed the circuitry to run through a motherboard and enclosed his creative contraption in a little locking pencil case with the dimensions of approximately 8.5 x 5.75 x 2.5 inches. These Vaultz brand lockable cases are advertised by Target, Walgreen’s, CVS and other major retailers as “school supplies.” They come in numerous decorative colors and themes. Some are pink with big hearts on the front of them; some are “tie dye” pattern with a peace sign. Ahmed’s had a tiger hologram on the front of it.

September 14, 2015

On Monday, September 14, 2015, Ahmed took the clock to school. Early in the school day, Ahmed showed the clock to Mr. Lemons. When Mr. Lemons saw the clock, he told Ahmed, “That’s really nice,” but Mr. Lemons also advised Ahmed to keep the clock in his backpack for the remainder of the school day. During Ahmed’s English class in the late morning, the alarm clock accidentally sounded when Ahmed plugged it in to show it to a friend. Ms. West noticed the alarm, but did not identify where it came from. Ahmed turned the alarm off without incident.

As Ahmed was leaving at the end of class – after most of the other students were already gone – Ahmed reminded Ms. West that he said he was going to bring her something and asked her if she wanted to see the clock he had built. Ms. West responded that she did want to see it. When Ms. West saw the clock, she told Ahmed it looked like a bomb, immediately confiscated

the clock and reported Ahmed to the school principal's office. During the exchange with Ms. West, Ahmed started what would become his refrain for the day: "It's an alarm clock. It's only an alarm clock." The basis for Ms. West's actions is unclear. She certainly did not treat the clock as though it were dangerous. Ms. West initially placed the clock on her desk.

Right around 2:00 p.m., during Ahmed's AVID class, Principal Daniel Cummings and an Irving police officer appeared and escorted Ahmed out of his class. They took Ahmed into another room where four more Irving police officers and Assistant Principal Patrick Smith were awaiting Ahmed's arrival. Immediately upon Ahmed entering the interrogation room, Irving Police Officer Charles Taylor commented, "Yep. That's who I thought it was." Ahmed found this to be quite unnerving because he had never had any prior contact with Officer Taylor.

The on-campus detention and 7-on-1 interrogation went on for approximately one hour and 25 minutes. Ahmed asked nearly immediately if he could contact his parents – which as you know, is his right under the Texas Juvenile Justice Code. His request was refused: "No. You're being interrogated, so you cannot talk to your parents." No one involved treated the clock as a potential explosive or incendiary device. The City of Irving's own documents support that the on-campus detention and interrogation lasted so long because the police were walking the decision about whether to arrest Ahmed up the chain of command. They were stretching the interrogation as long as possible, so they could find someone willing to take responsibility for arresting Ahmed. The decision to arrest apparently was made by the Assistant Chief.

Throughout the on-campus detention and interrogation – which was recorded on the iPhone of the one female officer present during the interrogation – Ahmed constantly was pressured to sign a written statement admitting that he intended to bring a "hoax bomb" to school. As if the pressure of having five uniformed Irving police officers were not enough, Mr. Cummings was threatening that if Ahmed did not sign the confession, he would be expelled. That is a huge threat for a kid like Ahmed. He rated MIT's interest in having him as a student as more exciting than meeting the President of the United States.

The detention, interrogation, search of Ahmed's belongings, and the arrest all occurred despite there being no reasonable suspicion to believe that Ahmed had committed or was about to commit any crime. Through the entire ordeal, Ahmed steadfastly maintained that the only reason he brought the clock to school was to show it off to some of his teachers. City and school personnel commented later to the press that Ahmed was not forthcoming during the inquisition. It seems not to have dawned on any of them that he was scared to death.

No one who saw Ahmed's clock that day thought it was a bomb. Ahmed did nothing to support the inference that he intended to cause alarm, or any reaction at all (other than his teachers' approval), in anyone. The police quickly determined that the clock was not dangerous. One easily could infer that the police kept escalating the situation because they were frustrated that they failed to coerce Ahmed into signing a false confession. Undeterred, the police arrested Ahmed anyway. When they took him out of school in handcuffs, Ahmed remembers the look of bewilderment on the face of his school counselor, who Ahmed said "knows I'm a good boy."

After Ahmed was removed from school in handcuffs, the Irving Police took him to a juvenile detention center where he was fingerprinted, photographed, and illegally questioned – again – without his parents present. This narrative is sufficient to frame most of Ahmed’s claims against the school and school officials. We will take up the rest of Ahmed’s treatment that day with the City of Irving. Unfortunately, several Irving ISD employees’ subsequent actions made the impact on Ahmed and his family even worse.

The Suspension

Shortly after 7:00 p.m. that night, Ahmed’s dad received a call from a “blocked” number from Assistant Principal Patrick Smith. With numerous kids who had been educated in Irving ISD, Mr. Mohamed was puzzled by the fact that the call did not come from the familiar Irving ISD area code and exchange: (972) 600. Mr. Smith stated that the decision had been made to suspend Ahmed from school for three days. Mr. Mohamed rightfully stated that he did not have any verification that Mr. Smith was who he claimed to be, and that if he did not receive written notice from a school official of the suspension, Ahmed would be attending school the next day.

Only after being prompted by Mr. Mohamed, did Mr. Smith send an email saying that Ahmed was being given off-campus suspension. The Student Code of Conduct provision to which Mr. Smith referred as the basis for the suspension was the “Possession of Prohibited Items” provision on page 6. A review of that section of the Code of Conduct reveals that Ahmed was not in possession of any of the “prohibited items” listed in that rule. Ahmed was suspended for nothing. The school – chiefly Mr. Cummings and Mr. Smith – needed to justify the circus they created by disregarding Ahmed’s rights.

Principal Cummings’ and Leslie Weaver’s Statements

Internal communications make clear that the City of Irving and Irving ISD were upset that news of their mistreatment of Ahmed received so much well-deserved scrutiny. On the morning of September 16, 2015, Mr. Cummings came over the MacArthur High School intercom system, and in relation to the Incident, said the following:

Right now the media has only one side of the story. Understand that the school district cannot release our statements or facts without written consent from the parents. And we have a very different version of what happened than what you are seeing from the media. Today the district will ask for written permission to release the facts.

By this statement, Mr. Cummings – the highest ranking official on the MacArthur campus – directly defamed both Ahmed and his family by calling them liars. There is no legitimate reason to even make a statement to the student body on these issues. Doing so violated Ahmed’s confidentiality rights. There is no relevant “other side of the story.” What is described above happened, and there is no excusing it. Mr. Cummings, in fact, tried to coerce a confession out of Ahmed, and he enlisted the help of the Irving Police in wrongfully detaining him, wrongfully interrogating him, and wrongfully searching him and his belongings. Mr. Cummings knows the

proper procedures and safeguards that Texas law provide for students in this situation. He consciously decided to violate them anyway.

Irving ISD spokeswoman Leslie Weaver repeatedly gave the media a false impression of events. At different times she referred to the pencil case as a “briefcase” and a “suitcase.” This fed the false impression – bolstered by the first picture of the clock the Irving PD released – that the clock is many times larger than it is. Ms. Weaver also repeatedly called the reporting on the story “unbalanced.” This, again, is tantamount to calling Ahmed and his family liars. They are not.

Ms. Weaver also implied to the press that the reason for Ahmed’s suspension was the Irving ISD’s “zero tolerance” policy. In order for the Texas zero tolerance standard to apply, the incident must have involved (1) a weapon, (2) drugs or alcohol, or (3) threats of harm to someone. There was no weapon. There were no drugs and alcohol involved. And the only person threatened that day was Ahmed. Ms. Weaver stated about the incident that the District was “doing everything with an abundance of caution to protect all of our students in Irving.” That day, there was one student whose safety was of no concern at all: Ahmed’s.

Violations of Irving ISD Policies

Irving ISD and its employees knowingly disregarded the district’s written policies and procedures by detaining, interrogating, and attempting to coerce a confession from Ahmed. Irving ISD’s own policy prohibits discrimination, including harassment, of students on the basis of race, national origin, and religion. Prohibited harassment includes, but is not limited to, verbal and nonverbal conduct that “affects a student’s ability to participate in or benefit from an education program,” or “otherwise adversely affects the student’s educational opportunities.”

During the Incident, Mr. Cummings and Mr. Smith intentionally harassed and singled out Ahmed for undue punishment based on his race, national origin, and religion. During the on-campus detention and interrogation, Ahmed was verbally harassed. Mr. Cummings brought to bear every measure of pressure he could find to coerce Ahmed into providing a false confession to Class A misdemeanor. Apparently frustrated that he could not extract a criminal confession – even with five Irving police officers helping him – Mr. Cummings covered himself by suspending Ahmed. Mr. Cummings stayed by his decision even after Irving Chief of Police Larry Boyd called the entire ordeal a “naive accident.” Between the suspension and publicly calling Ahmed and his family liars, Mr. Cummings and Ms. Weaver rendered it impossible for Ahmed to pursue further education opportunities in the manner in which he was accustomed.

Mr. Cummings and Mr. Smith flagrantly violated Irving ISD’s policies on parental notification. When a law enforcement officer interrogates a student at school, Irving ISD policy requires the student’s parents to be notified unless an officer raises a valid objection to the notification. There was no valid objection because by the time of the interrogation, it was clear there was no potential harm to anyone at the school – except, of course, Ahmed. Just as he requested, and as required by law, Ahmed’s parents should have received timely notification of the incident.

42 U.S.C. § 1983

Ahmed also has claims against the Irving ISD and its employees under 42 U.S.C. § 1983, which permits claims against individuals who “under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory or the District of Columbia, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States . . . deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution.” Section 1983 has been interpreted to allow suits for suits against police officers and other state officials (such as school personnel) acting in their official capacities. *Hafer v. Melo*, 502 U.S. 21, 112 S.Ct. 358 (1991); *Gillette v. Delmore*, 979 F.2d 1342 (9th Cir. 1992).

Liability also may be imposed on a school district if a policy or custom results in a deprivation of a student’s rights or places a student in danger. *City of St. Louis v. Praprotnik*, 485 U.S. 112 (1988). Irving ISD officials have claimed repeatedly that in treating Ahmed as they did, they were following Irving ISD policy. This means that Irving ISD as a governmental unit is equally responsible for Ahmed’s damages.

As American citizens, all of us – even the ones with “Muslim-sounding” names like Ahmed Mohamed – are entitled to have public officials with whom we come in contact to respect our rights. Ahmed’s rights were clearly violated. He was detained and interrogated by high-ranking employees of Irving ISD and the Irving Police Department, pressured to falsely confess to a crime he did not commit (and that no responsible person believed he had committed), and then interrogated again by the Irving Police Department at the juvenile detention center, all without his parents being notified or present.

Title VI

Ahmed also has claims under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. 42 U.S.C. § 2000D states that , “No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.” A deciding factor in private Title VI suits is whether “a challenged action was motivated by an intent to discriminate.” *Elston v. Talladega County Board of Education*, 997 F.2d at 1406. One of the factors used to determine if discrimination intent exists is any departure, substantive or procedural from the normal decision making process. *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp*, 429 U.S. 252 (1977).

Ahmed clearly was singled out because of his race, national origin, and religion. Law enforcement and school officials immediately determined that the clock was harmless. The only reason for the overreaction was that the responsible adults involved irrationally assumed that Ahmed was dangerous because of his race, national origin, and religion. Police and school officials tried for an hour and a half to get Ahmed to sign a false confession, and then arrested him on baseless charges they had already ruled out. This shows their intent to discriminate. Let’s face it; if Ahmed’s clock were “Jennifer’s clock,” and if the pencil case were ruby red bedazzled with a clear rhinestone skull and crossbones on the cover, this would never have happened.

The Aftermath

The Irving ISD and City of Irving Police Officers with whom Ahmed came in contact that day were tasked with the same responsibilities toward Ahmed as they were for all the other students. Ahmed never threatened anyone, never caused harm to anyone, and never intended to. The only one who was hurt that day was Ahmed, and the damages he suffered were not because of oversight or incompetence. The school officials and police knew what they needed to do to protect Ahmed's rights. They just decided not to. Their after-the-fact attempts to couch their deliberate disregard of Ahmed's rights as being motivated by concerns for the safety of the other students has only added to the harm Ahmed and his family have suffered.

Some aspects of the damages Ahmed has suffered as a result of this are quite difficult to quantify with certainty, though they are clearly severe. It is difficult to say how much monetary damage is caused by any of the following:

- Ahmed having his 14-year-old face superimposed onto a famous image of Osama bin Laden – beard included – appearing below a blogger's rant against the "parents of this little terrorist in training;"
- Ahmed being turned into Glenn Beck's latest object lesson in how "this is really kind of the final throes of weakening us to the point to where we don't ask any questions, to be ready for final confrontation, total confrontation," while Ahmed's hometown mayor, Beth Van Duyne, listens and nods, putting her imprimatur on Beck's delusional conspiracy theories;
- Ahmed being portrayed as the "Clock Boy" on a Halloween costume website;
- having Ahmed's name, and particularly his likeness, forever associated with arguably the most contentious and divisive socio-political issue of our time;
- Ahmed feeling the burden of responsibility for his siblings being harassed and scared to go to school, for his father's business suffering greatly from Mr. Mohamed's absence, for one of his sisters being fired from her job, and for neither of his older sisters being able to find schools in Qatar; and
- the loss of security that goes with having Ahmed's Irving home address tweeted out, and being labeled on Beck's show as "pawn" of the architects of a "global jihad."

Other damages are more conducive to quantification. Ahmed and his siblings had the right to a free and adequate public education, just like every other American child does. Ahmed first attended Irving ISD in pre-K, and he and all of his siblings had gone to school nearly exclusively in the Irving ISD. When, two days after the incident, Mr. Cummings went on to the

MacArthur High School intercom system and called Ahmed and his family liars, he took that opportunity away from Ahmed and all of his siblings.

Ahmed also has suffered severe psychological trauma during his involuntarily separation from his grandmother and extended family. This trauma has since been amplified due to the global media attention this incident has gathered. Ahmed and his siblings know that his life has inalterably changed. Ahmed will now forever be associated with bomb making wholly without basis. Many believe that Ahmed and his family are terrorists, similar to those responsible for the September 11th attacks on the Twin Towers. This characterization brings both short- and long-term challenges. In the short-term Ahmed fears for his physical safety after receiving many threatening emails.

In the long-term, we adults should know that – despite Ahmed’s efforts to be strong, and to prove that he is “a good boy” – he will continue for the rest of his days to experience pain and suffering. A large segment of potential employers will steer clear of Ahmed to avoid controversy, despite his many obvious talents. There is no other way to put it: *Ahmed’s reputation in the global community is permanently scarred.* One also would anticipate that Ahmed, quite reasonably, will have a lifelong fear of the law enforcement and educational establishments that have let him down so terribly.

Consider for a moment the true reason that Ahmed brought the clock to school. He was trying to impress his teachers. Anyone who has been around teenage boys knows that they are looking for leaders and mentors. They yearn to find acceptance in the results of their labors, whether it is in sports, the arts, or something technical. Ahmed was reaching out that day. Irving ISD unceremoniously slapped him away, then sought to cover its mistakes with a media campaign that further alienated the child at the center of this maelstrom. What must that do to a young man?

Finally, Ahmed and his family lost their home. The address that was tweeted out for the entire world to see was the only home Ahmed and his five siblings had ever known. This family left their home in Irving because of a very rational fear for their physical safety. On an elemental level, the Mohamed family’s life as any of them had known it evaporated that day at the hands of the Irving ISD and City of Irving. While many people online were gleeful to see them leaving their home in Irving, Texas, U.S.A., Ahmed and his family miss Texas. They miss their friends. They miss their grandmother. They miss their extended family. They miss their neighbors, many of whom cried hugged them as the Mohamed’s left their home.

In ways that are virtually impossible to comprehend, this thing turned the Mohamed family’s lives upside down. But even as the scale of the eruption became clear, rather than trying to calm the waters, the Irving ISD and City of Irving launched a public relations campaign against Ahmed. They stoked the flames. They tried to push responsibility off on the victim – Ahmed. They have even implied publicly that what has come of this has been good for Ahmed, as though the resilience of this fine boy and his fine family somehow excuses what they did. It does not, for there is no excuse. As Justice Clarence Thomas once said: “This is a high-tech lynching.”

Demand

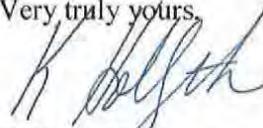
As a result of the above-described violations of Ahmed's constitutional, statutory, and common law rights, and the damages flowing from those violations, we demand the following:

1. Five million dollars as compensation for the damages Ahmed suffered at the hands of the Irving ISD and its employees.¹
2. A written apology from Irving ISD acknowledging that Ahmed Mohamed never intended to threaten anyone, and that his detention, interrogation, and arrest were wrongful and were made at a point in time when there was no reasonable suspicion to believe that Ahmed had committed a crime or was about to commit any crime.

If you fail to comply with the above demands within sixty days from the date of this letter, you should expect that we will file a civil action addressing the causes of action and events described in this letter.

As indicated, our hope is that before litigation there will be some discussion between us regarding the possibility of settling before filing suit. I look forward to hearing from you.

Very truly yours,



Kelly D. Hollingsworth

¹ This is not all of the damages Ahmed has sustained, and that will be reflected in our demand to the City of Irving. This reflects a willingness on the part of my client to seek compromise with the Irving ISD.

EXHIBIT “B”

world, turning Ahmed into an instant celebrity. The story continued as Ahmed met various business and political leaders who were drawn to the story and news organizations continued to cover the story. As commentators, journalists, politicians and comedians weighed in on the developing saga, they focused the spotlight on the Irving Public School District, the City of Irving and their police force, the incident involving Ahmed's suspension and arrest, and the overarching issues of terrorism, racism, racial profiling, and zero tolerance policies.

5. As a part of my job tracking news and information relevant to my community, I monitored the news coverage of the Clock Incident. Very quickly in the days and weeks after Ahmed's arrest, he transformed from a completely unknown 14-year-old boy to an international celebrity, commanding a substantial amount of public interest in Ahmed, his family, and the Clock Incident. I noticed that while Ahmed and his father commanded continuing public interest, they seemed to be voluntary participants, choosing to appear in countless media outlets, news, television and comedy programs, and using this opportunity to thrust themselves into the national discourse on terrorism, racism, racial profiling, and zero tolerance policies. All of these issues are at the forefront of political discourse and are significant matters of public concern, and, as such, I have discussed these issues extensively as a political analyst.

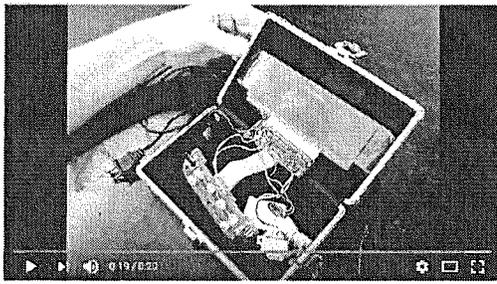
6. Within days of Ahmed's arrest, I happened to be in the "InMotion Imagery" television studio in downtown Dallas, while Ahmed was present. He and an entourage of about a half a dozen people were prepping for an interview. I have done countless interviews at television studios in my twenty-plus years in broadcast. It is highly unusual to bring such a large entourage to an interview. While I didn't speak to Ahmed directly, I witnessed him and overheard those around him. My observation was that they were having a great time, basking in the limelight, acting like celebrities, and very excited about the attention. His mood was celebratory. Ahmed was not distraught, but rather he had the kind of excitement you might find at a birthday party. I was shown a photograph that Ahmed signed, which I later saw framed and hung on the wall of the TV studio. This led me to the following conclusions: that Ahmed was not afraid; that he was not nervous; that he loves the cameras and that he enjoyed his ascent to fame and enjoyed being treated like a celebrity public figure. This, in combination with the fact that Ahmed made continuous voluntary appearances on various television and news programs, led me to believe that regardless of the motive behind the arrest, Ahmed and his family voluntarily pursued publicity and sought to become even more famous after the arrest.

7. As I monitored and reviewed reporting and commentary on Ahmed and the Clock Incident and prior to the broadcast at issue, I was informed by the following news articles and internet postings:

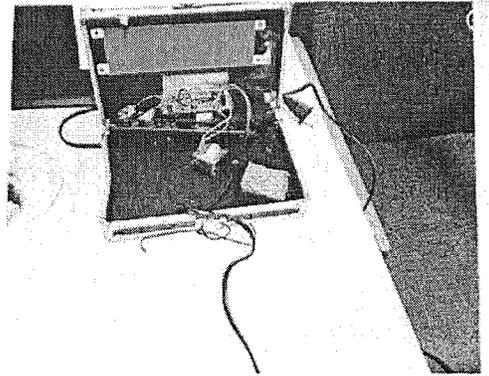
- a. I learned that Ahmed's father, Mohamed Mohamed, who also goes by the name, Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed ("Mohamed") had run for the president of Sudan twice. Attached to this affidavit as Exhibits B-1, B-2 and B-3 are true and correct copies of the following articles that I reviewed on this fact: Nina Golgowski, "Father of Muslim teen arrested for clock previously battled Fla. Koran burner, has run for president of Sudan twice," NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, September 16, 2015, 9:46 p.m.; Alyssa Klein, "The Surprising backstory behind #IStandWithAhmed's 2-time Sudanese presidential candidate father," OKAYAFRICA.COM, September 16, 2015; and Ben Ashford, "Exclusive: From the

banks of the Nile to meeting Obama at the White House- how family of Muslim boy, 14, handcuffed for his homemade clock, is living the American dream,” DAILYMAIL.COM, September 17, 2015

- b. I also learned by reading Exhibits B-1, B-2 and B-3 that Mohamed had participated in an infamous and inflammatory “mock trial” of the Koran in 2011 after which the holy book was burned.
- c. I looked closely at the pictures of the device at the center of Ahmed’s arrest, which were published in the news media. I looked at the LED display, the exposed wires and the non-traditional enclosure, and concluded that I thought it looked like a bomb. I further thought it looked nothing like a clock, or something that a person who “built” or “invented” a clock would create. I thought that if I had seen the device on an airplane, I would have run off of the plane. I further thought that if I had seen the device under the bleachers at a football game, I would have called the authorities. Exhibit B-1 includes a picture of the device that I reviewed.
- d. In addition, I watched the several videos online which also showed Ahmed and others discussing the Clock Incident and the device. Specifically, I watched a Dallas Morning News video published on September 15, 2015 titled “Irving MacArthur student arrested after bringing homemade clock to school,” available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3mW4w0Y1OXE>, and listened to Ahmed say that “I closed it with a cable ‘cause I didn’t want to lock it to make it seem like a threat so I just used a simple cable so it won’t look that much suspicious.”
- e. I watched a YouTube video by Thomas Talbot, called “Ahmed Mohamed Clock is a FRAUD,” published on September 18, 2015, where Talbot shows why Ahmed didn’t invent, build or even assemble a clock, and he shows in the video that the device was a commercial alarm clock which was simply removed from the plastic case from the alarm clock, using manufactured, printed circuit boards, ribbon cables that are indicative of a manufactured product, and a 9V battery back-up. This video is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CEmSwJTqpgY>. Talbot concluded, “this is simply taking a clock out of its case...This particular child down in Texas did not make anything. He did not make a clock...this is a manufactured product and not an invention.”
- f. I watched a YouTube video called “Challenging Ahmed Mohamed’s homemade clock story (The Infamous Irving Texas clock)” during which, in less than 20 seconds, a person off camera takes apart a digital clock and puts it in a pencil case like the one that Ahmed used, and I saw that the result looked very similar to the device that Ahmed brought to school. The aforementioned video is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kHk_6Vh4Qeo. Below is a screenshot of a clip from the aforementioned YouTube video on the left, and a picture of Ahmed’s device from a news article on the right.



Challenging Ahmed Mohamed's homemade clock story (The Infamous Irving Texas clock)



- g. I watched a clip from Real Time with Bill Maher; Ahmed's Clock-Sept. 25, 2015 (HBO), where Bill Maher showed the aforementioned video and said, "he did not invent anything...He didn't invent a clock. He took the guts out of a clock radio that he bought in the store and put it in a pencil box. Ok. This is like pouring Cheerios into a bowl and saying you invented cereal." Maher added, "It looked exactly like a bomb!!" This video is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TVLKDtmSqUM>.
- h. I read and saw in news reports that when questioned by police, teachers and school officials, Ahmed would only say that it was a clock and was not forthcoming with other details, and that he was arrested for a "hoax bomb." I thought to myself that if this had happened to me as a child, I would have been extremely cooperative and anxious to explain myself, and I would have said more than just "it's a clock." Attached as Exhibit B-4 is a true and correct copy of a news article that caused me to believe that Ahmed did not talk to teachers or police except to assert that the device is a clock, Avi Selk, "Ahmed Mohamed swept up, 'hoax bomb' charges swept away as Irving teen's story floods social media," *Dallas Morning News*, Sept. 16, 2015, avail. at <http://www.dallasnews.com/news/dallas-county/2015/09/15/ahmed-mohamed-swept-up-hoax-bomb-charges-swept-away-as-irving-teen-s-story-floods-social-media>. In the article, police spokesman James McLellan is quoted as saying, "He kept maintaining it was a clock, but there was no broader explanation."
- i. I saw the photograph circulated widely in the news media of Ahmed in handcuffs and I considered the fact that someone in his family or close circle must have taken the time to capture a photograph of him in handcuffs-which is the last thing I would think to do if I were arrested. Attached as Exhibit B-5 is a true and correct copy of the photograph that I saw of Ahmed in handcuffs, which is also available on twitter: <https://twitter.com/anildash/status/644714265438371840>.
- j. I learned through reading the above Dallas Morning News article, that Ahmed was arrested for possessing a "hoax bomb," which is a misdemeanor.

k. I recalled the post-9/11 security campaign, "If you see something, say something," sponsored by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, and considered that as citizens, we have been called on to report anything that looks suspicious. Thus, I thought that it is reasonable to expect that an LED with exposed wires in case such as the one pictured would result in suspicion and reporting to authorities, and I wondered why, in this security climate, anyone would bring a device that looks like a bomb to school. Videos of the "If You See Something, Say Something" campaign are similar to the ones that I have seen are at these links, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2KnuFCSnRuQ>, which was posted on the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's official YouTube channel, on February 4, 2015, and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OseX44SfHHA>.

8. I further wondered why Ahmed and his family were continuing to seek publicity if they were truly aggrieved and had their life ruined by the publicity surrounding the Clock Incident as alleged in the demand letters.

9. These facts led me to the belief that Mohamed knew how to draw attention to himself and manipulate the media. When I considered the publicity that Mohamed had sought in the past, including the publicity stunt over the Koran "trial" which caused many deaths, while achieving publicity for Mohamed, and I considered the fact that the device looked like it was designed to appear scary with exposed wires and LED display in an enclosure in which I had never seen a clock, I developed the opinion that the Clock Incident might have been pre-planned as a way for Mohamed to draw attention to himself and his family.

10. On November 23, 2015, the day of the Statements at Issue, I went to the newsroom of KDFW FOX 4 to prepare for my periodic appearance on that program as a commentator on matters of public concern. Prior to the segment, I spoke with the producers in the KDFW FOX 4 newsroom and learned of the \$15 million demand letters sent to the City of Irving and the Irving Independent School District. While in the newsroom, I saw a copy of the November 23, 2015 demand letters. This further confirmed my opinion that this might have been pre-planned. Regardless of whether the Clock Incident was pre-planned, the demand letter attempting to extract \$15 million from taxpayers led me to believe that the family was unreasonably pursuing money that I don't believe they deserve.

11. The above facts led me to believe that the elder Mohamed was not just a public figure who had voluntarily thrust himself in the public sphere by pursuing media coverage of the Clock Incident and other events, but a master at pursuing publicity and profiting off of it.

12. When I made the Statements at Issue, I believed them to be true, based on the information I had amassed on Ahmed, Mohamed, and the Clock Incident over the weeks prior to the Statement at Issue. Further, I continue to believe the statements to be true to this date. I have learned no information in the year since making the Statements at Issue that would cause me to change my mind.

13. I do not harbor any feelings of hatred, ill-will or spite towards Plaintiffs. The purpose of my segment was to communicate with members of my community on matters of public concern related to an ongoing story that impacts their children, their schools, their police

department, and—with millions of dollars' worth of litigation now at stake—their tax dollars. Further, believing that too many things about the Clock Incident didn't add up to me, I wanted to encourage the community against blindly accepting everything they were told about the incident and instead to question the actions of individuals that were now seeking \$15 million of their tax dollars.

FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT.

DATED this 21st day of November, 2016.



Benjamin G. Ferguson

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO before me on this the 21st day of November, 2016.



Notary Public – State of Texas
Wendy T. Miller
Typed/Printed Name
My Commission Expires: 6/3/2017

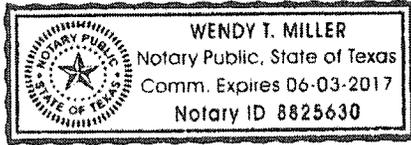


EXHIBIT “B-1”

Father of Muslim teen arrested for clock previously battled Fla. Koran burner, has run for president of Sudan twice

BY NINA GOLGOWSKI

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS Updated: Wednesday, September 16, 2015, 9:46 PM



Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed is seen next to his 14-year-old son, Ahmed Mohamed, who was arrested on Monday for bringing a homemade clock to his Texas high school. (BRANDON WADE/AP)

The apple doesn't fall far from the tree.

The father of the Muslim teenager, who was arrested for bringing a homemade clock to school, is a Sudanese immigrant who went from selling New York City hot dogs to twice running for president in his native country.

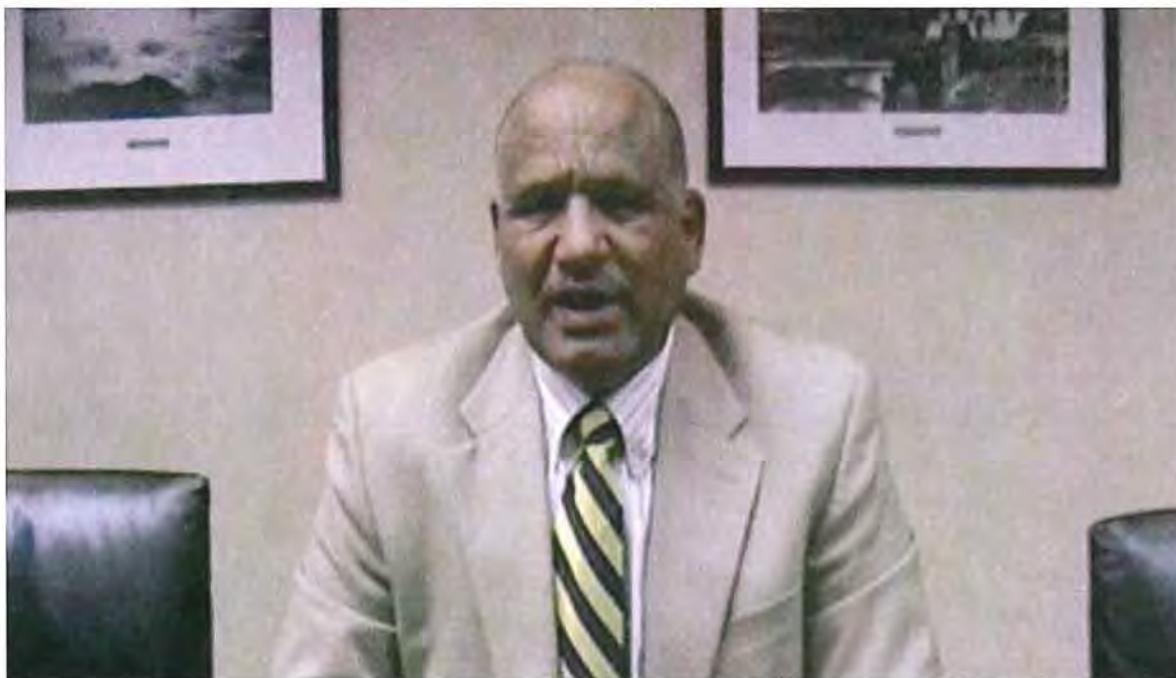
Mohamed ElHassan, who stood beside his son Ahmed Mohamed Wednesday and expressed how "proud" he is of him, grew up in an African village before moving to the U.S. to achieve the American dream, the North Dallas Gazette reported.

"Once I realized my dream was bigger than what Sudan had to offer I immigrated to America in the mid-1980s," the father of seven told the paper in February.

Though college educated, the hardworking dad said his philosophy degree from Cairo University wasn't accepted in the states, so he had to start from the ground up — first hitting the streets of New York as a vendor before moving his family to Dallas and working as a taxi driver, all while taking classes at a community college.

ElHassan went on to create his own taxi company which he later sold to Yellow Cab, he said.





The Sudanese immigrant has gone from selling New York City hot dogs to owning his own taxi company and twice running for president in Sudan. (MOHAMEDFORPRESIDENT/VIA YOUTUBE)

One of the earliest instances of the standout citizen making national news was in 2011, when he sensationally stood up to an anti-Islamic pastor and defended the Koran as its defense attorney. That mock trial at a Florida church ended with the book's burning, to ElHassan's claimed shock.

In an interview with the [Washington Post](#) at the time, the devoted Muslim said he'd take on Rev. Terry Jones' challenge because the holy book teaches that Muslims should engage in peaceful dialogue with Christians.

He also admitted that he wanted to take his family to nearby Disney World and "kill two birds with one stone."

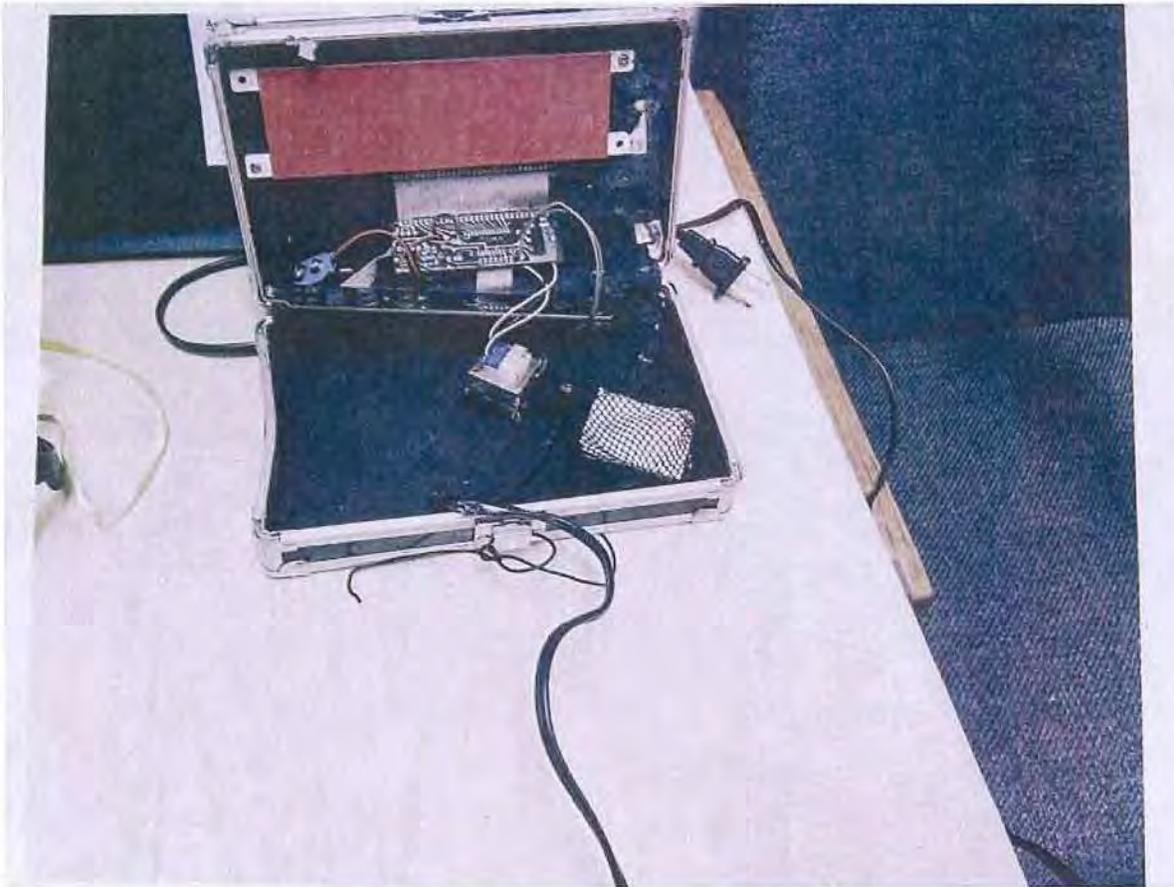
That wasn't his only instance of fame back then.

In 2010, and again this year, the busy dad was nominated and ran for president of his native North African country from his home in Texas.

Autoplay: On | Off

"Mr. ElHassan is no stranger to adversity and experienced hardship firsthand, and during his lifetime has cultivated a deep sense of humanitarianism, tolerance and patience," his [latest campaign's website](#) read.

He further credited a Sufi spiritual leader and mentor in Africa for inspiring him with "wisdom and leadership." Today, ElHassan serves as a mentor at Jack E. Singley Academy High School in Irving and also as the vice president of the National Reform Party in Sudan, the Gazette reported. "We have been here in this house for more than 30 years. We love it. We love all the people here," he said Wednesday while standing beside his family outside their Irving, Texas home. Among his many accomplishments, one of his proudest, he said, is having raised his 14-year-old son.



This is the digital clock which was mistaken as a bomb earlier this week. (AP)

"I'm proud of him," he said before crediting him as "a very smart, brilliant boy."
 "He fixed my car, my electricity, my phone, my TV, his go-cart, my computer. I swear it's the truth," he gushed.
 Despite his upset with local police and school administrators' handling of his son, he continued to speak highly of his country.
 "I'm grateful to the United States of America," he said. "What's happening is touching the heart of everyone who has children, and that is America."
 ElHassan recognized that all people make mistakes but said that the treatment that his son experienced, "in front of his friends and his teacher inside of his school — that is not America. That is not us. That is not like us."

ON A MOBILE DEVICE? WATCH THE VIDEO HERE.

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EXHIBIT “B-2”

The Surprising Backstory Behind #IStandWithAhmed's 2-Time Sudanese Presidential Candidate Father



By ALYSSA KLEIN

09.16.15

If you've been on social media today, you may be familiar with the hashtag [#IStandWithAhmed](#).

The story began when **Ahmed Mohamed**, a 14-year-old Sudanese-American high school student, was arrested on Monday after bringing a homemade digital clock (which he made over the weekend from a pencil case) to his school in Irving, Texas. "They arrested me and told me I committed a crime of a hoax bomb – a fake bomb," he told [WFAA](#). "It was the first time I brought an invention to school to show a teacher," he added.

"He just wants to invent good things for mankind," Ahmed's father said to the [Dallas Morning News](#). "But because his name is Mohamed and because of Sept. 11, I think my son got mistreated."

[Barack Obama](#), [Mark Zuckerberg](#), [Hillary Clinton](#) and [NASA](#) have all showed their support for Ahmed. Earlier today, the President [invited him](#) to the White House.

Ahmed shared the perfect response not long after. “Thank you for your support! I really didn’t think people would care about a muslim boy,” he tweeted from an account that was set up earlier today.

Incidentally, Ahmed’s family is no stranger to media attention.

The ninth grader is the son of **Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed**, a Sudanese immigrant who has made headlines of his own over the years. A February 2015 profile in the North Dallas Gazette details the elder Mohamed’s activities.

Born in Sudan in 1961, Mohamed, a former customs worker at Khartoum International Airport, earned a degree in philosophy from Cairo University in Khartoum before emigrating to the U.S. “Once I realized my dream was bigger than what Sudan had to offer I immigrated to America in the mid-1980’s,” he told the North Dallas Gazette. In that same interview, Mohamed shared that upon arrival in the U.S.— where he says his degree was not accepted— he initially sold hot dogs, candy, and newspapers in Manhattan. “I realized this wasn’t enough for me, and I packed my bag and moved to Dallas, Texas y’all,” he told the paper. In Texas, he started out as a pizza delivery man before becoming a taxi driver and ultimately launching his own business ventures— he owns a computer repair shop in Irving, Texas (perhaps where his son gets his tech acuity from), a cab company called **Jet Taxi**, a medical emergency transport company called **Paradise Prime Investments**, and the solar energy business **AlSufi International** in Sudan. He also served as self-elected president of the small Sufi Muslim **AlSufi** center in Irving.

Mohamed has also run for president of Sudan on two separate occasions. “When I went for the elections in 2010 they were rigid,” he told the North Dallas Gazette. “When I was there my country was worse than I had left it. I saw people starve, and babies, die, and women cry in Darfur. No peace. No justice. So I am back to save my Sudan, so help me God. I’m hope for my country to become great, and to reestablish good connections with America. My country is going through economic hardship because of the embargo, and I would like to lift it.”



Mohamed Elhassan
for president

VOTE

for him

ABOUT MOHAMED

Sheikh Mohamed Elhassan was born in Sudan during the era of the Senior Leader Sheikh Almukashfi. Mohammed ElHassan is the founder of the Alsufi Center in Dallas, Texas, Jet taxi inc, Paradise prime Investments, Inc in the U.S.A and Alsufi international for solar energy in Sudan. Mr. ElHassan is no stranger to adversity and experienced hardship firsthand, and during his lifetime has cultivated a deep sense of humanitarianism, tolerance and patience.

Growing up, Mr. ElHassan had a mentor, Sheikh Mukashfi, a well-known Sufi spiritual leader. Mr. ElHassan was inspired by the elder Mukashfi's wisdom and leadership. Following Sheikh Mukashfi's example, Mohammed became proficient in all the religious sciences and has become an aficionado of prose and poetry. He attended many public events from his early age and unintentionally upstaged other expert orators in religious and political debates and remains unequalled. He is a passionate and sometimes amusing speaker of wisdom, logic and the realities of modern-day life. He possesses a deep insight into the causes of things and is dedicated to his principles.



Mohamed's 2010 presidential campaign bio

He'd run again in 2015 on a National Reform Party ticket. An April 2015 Bloomberg report referred to the Texan as having "the most ambitious agenda" of the incumbent President Umar al-Bashir's competitors. The article mentions that the would-be Sudanese president pledged that within 100 days of being elected he would negotiate the lifting of sanctions the U.S. imposed in the late 1990s because of alleged sponsorship of terrorism.

Neither Mohamed nor his party would end up appearing on the ballot.

Mohamed speaks in a 2010 presidential campaign video

Aside from his presidential bids, Mohamed also made headlines for his bizarre role in Rev. Terry Jones' incendiary Quran trial. In 2012, when the Florida pastor made good on his threat to burn a Quran in his Gainesville church and put the Quran on "trial," Mohamed, who refers to himself as a sheik, was apparently the one Muslim willing to play along as the defense in the mock trial. "[The church] put an ad on their channel: 'Whoever feels in himself he has the power to defend Quran is welcome,'" he told the Dallas Observer.

Muslim leaders in Texas, meanwhile, doubted his claims to religious and scholarly leadership. "This so-called leader, we have never heard of this person," Imam Zia ul Haque Sheikh, head of the Islamic Center of Irving, told the Seattle Times. "I believe the whole thing is made up." In that same interview, Mohamed, who refers to himself as a sheikh, elaborated on his motivations for getting involved with Jones. "He said he agreed to serve as the defense attorney at Jones' mock trial because the Quran teaches that Muslims should engage in peaceful dialogue with Christians," the Seattle Times' Annie Gowen wrote. "But there was also a more pragmatic reason. It was spring break and he wanted to take his wife and five kids to Disney World: to 'kill two birds with one stone,' as he put it." He also claims he didn't know the trial— in which the Quran was "found guilty" of "crimes against humanity"— would result in the Quran actually being set on fire. According to the Seattle Times, some of Mohamed's small group of followers asked that he no longer lead prayers, while others refused to drive for his taxi company.

He told the Dallas Observer that he appreciated Jones for giving him the opportunity to defend the Quran on Sufi terms. "I admire Terry Jones for doing that," he said. "From my heart, I feel very OK. But I have some people who don't like that from my Muslim brothers. I see their faces, they don't

EXHIBIT “B-3”

EXCLUSIVE: From the banks of the Nile to meeting Obama at the White House - how family of Muslim boy, 14, handcuffed for his homemade clock, is living the American dream

- Ahmed Mohamed was arrested for bringing an electronic homemade clock to school in Irving, Texas, where it was mistaken for a 'bomb'
- Muslim boy, 14, has accepted invitation from Barack Obama to visit the White House and been praised by Mark Zuckerberg
- Family and friends say he owes drive and talent to his father, Mohamed Elhasan Mohamed, 57
- Daily Mail Online can disclose his father's extraordinary journey from a farming village on the banks of the Nile to success in America
- Mohamed arrived with little more than his passport and was a singing hotdog vendor in New York before moving to Texas
- He debated extremist preacher Terry Jones - and has twice run for president of his native country in hopes of ending its dictatorship

By BEN ASHFORD IN IRVING, TEXAS, FOR DAILYMAIL.COM

PUBLISHED: 14:27 EST, 17 September 2015 | UPDATED: 22:03 EST, 17 September 2015

When Ahmed Mohamed meets President Obama to show him what might now be America's most infamous clock, it will be the crowning achievement of an extraordinary family story.

For, Daily Mail Online can disclose, the Muslim schoolboy's father was brought up in a tiny African village where the idea of visiting the White House would have seemed like a fairy tale.

Ahmed has been swamped with messages of support since he was pictured being led from class in handcuffs when the homemade timepiece was mistaken for a bomb.

Among those urging him not to give up on electronics were Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg, NASA and of course the President – who extended a personal invite to the talented 14-year-old.

SCROLL DOWN FOR VIDEO



White House meeting: Ahmed Mohamed will meet President Obama next month after outrage over his arrest at his Irving, TX, high school when his homemade clock was assumed to be a bomb



Family Ahmed, 14, his mother, Muna Ahmed Ibrahim, 45, and father, Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed, 57, at home after the trauma over his arrest



© Courtesy Mohamed Family

Coming to America: Ahmed's father Mohamed Elhasan Mohamed (bottom right) in 1980 with his brothers (top from left) Hamid, Abdel Bagi, Abdel Krim and (bottom left) Abel.



President Obama 
@POTUS

 Follow

Cool clock, Ahmed. Want to bring it to the White House? We should inspire more kids like you to like science. It's what makes America great.

RETWEETS 121,838 FAVORITES 106,424



9:58 AM - 16 Sep 2015

+16



Outrage: The picture (left) of Ahmed Mohamed in handcuffs at his school which led to a wave of support for the 14-year-old, who was much cheerier (right) today



Contentious: The homemade clock which electronics whizz Ahmed Mohamed, 14, brought to his high school to show to his engineering teacher - but which was taken by other staff to be a bomb

And when Ahmed takes up the offer next month to show Obama his 'cool' alarm clock nobody will be more proud than his Sudanese immigrant father, Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed, 57.

Family and close friends say the gifted ninth-grader gets his drive and enterprise from his dad, a local imam and respected Muslim leader in his hometown of Irving, Texas.

And they revealed to Daily Mail Online the remarkable rags to riches story that saw Mohamed leave his impoverished village three decades ago and head to the US with little more than a passport.

Since then he's built up several businesses, had seven children and even traveled back to his native Sudan to bravely challenge its feared dictator Omar al-Bashir for the presidency.

He's also stood up against Islam-loathing Christian pastor Terry Jones while facing criticism from hardline members of his own faith who attack his moderate Sufi beliefs.

The Mohamed family hail from Alshatawy, a small village in Sudan's fertile White Nile region where their late father Elhassan made his living as a farmer.

Denied an education by his own father, Elhassan raised enough money to send four of his nine children, including Mohamed, to a prestigious school run on British lines, telling them: 'don't work the land, get an education'.

Mohamed excelled and went on to gain a philosophy degree from Cairo University in Khartoum.

He got his first proper job as a customs officer at the city's airport and within a few years was running his department.

In the late 1980s Mohamed emigrated to the US, following in the footsteps of his older brother Aldean, 59, who sold groceries, candy and papers from a small convenience store in New York.

His first job was selling hot dogs to tourists on street corners in Midtown Manhattan.

'We had a hot dog machine and he would go and take it up to the Rockefeller Center,' Aldean told Daily Mail Online.

'He hated the cold weather but he was a hard worker and he believed in the American Dream. He would sing songs and make up chants about hot dogs to draw in the crowds.

'He had a gift for talking to people, he could inspire them with his humor, his spirituality - he's passed that on to his own children.'

Mohamed soon swapped New York for Dallas, met his first wife, Shirley, and got a job as a delivery man for Domino's.

He decided he would run his own business, Elhassan Deliveries, and quickly secured a contract with convenience chain 7-Eleven. His next venture was a cab company called Jet Taxi.



© Courtesy Mohamed Family

Father: Elhassan Mohammed, Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed's father, scraped together enough money to give some of his children an education and let them escape the village on the banks of the Nile where he farmed

It started out with a fleet of 25 vehicles and a handful of friends and relations filling in as drivers. The business had around 200 cars when he eventually decided to sell it off to Yellow Cab.

'I was one of the very first drivers,' recalled Mohamed's close friend of 17 years, Mohamed Bade, 43.

'He was the boss but he would also jump in and drive the cars. He has always been a humble guy - not afraid of hard work.

'He would charm the customers and keep them entertained, always with a smile on his face. He taught me the streets of Dallas and we worked 10 to 12 hours a day.

'It wasn't easy but he did it all for the future and for his family.' Mohamed studied at community college because the US didn't recognize his university degree.

He divorced in 1996 and married his second wife Muna Ahmed Ibrahim, 45.



Remote: White Nile state in Sudan is south of the capital Khartoum. Largely rural, it is a stark contrast to Irving, Texas



Impoverished: Rural Sudan is poor and life can be basic. Mohamed Elhasan Mohamed was able to escape thanks to his father's savings, which allowed him to be educated on British lines at school. Sudan was a

British colony



© REUTERS

Lifeline: The Nile is at the center of life in White Nile state, Sudan, where the river flows from the south towards the confluence with the Blue Nile just north of Khartoum



© Bryan Woolston for DailyMail.com

Passport to the future: The travel document which was virtually all that Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed arrived in the United States with. He started building his American life as a singing hotdog seller in Manhattan



Home country: Ahmed's father (second from left) has twice run for president of his home country, saying that he feels obliged to change the political system. It is currently effectively a dictatorship.

The couple live in a modest family home just outside of Dallas, where they and Mohamed's seven children aged between 18 and three months posed for photos and handed water to the media as Ahmed told his story.

Mohamed still runs a handful of businesses, including a solar energy company in his native Sudan, while mentoring local college kids and serving as president of the AISufi Center in Irving.

Not afraid of making headlines himself, Mohamed was the Dallas Imam who challenged Koran-burning Christian pastor Terry Jones to a high-profile debate in 2011.

The two men faced one another at Jones' church in Gainesville, Florida, where the Muslim holy book was the focus of a mock trial with Mohamed making the case for the defense.

The kangaroo court ruled in favor of Jones and his defeated opponent was given just long enough to leave the building before Jones followed through with his threat.

Even so, Mohamed, whose religion centers on a moderate, mystical interpretation of Islam, refused to attack Jones, telling the Dallas Observer he 'admired' the firebrand Christian for giving him a forum.

His opponents also include Sudanese despot Omar al-Bashir, who seized control of his country in a military coup in 1989 and is wanted by the International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity.

Mohamed is vice president of the country's National Reform Party and stood for the presidency in 2010 and 2015.

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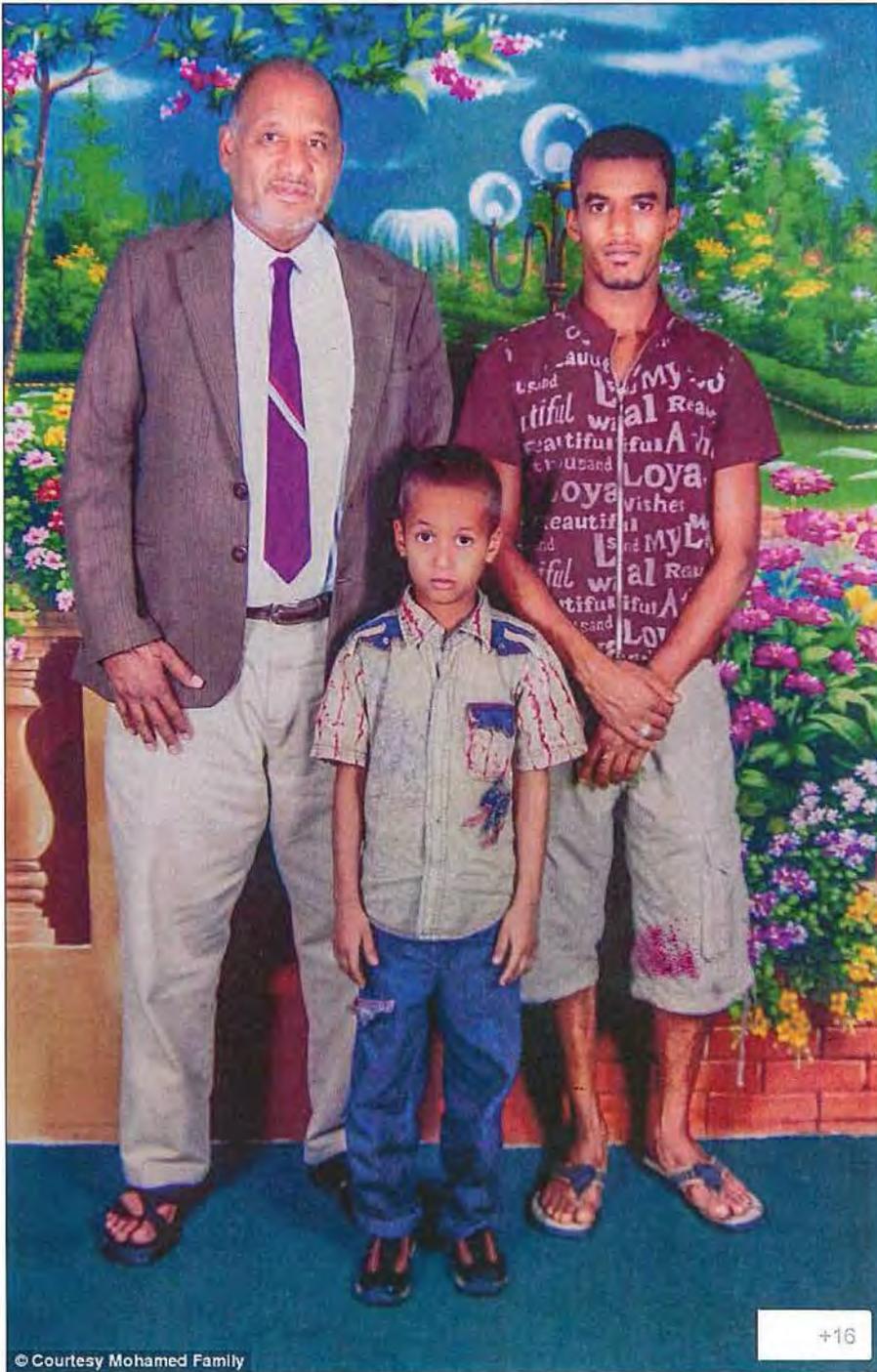
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Time to meet the President! Muslim schoolboy accepts Obama's...



Pride: Aisha Mohamed, Ahmed's grandmother, who now lives in Texas with her son Mohamed Elhasan



© Courtesy Mohamed Family

Younger days: Mohamed Elhasan Mohamed and his son Ahmed with another family member when the boy was younger

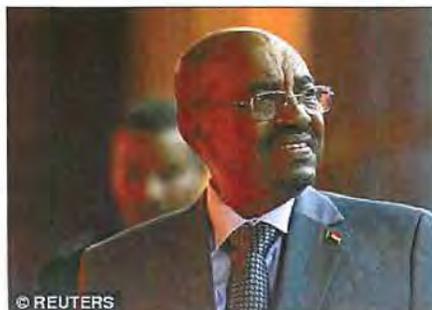


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Electronics mad: Where Ahmed Mohamed built the clock which left him in handcuffs - and invited to the White House to meet the president

'The government said Mohamed came fourth in 2015 but the elections are rigged, the whole international community know that,' explained Aldean.

'Al-Bashir steals all the votes. He is a dangerous man to cross so of course we worry about Mohamed's security when he travels to Sudan. But he has bodyguards and takes every precaution.



© REUTERS

Rival: Mohamed Elhasan Mohamed ran twice against Sudan's president, Omar al-Bashir, who has

'The journalists all write what al-Bashir **been accused of vote rigging** tells them to write but social media is helping to make things safer for him because it gives him a voice and it means people can see what's really happening.'

Social media was also the catalyst for an outpouring of support for Ahmed after a now-infamous photo of him being led out of school in handcuffs was shared around the world.

Police eventually recognized their mix-up and cleared him of any wrongdoing, while public figures and tech luminaries flocked to Twitter to urge him not to give up on his hobby.

He was also tweeted a message of support by NASA - the company that Ahmed has always dreamed of working for when he leaves school.

'Right now the family are in shock but Mohamed will make a positive out of this,' said another of the boy's uncles, Abdel, a 55-year-old car dealer.

'He will make sure his son makes the best of these opportunities. Ahmed used to love taking our mobile phones apart then putting them back together.

'We were a little worried at first but then we realized he knows what he is doing. He has fixed the TV at home, he's fixed computers for people.

'He does all this for his family - he's a good boy and very talented. America is still a great place and the best place for him to achieve his potential.'

EXHIBIT “B-4”

NEWS

TOPICS

DALLAS COUNTY SEP 2015

Ahmed Mohamed swept up, 'hoax bomb' charges swept away as Irving teen's story floods social media

Avi Selk



Don't miss a story. Like us on Facebook.

Irving's police chief announced Wednesday that charges won't be filed against Ahmed Mohamed, the MacArthur High School freshman arrested Monday after he brought what school officials and police described as a "hoax bomb" on campus.

At a joint press conference with Irving ISD, Chief Larry Boyd said the device — confiscated by an English teacher despite the teen's insistence that it was a clock — was "certainly suspicious in nature."

School officers questioned Ahmed about the device and why Ahmed had brought it to school. Boyd said Ahmed was then handcuffed "for his safety and for the safety of the officers" and taken to a juvenile detention center. He was later released to his parents, Boyd said.

“The follow-up investigation revealed the device apparently was a homemade experiment, and there’s no evidence to support the perception he intended to create alarm,” Boyd said, describing the incident as a “naive accident.”

Asked if the teen’s religious beliefs factored into his arrest, Boyd said the reaction “would have been the same” under any circumstances.

“We live in an age where you can’t take things like that to school,” he said. “Of course we’ve seen across our country horrific things happen, so we have to err on the side of caution.”

The chief touted the “outstanding relationship” he’s had with the Muslim community in Irving. He said he talked to members of the Muslim community this morning and plans to meet with Ahmed's father later today.

Speaking at an afternoon news conference outside the family’s home, Ahmed’s father said he’s proud of his son and wowed by his skills.

“He fixed my phone, my car, my computer,” Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed said. “He is a very smart, brilliant kid.”

Mohamed said he’s lived in America for 30 years, but this was a new experience for him.

“That is not America,” Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed said of his son’s humiliation after being handcuffed in front of his classmates.

But Mohamed said he’s also been touched by the outpouring of support for his son.

“What is happening is touching the heart of everyone with children,” he said. “And that is America.”

Ahmed, himself, also spoke, saying he was saddened by the initial reaction his invention provoked but amazed at what has followed.

“It made me really happy to see all these people support me,” he said.

The teen said he hasn't spoken to anyone from MacArthur High, where he was suspended until Thursday.

"I'm thinking about transferring from MacArthur to any other school," Ahmed said.

The YouTube video embed will not display on this device.

Irving ISD spokeswoman Lesley Weaver also addressed the media, saying that information "made public to this point has been very unbalanced."

She declined to provide details on how school officials handled the incident, citing laws intended to safeguard student privacy.

"We were doing everything with an abundance of caution to protect all of our students in Irving," she said.

Irving Mayor Beth Van Duyne took to Facebook to defend the actions of the school district and police, saying their daily work helped make Irving "one of the safest cities in the country."

"I do not fault the school or the police for looking into what they saw as a potential threat," Van Duyne wrote. "We have all seen terrible and violent acts committed in schools. ... Perhaps some of those could have been prevented and lives could have been spared if people were more vigilant."

The mayor later amended her post, acknowledging that she would be "very upset" had the same thing happened to her own child.

"It is my sincere desire that Irving ISD students are encouraged to use their creativity, develop innovations and explore their interests in a manner that fosters higher learning," Van Duyne wrote. "Hopefully, we can all learn from this week's events and the student, who has obvious gifts, will not feel at all discouraged from pursuing his talent in electronics and engineering."

Shortly after the press conference, President Barack Obama extended a Twitter invitation for Ahmed to bring his "cool clock" to the White House. "We should inspire more kids like you to like science. It's what makes America great," the tweet read.

Josh Earnest, Obama's press secretary, said the case goes to show how stereotypes can cloud the judgment of even the most "good-hearted people."

"It's clear that at least some of Ahmed's teachers failed him," Earnest said. "That's too bad, but it's not too late for all of us to use this as a teachable moment and to search our own conscience for biases in whatever form they take."

The White House also extended the teen an invitation to speak with NASA scientists and astronauts at next month's Astronomy Night.

Ahmed, still wearing the NASA shirt he was arrested in, said Wednesday that he gladly accepted the White House invitation.

Facebook CEO [Mark Zuckerberg](#) also joined the social media chorus, extending an open invitation to visit and exhorting Ahmed to "keep building."

"Having the skill and ambition to build something cool should lead to applause, not arrest," Zuckerberg wrote. "The future belongs to people like Ahmed."

Earlier Wednesday at a modest, red-brick house in central Irving, Ahmed and his family welcomed media crews at the front door and in the backyard as they tried to come to grips with the boy's overnight ascension to international celebrity.

The YouTube embed will not display on this device.

His sisters, 18-year-old Eyman and 17-year-old Ayisha, could hardly keep up with the tweets and stunning news about their little brother. Because Ahmed was never much for social media, the girls set up a Twitter account for him, [@IStandWithAhmed](#), and watched it balloon to thousands of followers within hours.

"We're trending No. 1!" Ayisha cried to her sister, holding a cellphone over a stuffed coffee table in the living room.

"It's a blessing and a curse," Ayisha said of Ahmed's arrest and subsequent fame. "I don't think he'll ever be able to live normally again."

But they were happy for invitations to visit companies including Google and to move and study in other cities, and for the tweets of support, including one from Hillary Clinton. They recalled how, barely two days earlier, their brother described struggling to hold back tears in front of police officers after his arrest.

This picture of Ahmed Mohamed's homemade clock is not viewable on this device.

Ahmed, after finishing up another interview in the backyard, recalled his emotions as he was handcuffed at Irving MacArthur High School and removed from campus.

"I was really mad," Ahmed said as he looked at a much-retweeted photo of himself in handcuffs. "I was like, 'Why am I here?'"

A Council on American Islamic Relations representative then hustled Ahmed and his family off to talk to a lawyer.

After they left, Ahmed's grandmother, Aisha Musa, lay on a bed in the dining room, resting her feet. She had immigrated from Sudan with the rest of the family years ago.

She doesn't speak English or know her exact age, but her granddaughters translated her take on her grandson's celebrity: "I want my son's son to grow old and have a good job. I thank God there's nothing people can say but [that] we are good people."

Staff writers Naheed Rajwani, Julie Fancher, Todd Gillman and Robert Wilonsky contributed to this report.

Update at 10:09 a.m. Wednesday: Former secretary of state and Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton joined the tidal [wave of tweets](#) supporting Mohamed Ahmed after his arrest Monday for bringing a homemade digital clock to school.

"Assumptions and fear don't keep us safe -- they hold us back. Ahmed, stay curious and keep building," [Clinton's tweet](#) read.

Irving ISD officials and Irving police will hold a press conference at 11 a.m. Wednesday at the Irving Criminal Justice Center. We will continue to update this story as new developments emerge.

Update at 9:32 a.m. Wednesday: After the story of Ahmed Mohamed's arrest for bringing a homemade digital clock to school went viral Tuesday, triggering an outpouring of support for him on social media, [Ahmed tweeted a thank-you early Wednesday](#).

Original story by Avi Selk:

IRVING — Ahmed Mohamed — who makes his own radios and repairs his own go-kart — hoped to impress his teachers when he brought a homemade clock to MacArthur High on Monday.

Instead, the school phoned police about Ahmed's circuit-stuffed pencil case.

So the 14-year-old missed the student council meeting and took a trip in handcuffs to juvenile detention. His clock now sits in an evidence room. Police say they may yet charge him with making a hoax bomb — though they acknowledge he told everyone who would listen that it's a clock.

In the meantime, Ahmed's been suspended, his father is upset and the Council on American-Islamic Relations is once again eyeing claims of Islamophobia in Irving.

Box of circuit boards

A box full of circuit boards sits at the foot of Ahmed's small bed in central Irving. His door marks the border where the Mohamed family's cramped but lavishly decorated house begins to look like the back room at RadioShack.

"Here in high school, none of the teachers know what I can do," Ahmed said, fiddling with a cable while a soldering iron dangled from the shelf behind him.

He loved robotics club in middle school and was searching for a similar niche in his first few weeks of high school.

irvingclockvideo

So he decided to do what he's always done: He built something.

Ahmed's clock was hardly his most elaborate creation. He said he threw it together in about 20 minutes before bedtime on Sunday: a circuit board and power supply wired to a digital display, all strapped inside a case with a tiger hologram on the front.

He showed it to his engineering teacher first thing Monday morning and didn't get quite the reaction he'd hoped for.

"He was like, 'That's really nice,'" Ahmed said. "I would advise you not to show any other teachers."

He kept the clock inside his school bag in English class, but the teacher complained when the alarm beeped in the middle of a lesson. Ahmed brought his invention up to show her afterward.

“She was like, it looks like a bomb,” he said.

“I told her, ‘It doesn’t look like a bomb to me.’”

The teacher kept the clock. When the principal and a police officer pulled Ahmed out of sixth period, he suspected he wouldn’t get it back.

They led Ahmed into a room where four other police officers waited. He said an officer he’d never seen before leaned back in his chair and remarked: “Yup. That’s who I thought it was.”

Ahmed felt suddenly conscious of his brown skin and his name — one of the most common in the Muslim religion. But the police kept him busy with questions.

The bell rang at least twice, he said, while the officers searched his belongings and questioned his intentions. The principal threatened to expel him if he didn’t make a written statement, he said.

“They were like, ‘So you tried to make a bomb?’” Ahmed said.

“I told them no, I was trying to make a clock.”

“He said, ‘It looks like a movie bomb to me.’”

Police skepticism

Ahmed never claimed his device was anything but a clock, said police spokesman James McLellan. And police have no reason to think it was dangerous. But officers still didn’t believe Ahmed was giving them the whole story.

The embedded tweet will not display on this device.

“We have no information that he claimed it was a bomb,” McLellan said.

“He kept maintaining it was a clock, but there was no broader explanation.”

Asked what broader explanation the boy could have given, the spokesman explained:

“It could reasonably be mistaken as a device if left in a bathroom or under a car. The concern was, what was this thing built for? Do we take him into custody?”

Police led Ahmed out of MacArthur about 3 p.m., his hands cuffed behind him and an officer on each arm. A few students gaped in the halls. He remembers the shocked expression of his student counselor — the one “who knows I’m a good boy.”

Ahmed was spared the inside of a cell. The police sent him out of the juvenile detention center to meet his parents shortly after taking his fingerprints.

They’re still investigating the case, and Ahmed hasn’t been back to school. His family said the principal suspended him for three days.

“They thought, ‘How could someone like this build something like this unless it’s a threat?’” Ahmed said.

The Scribd embed will not display on this device.

An Irving ISD statement gave no details about the case, citing student privacy laws. But a letter addressed to "Parents/Guardians" and signed by MacArthur Principal Dan Cummings said Irving police had "responded to a suspicious-looking item on campus" and had determined that "the item ... did not pose a threat to your child's safety."

‘Invent good things’

“He just wants to invent good things for mankind,” said Ahmed’s father, Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed, who immigrated from Sudan and occasionally returns there to run for president. “But because his name is Mohamed and because of Sept. 11, I think my son got mistreated.”

Mohamed is familiar with anti-Islamic politics. He once made national headlines for debating a Florida pastor who burned a Quran.

But he wasn't paying much attention this summer when Irving Mayor Beth Van Duyne became a national celebrity in anti-Islamic circles, fueling rumors in speeches that the religious minority was plotting to usurp American laws.

However, the Council on American-Islamic Relations took note.

"This all raises a red flag for us: how Irving's government entities are operating in the current climate," said Alia Salem, who directs the council's North Texas chapter and has spoken to lawyers about Ahmed's arrest.

"We're still investigating," she said, "but it seems pretty egregious."

Meanwhile, Ahmed is sitting home in his bedroom, tinkering with old gears and electrical converters, pronouncing words like "ethnicity" for what sounds like the first time.

He's vowed never to take an invention to school again.

EXHIBIT “B-5”



It can happen here. @anildash · 15 Sep 2015

I just chatted briefly with Ahmed's father & sister. They are very appreciative of everyone's support.



347



725



It can happen here.

@anildash



Follow

I expect they will have more to say tomorrow, but Ahmed's sister asked me to share this photo. A NASA shirt!



RETWEETS

6,852

LIKES

4,298



10:30 PM · 15 Sep 2015

EXHIBIT “C”

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

MOHAMED ELHASSAN MOHAMED §
a/n/f for AHMED MOHAMED, a minor §
Plaintiff, §
v. § Civil Action No. 3:16-CV-02283-L
IRVING INDEPENDENT SCHOOL §
DISTRICT; DANIEL CUMMINGS, in §
his individual capacity; and CITY OF IRVING, §
Defendants. §

**JOINT APPENDIX IN SUPPORT OF DEFENDANTS DANIEL CUMMINGS'S AND
IRVING INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT'S MOTIONS TO DISMISS AND
MOTIONS TO STRIKE AND BRIEFS IN SUPPORT**

Tab	Document	Page(s)
1.	Declaration of Daniel Cummings	1
2.	Exhibit A	2-3
3.	Exhibit B	4-5

Respectfully submitted,

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**ATTORNEYS FOR DEFENDANTS
DANIEL CUMMINGS AND IRVING
INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT**

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that a true and correct copy of this document has been served upon counsel of record for Plaintiff via the Court's electronic filing system on this 11th day of October, 2016.

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hutch@hsjustice.com

/s/ Melisa E. Meyler
Melisa E. Meyler

Exhibit A

Name: A.M. ID: 

Grade: 9th

Class/Teacher incident occurred: _____

Write in your own words what happened:

A.M. I had supposed to be in the school but instead for something else.

A.M. I was in the school and I was in the classroom. I was in the classroom and I was in the classroom.

I built a clock, cops think I'm a bomb. 3:01 p.m.

I asked A.M. again, what was your intent for building the clock?

A.M. still will not tell me his intent for building a clock and bringing it to school. 3:02 p.m.

[Signature]

Is there anything you could have done differently? If so, what?

Is there anything else you want to communicate about this incident?

Student Signature

Date

Exhibit B

From: Patrick Smith <psmith@irvingisd.net>
Date: September 14, 2015 at 7:22:09 PM CDT
To: "alsotam@██████████" <alsotam@██████████>
Subject: Notice of Disciplinary Action--For the Parents of A.M. (ID ██████████)

Dear Mr. Mohamed:

As we discussed by phone this evening, I am writing to inform you A.M. is suspended OUT OF SCHOOL (OSS) from MacArthur HS and all Irving ISD district property and events effective 9/15/2015 – 9/17/2015 for violation of the IISD Student Code of Conduct:

Possession of Prohibited Items (page 6)

Before the end of the OSS, I will contact you to schedule a conference prior to his return to campus.

Sincerely,

Patrick Smith
Assistant Principal (Students M N)
MacArthur High School
(972) 600 7200

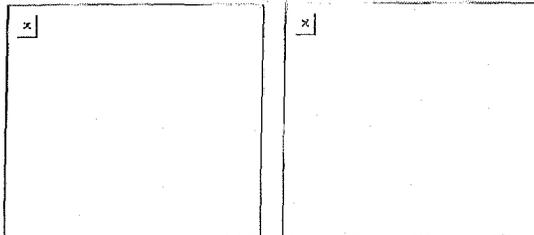


EXHIBIT “D”



DANIEL CUMMINGS
Principal

JOSE L. PARRA, Ed.D.
Superintendent of Schools

September 15, 2015

Dear Parents/Guardians,

In Irving ISD and at MacArthur High School, your child's safety and well-being is always our top priority and we want to maintain open, honest and timely communication with you. If there was ever an imminent threat to your child, we would take immediate and necessary precautions, and we would inform you immediately.

While we **do not have** any threats to our school community, we want you to be aware that the Irving Police Department responded to a suspicious-looking item on campus yesterday. We are pleased to report that after the police department's assessment, the item discovered at school did not pose a threat to your child's safety.

Our school is cooperating fully with the ongoing police investigation, and we are handling the situation in accordance with the Irving ISD Student Code of Conduct and applicable laws. Please rest assured that we will always take necessary steps to keep our school as safe as possible.

I recommend using this opportunity to talk with your child about the Student Code of Conduct and specifically not bringing items to school that are prohibited. Also, this is a good time to remind your child how important it is to immediately report any suspicious items and/or suspicious behavior they observe to any school employee so we can address it right away. We will always take necessary precautions to protect our students.

Thank you for your understanding and support of MacArthur High School as we do everything we can for your child's safety.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Dan Cummings". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "D".

Dan Cummings

MacArthur High School
3700 N. MacArthur, Irving, Texas 75062 | Tel. 972.600.7200 | Fax 972.261.2299

EXHIBIT “E”

NEWSFEED

The 30 Most Influential Teens of 2015

TIME Staff | Oct. 27, 2015

To determine *TIME*'s annual list, we consider accolades across numerous fields, global impact through social media and overall ability to drive news. Here's who made this year's cut (ordered from youngest to oldest):

Ahmed Mohamed, 14

Not many people make national news by bringing a homemade clock to school. But the ninth grader's arrest, after teachers and authorities mistook said clock for a bomb, kicked off a national debate over racial profiling—and a outpouring of support for Mohamed, who was personally invited to the White House by President Obama (who called his clock “cool”). In October, he accepted a full scholarship to a prestigious school in Qatar. —*Daniel D'Addario*



Anadolu Agency—Getty Images

EXHIBIT “F”



STATEMENT

Irving Independent School District
Office of Communications
972-600-5200

September 16, 2015
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Irving ISD Statement

Unfortunately, the information that has been made public to this point is very unbalanced. We would provide additional factual information about the situation; however, we feel it's important to protect the student's right to privacy and we will abide by FERPA, the federal law that protects student information. If the family grants us written permission to release information, we will be happy to provide additional facts to the media at that time.

In the meantime, we will continue to handle the situation in accordance with the Irving ISD Student Code of Conduct.

The facts we can share at this time are:

- On Monday, a MacArthur High School student was arrested on campus by the Irving Police Department.
- School officials have been cooperating fully with the police investigation.

We always ask our students and staff to immediately report if they observe any suspicious items and/or suspicious behavior. If something is out of the ordinary, the information should be reported immediately to a school administrator and/or the police so it can be addressed right away.

We will always take necessary precautions to protect our students and keep our school community as safe as possible.

###

*For more information, contact Lesley Weaver, Irving ISD Director of Communications
lweaver@irvingisd.net, office: 972-600-5204, cell: 214-674-8037*

EXHIBIT “G”

Vernon's Texas Statutes and Codes Annotated

Penal Code (Refs & Annos)

Title 10. Offenses Against Public Health, Safety, and Morals (Refs & Annos)

Chapter 46. Weapons (Refs & Annos)

V.T.C.A., Penal Code § 46.08

§ 46.08. Hoax Bombs

Currentness

(a) A person commits an offense if the person knowingly manufactures, sells, purchases, transports, or possesses a hoax bomb with intent to use the hoax bomb to:

(1) make another believe that the hoax bomb is an explosive or incendiary device; or

(2) cause alarm or reaction of any type by an official of a public safety agency or volunteer agency organized to deal with emergencies.

(b) An offense under this section is a Class A misdemeanor.

Credits

Added by Acts 1983, 68th Leg., p. 4831, ch. 852, § 3, eff. Sept. 1, 1983. Renumbered from V.T.C.A., Penal Code § 46.09 by Acts 1993, 73rd Leg., ch. 900, § 1.01, eff. Sept. 1, 1994.

V. T. C. A., Penal Code § 46.08, TX PENAL § 46.08

Current through the end of the 2015 Regular Session of the 84th Legislature

End of Document

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EXHIBIT “H”

included in the materials produced by Irving ISD in response to Defendants' PIA request dated October 12, 2016 and modified on October 13, 2016.

FURTHER AFFIANT SAYETH NOT."

DATED this 22nd day of November, 2016.

Olga Marshall
Olga Marshall

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO before me on this the 22nd day of November, 2016.

Lori Denise Mitchell
Notary Public – State of Texas

Lori Denise Mitchell
Typed/Printed Name

My Commission Expires: 01-26-2019

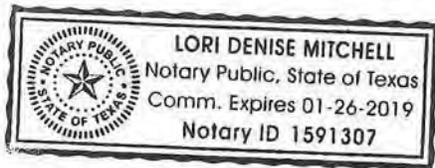


Exhibit I

Cause No.: DC-16-12579

MOHAMED MOHAMED, Individually	§	IN THE DISTRICT COURT
And on Behalf of Ahmed Mohamed, a Minor	§	
<i>Plaintiff,</i>	§	
	§	
v.	§	162ND JUDICIAL DISTRICT
	§	
THE BLAZE, INC.; GLENN BECK;	§	
CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY;	§	
JIM HANSON; FOX TELEVISION	§	
STATIONS, LLC; BEN FERGUSON;	§	
BEN SHAPIRO; BETH VAN DUYNE	§	DALLAS COUNTY, TEXAS
<i>Defendants.</i>	§	
	§	

DECLARATION OF DEFENDANT JIM HANSON

I, Jim Hanson, declare that the facts contained herein are within my personal knowledge and are true and correct.

1. I am over the age of 21 years, of sound mind, and I am competent to make this declaration. I am a named defendant in the above-captioned lawsuit.

2. I am presently employed by the Center for Security Policy (“CSP”) as its Executive Vice President.

3. CSP is a non-profit, national security think tank situated in the District of Columbia and staffed by experts in various aspect of national security.

4. As part of my responsibilities with CSP, I develop programs designed to educate policy makers and the public on issues of national security. My programs have an emphasis on the national security risks posed by Islamic supremacist groups. On behalf of CSP, I have created a world class multimedia and social media content development and distribution platform.

5. In connection with my employment with CSP, I am a custodian of records for

Decl. of Def. Jim Hanson

CSP. Among the records I keep for CSP's multimedia and social media department in the ordinary course of business is the document prepared by CSP titled, *Sharia: The Threat to America: An Exercise in Competitive Analysis, Report of Team B-II*. This record is referred to as the Team B-II Report and is attached to my declaration as Exhibit I-1 and incorporated by reference as though the document were recited verbatim in my declaration.

6. The Team B-II Report is an expert report analyzing the national security implications of what is termed by the Muslim Brotherhood as "civilization jihad" and was compiled as a contemporaneous business record in the regular course of CSP business by CSP employees or agents with knowledge of the facts contained in the Team B-II Report.

7. As the Team B-II Report makes clear, the Muslim Brotherhood term "civilization jihad" refers to the legal use of such methods as political action, litigation, lobbying, social media, public relations, education, and "influence operations" to achieve certain "Islamist" goals, including, but not limited to, affecting foreign and public policy of countries, especially in the West, thereby influencing the opinions and attitudes of the public generally and of the media and political and policy actors more specifically.

8. I, and other national security experts with a focus on the national security threat posed by Islamic terrorists and non-violent Islamists, consider the international Muslim Brotherhood group and its localized nationally-affiliated groups to be the pre-eminent organizational effort worldwide to achieve "civilization jihad."

9. "Civilization jihad" consists of non-violent and/or pre-violent activities and stands in contrast to kinetic or violent jihad (*i.e.*, terrorism/war) in that it employs legal methodologies to achieve its goals rather than illegal methods, violence, or the explicit threat of violence.

10. In addition to my role with CSP, I have served our country in the United States

Decl. of Def. Jim Hanson

Armed Forces where I acquired expertise in threat assessment, with a focus on threats posed by Islamist insurgent groups, and I also received training in explosives and ordinance. I was a member of the United States Army Special Forces and served on active duty from 1983 to 1995. Thereafter, I served in the National Guard from 1995 to 1998.

11. Based on my training and the expertise I acquired in the Special Forces, I recognized the device that Ahmed Mohamed took to his school as very similar to the briefcase bombs that I had built and exploded in the course of my professional exercises during my time in the military. Moreover, I have seen several improvised explosive devices that were based on a digital clock as both the timer and the trigger. Drawing from my research and professional experience, Ahmed Mohamed's device resembled a bomb.

12. I have read Plaintiff Mohamed Mohamed's original petition filed in this litigation. I am aware of the statements attributed to me and of which Plaintiff is now complaining.

13. I appeared as a guest of the Glenn Beck Show and the program aired on September 22, 2015. During the program, I made two sets of statements of appreciable duration. Plaintiff complains of one of those sets of statements. However, Plaintiff's petition omits some of my statements, and I believe that it is important that the Court be aware of the entirety of my remarks.

14. My exact words from the two major sets of statements I made are as follows:

I think it's happening. I don't think there's any question that this latest event was a PR stunt. It was a staged event where someone convinced this kid [Ahmed Mohamed] to bring a device that he didn't build, as you mentioned. It's a RadioShack clock that he put in a briefcase, and in a briefcase it looks like a bomb They did that to create the exact scenario that played out. They wanted people to react, and they wanted to portray this kid as an innocent victim. I think he was a pawn potentially of his father. His sister actually claimed that she was suspended. His sister told MSNBC that she was suspended by the same school district from making a bomb threat years ago. Don't know if that's true

Decl. of Def. Jim Hanson

yet, but she said that in her own words. So there's a vendetta from them, and they're tied, as you mentioned, with CAIR [Council on American-Islamic Relations] and CAIR is Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas tied. They're basically involved in civilization jihad, so I think you're right.

They created the appearance of an anti-Muslim bias where there was none, where there was pure public safety concern, and they use that to portray Muslims as victims, Americans as bigots, and our system as stacked against them. They will do that again, and what they're trying to do is censor any criticism of Islam. That allows them to do things like impose sharia tribunals like the mayor shut down and use Islamic law to supplant US law.

15. I have provided a true and correct copy of the transcript of the statements I made on the Glenn Beck Show as Exhibit I-2. This transcript may also be accessed at the following URL: <http://www.glennbeck.com/2015/09/22/77355/> . I have included a compact disk that contains a true and correct audio and visual recording of my appearance on the Glenn Beck Show. The segments of the Glenn Beck Show can be found at the previously referenced website address and on the disk as Exhibit I-2i and Exhibit I-2ii.

16. Prior to appearing on the Glenn Beck Show, I conducted research into the controversy surrounding Ahmed Mohamed and his family. All of my research was gathered from publicly available sources. In addition to my research resources, I relied on my personal and professional experience and the expertise I had acquired in the United States Armed Forces.

17. My research, experience, and expertise informed the opinions, judgments, and conclusions that I shared as a guest on the Glenn Beck Show. I consulted the *Daily Beast* website, MSNBC, the CAIRtv YouTube channel, a blog site known as *Artvoice* that showed a deconstruction of a device that was very similar to the device Ahmed Mohamed brought to his school, the *Daily Caller* website, a reputable website known as *PJ Media*, the *Washington Post* website for a news article that reported on the political backdrop in the City of Irving when the Ahmed Mohamed controversy was unfolding, and another article concerning a political dust-up

Decl. of Def. Jim Hanson

between Irving Mayor Beth Van Duyne and many in the Irving Islamic community over Sharia law tribunals.

18. From my research, I noted that Alia Salem, whom I know to be the executive director of the local chapter of the Council on American Islamic Relations (“CAIR”), accompanied Ahmed Mohamed on his September 16, 2015, appearance on MSNBC to discuss his arrest and the device Ahmed Mohamed had taken to school. A true and correct copy of the MSNBC segment I viewed as part of my research is contained in a compact disk and is marked as Exhibit I-3. The same true and correct copy can also be accessed at the following URL <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kofgo4k98fc&feature=youtu.be>, which is a YouTube video uploaded on the channel of “CAIRtv.”

19. This video established in my mind the link between the Mohamed family and CAIR. My belief concerning the connection between CAIR and the Mohamed family was reinforced when I read an article on the *Daily Beast’s* website. A true and correct copy of the article I read as part of my research is attached to my declaration as Exhibit I-4. This article reported on, among other things, Ms. Salem’s role in scheduling Ahmed Mohamed’s appearances on news programs and late-night television. This article made it clear in my mind that CAIR—through its executive director, Ms. Salem—was connected to the Mohamed family and was directing the public relations aspect of the controversy for the Mohamed family.

20. Ms. Salem, when she appeared with Ahmed Mohamed on MSNBC, used her platform on national television to complain about “Islamophobia.” In my experience and expert professional opinion, this is a tactic used by Islamist organizations to delegitimize those who disagree with them. The cry of “Islamophobia” is addressed in the Team B-II report, especially on pages 162-64, as a tool to delegitimize those who disagree with the Islamist platform and to

push for acceptance of Sharia (*i.e.*, Islamic law). It is part and parcel of the subversive influence campaign waged by various Islamist organizations and is known as “civilization jihad” by the Islamist groups themselves.

21. I chose to use the term “civilization jihad” during my appearance on the Glenn Beck Show because my research and experience has led me to believe that CAIR, groups like them, and people connected with them push acceptance of Islamist beliefs, ideals, and goals, including the application of Sharia through legal means.

22. CAIR is known to be an Islamist organization with ties to the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas. As the Team B-II Report states on pages 146-47, CAIR was an unindicted co-conspirator in the terrorism funding trial held in Dallas known as *United States vs. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development*. CAIR’s connections to Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood are noted on page 146 and multiple other locations of the Team B-II Report. The connection between CAIR and other Islamist organizations, including Hamas, is my expert opinion—one shared by many experts who study the matter—and has been referenced by federal courts as supported by the evidence.

23. Further, the Team B-II Report also details how the Muslim Brotherhood, and its affiliated groups like CAIR, use non-violent and/or pre-violent means to infiltrate and subvert Western governments and social institutions. These subversion campaigns are what the Muslim Brotherhood itself refers to as “civilization jihad.” I am aware that Islamist groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood and CAIR are engaged in a non-violent campaign known as civilization jihad from my experience as a former military specialist and as a current non-military national security professional focusing on Islamist insurgent groups as well as from my own independent study.

Decl. of Def. Jim Hanson

24. My reading of the *Daily Beast* article also led me to conclude that Ahmed Mohamed's family may have encouraged Ahmed to stage the event that led to his arrest and the ensuing controversy. In the *Daily Beast* article, Ahmed's sister claimed that she was previously suspended from school for three days over a bomb threat. Moreover, Ahmed Mohamed's sister complained that she did not stand up for herself at the time of her suspension and believed that her brother Ahmed was standing up for her after the fact. The similarity in the stories and the fact that Ahmed Mohamed's sister viewed this as an act of revenge or "do over" caused me to suspect that Ahmed Mohamed may have been acting at someone else's behest when he took his device to school.

25. In addition to the *Daily Beast* article, I watched two YouTube videos and read an article from the *Artvoice* website that further reinforced in my mind that someone had put Ahmed Mohamed up to taking his suspicious looking device to school. A true and correct copy of the *Artvoice* article I reviewed as part of my research is attached as Exhibit I-5 and can be accessed on the internet at the following URL <http://blogs.artvoice.com/techvoice/2015/09/17/reverse-engineering-ahmed-mohameds-clock-and-ourselves/>. One of the YouTube videos I reviewed shows how a vintage RadioShack clock was quickly disassembled and put into a metal case with the resultant contraption strongly resembling the device Ahmed Mohamed took to school. A true and correct copy of this video is included on a compact disk and marked as Exhibit I-6. A true and correct copy of the same video may be accessed at the following URL https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kHk_6Vh4Qeo&feature=youtu.be. I noticed that it took the person in the video about 20 seconds to essentially recreate an almost identical copy of the crude device that Ahmed Mohamed allegedly invented. This seemed to undercut the prevailing

Decl. of Def. Jim Hanson

narrative that Ahmed Mohamed was a child prodigy who invented some unique or superb device. From my research, it appeared to me that Ahmed Mohamed, or someone acting for him, hastily threw a vintage LED clock screen and its wires into a metal box or briefcase. In my view, the only thing that was really accomplished by rearranging wires and an old LED timer was to give the post-assembled device a suspicious or onerous appearance.

26. The true and correct copy of the second video I reviewed is included on a compact disk and is marked as Exhibit I-7. A true and correct copy of the video can also be viewed at the following URL <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aYeJDC-DtLU&feature=youtu.be> . In this video, the spokesman for the Irving Police Department stated that Ahmed Mohamed could not explain his device, what the device was used for, or why he took the device to school. This inability to answer basic questions again undercut the narrative that Ahmed Mohamed birthed the idea of the device and came up with the idea to take the device to school. Ahmed Mohamed's reported failure to answer basic questions about his device and his rationale for taking it to school led me to believe that it was the idea of someone other than Ahmed to take the device to school.

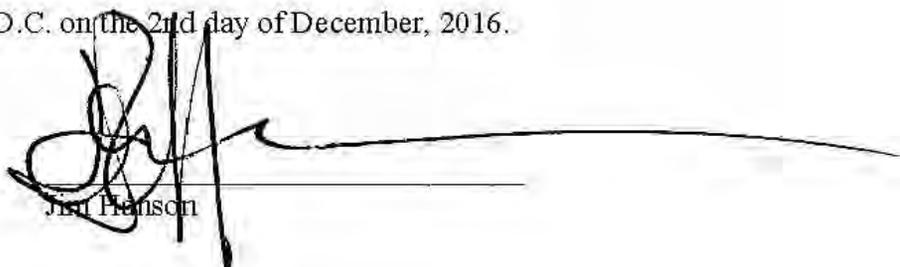
27. After my review of the many public appearances of Ahmed Mohamed and his father—the plaintiff in this litigation—specifically including my review of the way in which Ahmed Mohamed's father exploited the media coverage for his own advantage, and given the parental relationship between the two, I concluded that Ahmed Mohamed's father was likely the one directing Ahmed Mohamed's actions.

28. I firmly believed at the time, and do now, that every statement I made on the Glenn Beck Show was truthful and/or a reasonable opinion or judgment based upon true facts. I relied on my research and my many years of experience in the military and in the field of

national security to formulate my opinions, judgments, and statements that I made as a guest on the Glenn Beck Show. I performed my due diligence prior to attending the Glenn Beck show and kept an open mind as I researched Ahmed Mohamed, his family, and the controversy concerning Ahmed Mohamed. The facts set forth in my statements were widely reported by reputable news outlets. There was no information available to me in the public domain that would have led me to doubt the veracity and/or reasonableness of the statements I made as a guest of the Glenn Beck Show.

My name is Jim Hanson, my date of birth is October 8, 1964, and my address is 1901 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Suite 201, Washington, D.C. 20006, United States of America. I declare under penalty of perjury that the forgoing is true and correct.

Executed in Washington, D.C. on the 2nd day of December, 2016.



Jim Hanson

Exhibit I-1



CENTER FOR SECURITY POLICY

SHARIAH THE THREAT TO AMERICA

**AN EXERCISE IN COMPETITIVE ANALYSIS
REPORT OF TEAM B II**

SHARIAH THE THREAT TO AMERICA

AN EXERCISE IN COMPETITIVE ANALYSIS
REPORT OF TEAM B II

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Book design by David Reaboi.

P R E F A C E

This study is the result of months of analysis, discussion and drafting by a group of top security policy experts concerned with the preeminent totalitarian threat of our time: the legal-political-military doctrine known within Islam as *shariah*. It is designed to provide a comprehensive and articulate “second opinion” on the official characterizations and assessments of this threat as put forth by the United States government.

The authors, under the sponsorship of the Center for Security Policy, have modeled this work on an earlier “exercise in competitive analysis” which came to be known as the “Team B” Report. That 1976 document challenged the then-prevailing official U.S. government intelligence (“Team A”) estimates of the intentions and offensive capabilities of the Soviet Union and the policy known as *détente* that such estimates ostensibly justified.

Unlike its predecessor, which a group of independent security policy professionals conducted at the request and under the sponsorship of the Director of Central Intelligence, George H.W. Bush, the present Team B II report is based entirely on unclassified, readily available sources. As with the original Team B analysis, however, this study challenges the assumptions underpinning the official line in the conflict with today’s totalitarian threat, which is currently euphemistically described as “violent extremism,” and the policies of co-existence, accommodation and submission that are rooted in those assumptions.

Special thanks are due Clare Lopez, whose efforts to transform the Team B II members’ various individual contributions into a seamless and powerful report are deeply appreciated.

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Defense for Intelligence*

LIEUTENANT GENERAL HARRY EDWARD SOYSTER
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General Counsel to the Center for Security Policy

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INTRODUCTION

In 1976, the then-Director of Central Intelligence, George H. W. Bush, commissioned an “Experiment in Competitive Analysis.” Its purpose was to expose to critical scrutiny the assumptions and factual basis underpinning the official assessment of the totalitarian ideology that confronted America at the time: Soviet Communism. That official assessment was rooted in the belief that, through a policy of engagement known as *détente*, the United States and the USSR could not only avoid horrifically destructive conflicts, but could peacefully coexist permanently.

DCI Bush invited a group of known skeptics about *détente* to review the classified National Intelligence Estimates and other data concerning Soviet objectives, intentions and present and future military capabilities. The object was to provide an informed second opinion on the U.S. policy toward the Kremlin that was, ostensibly, warranted in light of such information. The conclusions of this experimental initiative – which came to be known popularly as the “Team B” study – differed sharply from those of “Team A”: the Ford Administration and the intelligence community.

Team B found that the Soviet Union was, pursuant to its ideology, determined to secure the defeat of the United States and its allies and the realization of the worldwide triumph of Soviet Communism. As a result Team B found that not only was *détente*

unlikely to succeed the way the U.S. government had envisioned, but the U.S. national security posture and policies undertaken in its pursuit were exposing the nation to grave danger.

The effect of this authoritative alternative view was profound. Among others, former California Governor Ronald Reagan used the thrust of its findings to challenge *détente* and those in public office who supported this doctrine. Drawing on the thinking of Team B with regard to national security issues, Reagan nearly defeated President Gerald Ford's bid for reelection in the 1976 primaries. Four years later, Reagan successfully opposed President Jimmy Carter, with their disagreement over the latter's *détentist* foreign and defense policies towards Moscow featuring prominently in the former's victory.

Most importantly, as President, Ronald Reagan drew on the work of Team B as an intellectual foundation for his strategy for destroying the Soviet Union and discrediting its ideology – a feat begun during his tenure and finally accomplished, thanks to his implementation of that strategy, several years after he left office.

THE CONTEMPORARY THREAT

Today, the United States faces what is, if anything, an even more insidious ideological threat: the totalitarian socio-political doctrine that Islam calls shariah. Translated as “the path,” shariah is a comprehensive legal and political framework. Though it certainly has spiritual elements, it would be a mistake to think of shariah as a “religious” code in the Western sense because it seeks to regulate all manner of behavior in the secular sphere – economic, social, military, legal and political.

Shariah is the crucial fault line of Islam's internecine struggle. On one side of the divide are Muslim reformers and authentic moderates – figures like Abdurrahman Wahid, the late president of Indonesia and leader of the world's largest libertarian

Muslim organization, *Nahdlatul Ulama* – whose members espouse the Enlightenment’s embrace of reason and, in particular, its separation of the spiritual and secular realms. On this side of the divide, shariah is a reference point for a Muslim’s personal conduct, not a corpus to be imposed on the life of a pluralistic society.

By contrast, the other side of the divide is dominated by Muslim supremacists, often called Islamists. Like erstwhile proponents of Communism and Nazism, these supremacists – some terrorists, others employing stealthier means – seek to impose a totalitarian regime: a global totalitarian system cloaked as an Islamic State and called a caliphate. On that side of the divide, which is the focus of the present study, shariah is an immutable, compulsory system that Muslims are obliged to install and the world required to adopt, the failure to do so being deemed a damnable offence against Allah. For these ideologues, shariah is not a private matter. Adherents see the West as an obstacle to be overcome, not a culture and civilization to be embraced, or at least tolerated. It is impossible, they maintain, for alternative legal systems and forms of governments peacefully to coexist with the end-state they seek.

THE TEAM B II CONSENSUS

It is not within the scope of this study to solve the widely divergent estimates of the strength of these respective camps. The imperative driving this study is America’s national security and, by extension, the security of its friends and allies.

Like their counterparts a generation ago, the members of Team B II collectively bring to this task decades of hands-on experience as security policy practitioners and analysts, much of it involving shariah’s proponents of both the violent jihadist and pre-violent *dawa* stripes. They have distinguished backgrounds in national defense policy-making, military, intelligence, homeland

security and law enforcement communities, in academia and in the war of ideas. Thanks to their expertise and dedication, this new report represents an authoritative, valuable and timely critique of the U.S. government's present policy towards shariah and its adherents, an assessment of the threat it entails and a call for a long-overdue course-correction. This report reflects consensus on the following significant points:

First, the shariah adherents who comprise the supremacist camp constitute a mainstream and dynamic movement in Islam. Importantly, that characterization does not speak to the question of whether this camp is or is not representative of the "true Islam." There are over a billion Muslims in the world, and their understandings about their belief system, as well as their practices with respect to it, vary. In light of this, there may not be a single "true Islam." If there is one, we do not presume to pronounce what it holds.

What cannot credibly be denied, however, is that:

- a. shariah is firmly rooted in Islam's doctrinal texts, and it is favored by influential Islamic commentators, institutions, and academic centers (for example, the faculty at al-Azhar University in Cairo, for centuries the seat of Sunni learning and jurisprudence);
- b. shariah has been, for over a half-century, lavishly financed and propagated by Islamic regimes (particularly Saudi Arabia and Iran), through the offices of disciplined international organizations (particularly the Muslim Brotherhood and the Organization of the Islamic Conference); and
- c. due to the fact that Islam lacks a central, universally recognized hierarchical authority (in contrast to, say, the Roman Catholic papacy),

authentic Islamic moderates and reformers have an incredibly difficult task in endeavoring to delegitimize shariah in the community where it matters most: the world's Muslims.

Consequently, regardless of what percentage of the global Islamic population adheres or otherwise defers to shariah (and some persuasive polling indicates that percentage is high in many Islamic countries¹), that segment is punching well above its weight. For that reason, proponents of an expansionist shariah present a serious threat to the United States even if we assume, for argument's sake, that hopeful pundits are correct in claiming that shariah adherent Islam is not the preponderant Muslim ideology.

A second point follows that it is vital to the national security of the United States, and to Western civilization at large, that we do what we can to empower Islam's *authentic* moderates and reformers. That cannot be done by following the failed strategy of fictionalizing the state of Islam in the vain hope that reality will, at some point, catch up to the benign fable. Empowering the condign elements of Islam requires a candid assessment, which acknowledges the strength of shariah – just as defeat of Twentieth Century totalitarian ideologies required an acknowledgment of, and respect for, their malevolent capabilities.

To do this, we must no longer allow those who mean to destroy our society by sabotaging it from within to camouflage themselves as “moderates.”² The definition of *moderation* needs to be reset, to bore in on the shariah fault-line. Only by identifying those Muslims who wish to impose shariah can we succeed in marginalizing them.

As this study manifests, the shariah system is totalitarian. It imposes itself on all aspects of civil society and human life, both public and private. Anyone obliged actually to defend the proposition that shariah should be adopted here will find few takers and be properly seen for what they are – marginal and extremist fig-

ures. That, and only that, will strengthen true proponents of a moderate or reformist Islam that embraces freedom and equality.

Third, we have an obligation to protect our nation and our way of life regardless of the ultimate resolution of Islam's internal strife. We can do a far better job of empowering non-shariah-adherent Muslims, who are our natural allies, but we cannot win for them. They have to do that for themselves. Irrespective of whether they succeed in the formidable task of delegitimizing shariah globally, we must face it down in the United States, throughout the West and wherever on earth it launches violent or ideological offensives against us.

SHARIAH IS ANTI-CONSTITUTIONAL

If we are to face down shariah, we must understand what we are up against, not simply hope that dialogue and "engagement" will make the challenge go away. Those who today support shariah and the establishment of a global Islamic State (caliphate) are perforce supporting objectives that are incompatible with the U.S. Constitution, the civil rights the Constitution guarantees and the representative, accountable government it authorizes. In fact, shariah's pursuit in the United States is tantamount to sedition.

Whether pursued through the violent form of jihad (holy war) or stealthier practices that shariah Islamists often refer to as "*dawa*" (the "call to Islam"), shariah rejects fundamental premises of American society and values:

- a. the bedrock proposition that the governed have a right to make law for themselves;
- b. the republican democracy governed by the Constitution;
- c. freedom of conscience; individual liberty (including in matters of personal privacy and sexual preference);

- d. freedom of expression (including the liberty to analyze and criticize shariah);
- e. economic liberty (including private property);
- f. equal treatment under the law (including that of men and women, and of Muslims and non-Muslims);
- g. freedom from cruel and unusual punishments; an unequivocal condemnation of terrorism (i.e., one that is based on a common sense meaning of the term and does not rationalize barbarity as legitimate “resistance”); and
- h. an abiding commitment to deflate and resolve political controversies by the ordinary mechanisms of federalism and democracy, not wanton violence.

The subversion campaign known as “civilization jihad” must not be confused with, or tolerated as, a constitutionally protected form of religious practice. Its ambitions transcend what American law recognizes as the sacrosanct realm of private conscience and belief. It seeks to supplant our Constitution with its own totalitarian framework. In fact, we get this concept of civilization jihad from, among other sources, a document that was entered into evidence in the 2008 *United States v. Holy Land Foundation* terrorist finance trial titled the *An Explanatory Memorandum: On the General Strategic Goal for the Group*.³

The *Explanatory Memorandum* was written in 1991 by Mohamed Akram, a senior Hamas leader in the U.S. and a member of the Board of Directors for the Muslim Brotherhood in North America (MB, also known as the Ikhwan). [The Memorandum is reproduced in full as Appendix II of this report]

The document makes plain that the Islamic Movement is a MB effort, led by the Ikhwan in America.⁴ The *Explanatory Memorandum* goes on to explain that the “Movement” is a “settlement process” to establish itself inside the United States and, once estab-

lished, to undertake a “grand jihad” characterized as a “civilization jihadist” mission that is likewise led by the Muslim Brotherhood.⁵ Specifically, the document describes the “settlement process” as a “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”⁶

To put it simply, according to the Muslim Brotherhood, the civilization jihad is the “Settlement Process” and the “Settlement Process” is the mission of the “Islamic Movement.” And that mission entails “eliminating and destroying” our way of life. Author Robert Spencer has popularized this concept with a term that captures both the character and deadly purpose of the Ikhwan’s efforts in America: “stealth jihad.”

LESSONS FROM THE COLD WAR

There is a loose analogy to the distinctions we made in the Cold War. America and its allies enjoyed a general unanimity that we needed to deal effectively with any potential violent aggression by the chief communist power, the Soviet Union, and we readily maintained a sizeable military force and alliances to that end. But we had more difficulty as a nation deciding how to deal with non-violent domestic communists under foreign control, such as the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) and the constellation of domestic and international front organizations under party control or Soviet ideological discipline. These tactically non-violent or pre-violent forces, like their violent comrades-in-arms, had as their objective the establishment of a world-wide dictatorship of the proletariat.

Congress, taking note of this objective even before the Cold War, at first tried to force agents of foreign powers to register as such with the Department of Justice, with the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) of 1938. Later, in 1940, Congress attempted to make it illegal to be a communist in the U.S. by passing the Smith Act, which President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law. Congress enacted the McCarran-Walter Act (the 1952 Immigration and Nationality

Act), signed by President Harry S Truman, which authorized the exclusion and deportation of aliens on such ideological grounds as support for overthrowing the United States government. The government took a number of other steps with regard to domestic non-violent supporters of the proposition that our Constitution should be replaced by a dictatorship, including: being required to register with the government and forgo government service. In addition, their organization, the Communist Party of the United States of America was penetrated by the FBI. As a nation we made some mistakes in this process, but in the end it worked reasonably well to protect American democracy against Nazi and Soviet ideological penetration.

Beginning in the 1960s, however, the Supreme Court drastically reinterpreted the First Amendment, gradually extending the original guarantee of American citizens' right to engage in political speech, to include a constitutional protection to (a) subversive speech that could be construed as "advocacy," rather than incitement to imminent lawlessness, and (b) the speech of non-Americans. Bowing to elite opinion, which scoffed at fears of communist penetration of our government and institutions, Congress (in such legislation as the 1965 Immigration Act, the 1978 McGovern Amendment, the 1989 Moynihan-Frank Amendment, and the 1990 Immigration Act) gutted the statutory basis for excluding and deporting individuals based on ideological beliefs, regardless of their subversive tendencies – at least in the absence of demonstrable ties to terrorism, espionage or sabotage.

Let us assume, again for argument's sake, that there was some validity in the opinion elite's critique that anti-communism went too far – and set aside the fact that such an assumption requires overlooking post-Soviet revelations that have confirmed communist infiltrations. The prior experience would not mean the security precautions that sufficed to protect our nation from communism are sufficient to shield us from a totalitarian ideology cloaked in religious garb.

Such precautions are wholly inadequate for navigating a threat environment in which secretive foreign-sponsored international networks undermine our nation from within. That is especially the case where such networks can exploit the atmosphere of intimidation created by the tactics of their terrorist counterparts (including individual assassinations and mass-murder attacks on our homeland, and the mere threat of violence) in a modern technological age of instantaneous cross-continental communications and the increasing availability of mass-destruction weapons that allow ever fewer people to project ever more power.

MISSTEPS HAVE COMPOUNDED THE DANGER

As this report will demonstrate, there is plenty of blame to go around. The fact is that, under both political parties, the U.S. government has comprehensively failed to grasp the true nature of this enemy – an adversary that fights to reinstate the totalitarian Islamic caliphate and impose shariah globally. Indeed, under successive Democratic and Republican administrations, America’s civilian and military leaders have too often focused single-mindedly on the kinetic terror tactics deployed by al Qaeda and its affiliates to the exclusion of the overarching supremacist ideology of shariah that animates them.

Our leadership generally has also failed to appreciate the complementary subversion campaigns posed by groups like the Muslim Brotherhood – groups that fully share the objectives of the violent jihadists but believe that, for the moment at least, more stealthy, “pre-violent” means of jihad are likely to prove more effective in achieving those goals. It must always be kept in mind, of course, that stealthy jihad tactics are just that: tactics to prepare the U.S. battlefield for the inevitable violence to come. Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich has issued several salutary warnings along these lines, including a major address at the American Enterprise Institute on July 26, 2010.⁷

By neglecting their professional duty to understand the doctrinal and legal basis of jihad, policymakers commit national resources in blood and treasure to foreign battlefields without ever realizing that what we must fight for is not just security from Islamist suicide bombers. Rather, we must also preserve here at home the system of government, laws, and freedoms guaranteed by our Constitution. Our national leaders and military and intelligence officers took oaths to “support and defend” the Constitution that is now being targeted by those foreign and domestic enemies who seek our submission to shariah.

THE BOTTOM LINE

Absent such an understanding, and the policy and operational adjustments it necessitates, we risk winning on the battlefield but losing the war. While the U.S. launches intelligence assets and the finest military the world has ever seen with devastating tactical effect, our shariah-adherent foes deploy their forces strategically across the full battlespace of 21st Century warfare, including here in North America.

Team B II believes that the role played in this regard by shariah’s most sophisticated jihadists, the Muslim Brotherhood, is of particular concern. Steeped in Islamic doctrine, and already embedded deep inside both the United States and our allies, the Brotherhood has become highly skilled in exploiting the civil liberties and multicultural proclivities of Western societies for the purpose of destroying the latter from within. As America’s top national security leadership continues to be guided by its post-modernist, scientific, and high-tech world-view, it neglects the reality that 7th Century impulses, enshrined in shariah, have reemerged as the most critical existential threat to constitutional governance and the freedom-loving, reason-driven principles that undergird Western civilization. Worse yet, as this report documents powerfully, our leaders have failed to perceive – let alone respond effectively to – the real progress being made by the Muslim Brotherhood in insinuating shariah into the very heartland of America through stealthy means. Team B II

believes that the defeat of the enemy's stealth jihad requires that the American people and their leaders be aroused to the high stakes in this war, as well as to the very real possibility that we could lose, absent a determined and vigorous program to keep America shariah-free. To that end, Team B II sets forth in plain language who this enemy is, what the ideology is that motivates and justifies their war against us, what are the various forms of warfare the enemy employs to achieve their ends and the United States' vulnerability to them, and what we must do to emerge victorious.

Andrew C. McCarthy

Harry Edward Soyster

R. James Woolsey

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Sun Tzu stressed the imperative of warriors understanding both themselves and their enemy: “If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the results of a hundred battles.” The U.S. military has carefully followed Sun Tzu’s guidance in the training and education of its warriors.

Yet, today, America is engaged in existential conflict with foes that have succeeded brilliantly in concealing their true identity and very dangerous capabilities. In this, they have been helped by our own willful blindness – a practice in which, given the real, present and growing danger, we simply can no longer afford to indulge. This report is a contribution toward knowing the enemy.

THE THREAT IS SHARIAH

The enemy adheres to an all-encompassing Islamic political-military-legal doctrine known as shariah. Shariah obliges them to engage in jihad to achieve the triumph of Islam worldwide through the establishment of a global Islamic State governed exclusively by shariah, under a restored caliphate.

The good news is that millions of Muslims around the world – including many in America – do not follow the directives of shariah, let alone engage in jihad. The bad news is that this reality reflects the fact that the imposition of strict shariah doctrine is at different stages across Muslim-majority and -minority countries.

The appearance is thus created that there is variation in shariah. Of late, representatives of Muslim- and Arab-American groups⁸ and their apologists⁹ have been claiming that there is no single shariah, that it is subject to interpretation and no one interpretation is any more legitimate than any other.

In fact, for especially the Sunni and with regard to non-Muslims, there is ultimately but one shariah. It is totalitarian in character, incompatible with our Constitution and a threat to freedom here and around the world. Shariah's adherents are making a determined, sustained, and well-financed effort to impose it on all Muslims and non-Muslims, alike.

That effort is abetted enormously by several factors. Too many Muslims, to borrow a metaphor from Mao, provide the sea in which the jihadis swim. By offering little meaningful opposition to the jihadist agenda and by meekly submitting to it, a large number of Muslim communities and nations generally project a tacit agreement with jihadis' ends, if not with their means. At the very least, they exhibit an unwillingness to face the consequences of standing up to shariah's enforcers within Islam. Such consequences include the distinct possibility of being denounced as an apostate, a capital offense under shariah.

There are, moreover, Muslims around the world – including some in Europe, Canada, Australia and the United States – who *do* support shariah by various means. These include: (1) by contributing to “charity” (*zakat*), even though, according to shariah, those engaged in jihad are among the authorized recipient categories for what amounts to a mandatory tax;¹⁰ (2) by inculcating their children with shariah at mosques or *madrassas*; and (3) by participating in, or simply failing to report, abhorrent behavior condoned or commanded by shariah (e.g., underage and forced marriage,¹¹ honor killing,¹² female genital mutilation,¹³ polygamy,¹⁴ and domestic abuse,¹⁵ including marital rape¹⁶).

Evidence of the extent to which shariah is being insinuated into the fabric of American society abounds, if one is willing to see it. A particularly egregious example was the 2009 case of a Muslim woman whose request for a restraining order against her Moroccan husband who had serially tortured and raped her was denied by New Jersey family court Judge Joseph Charles. The judge ruled on the grounds that the abusive husband had acted according to his Muslim (shariah) beliefs, and thus not with criminal intent.

In this instance, a New Jersey appellate court overturned the ruling in July 2010, making clear that in the United States, the laws of the land derive from the Constitution and the alien dictates of shariah have no place in a U.S. courtroom.¹⁷ Still, the fact that such a reversal was necessary is instructive.

MISPERCEIVING THE THREAT

Few Americans are aware of the diversity and success to date of such efforts to insinuate shariah into the United States – let alone the full implications of the mortal threat this totalitarian doctrine represents to our freedoms, society and government. Fewer still understand the nature of the jihad being waged to impose it here.

To be sure, since 9/11, most in this country have come to appreciate that America is put at risk by violent jihadis who launch military assaults and plot destructive attacks against our friends and allies, our armed forces and our homeland. Far less recognizable, however, is the menace posed by jihadist enemies who operate by deceit and stealth from inside the gates. The latter threat is, arguably, a far more serious one to open, tolerant societies like ours. This report is substantially devoted to laying bare the danger posed by so-called “non-violent” jihadists, exposing their organizational infrastructure and modus operandi and recommending actions that must be taken to prevent their success.

The first thing to understand about the jihadis who operate by stealth is that they have precisely the same dual objectives as the openly violent jihadists (including al Qaeda, Hezbollah, Hamas and the Taliban): global imposition of shariah and re-establishment of the Islamic caliphate to rule in accordance with it. They differ only with respect to timing and tactics. In fact, the seemingly innocuous outreach tactics of *dawa* are merely part of the initial stages of what the U.S. military would call “intelligence preparation of the battlefield” that is calculated favorably to sculpt the terrain over the long term, preceding the ultimate, violent seizure of the U.S. government and replacement of the U.S. Constitution with shariah.¹⁸

U.S. national security leaders, academia, the media and society as a whole have been rendered all but incapable of recognizing this dimension as part of the enemy jihad. A number of factors have contributed to that lack of situational awareness. For one, it follows decades during which pride in American heritage, traditions and values steadily has eroded and pro-shariah sheikhs have poured millions into U.S. Middle East studies and inter-religious dialogue programs.

At the same time, a massive propaganda operation has targeted Western society. Its immediate goal is to obscure the fact that jihadist violence and more stealthy supremacism is rooted in the Islamic texts, teachings, and interpretations that constitute shariah.

The net result of these combined forces is that the United States has been infiltrated and deeply influenced by an enemy within that is openly determined to replace the U.S. Constitution with shariah.

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

The most important entity promoting Islamic supremacism, shariah, and the caliphate through – at least for the moment

– non-violent means is the Muslim Brotherhood (MB, or in Arabic, the Ikhwan). The MB defined this form of warfare as “civilization jihad” in its strategic document for North America, entitled the *Explanatory Memorandum: On the General Strategic Goal for the Group*, which was entered into evidence in the 2008 *United States v. Holy Land Foundation* trial.¹⁹

Written in 1991 by Mohamed Akram, a senior Hamas leader in the United States and a member of the Board of Directors of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America, the *Explanatory Memorandum* declared that the Islamic Movement is an MB effort led by the Ikhwan in America.²⁰ It went on to explain that the “Movement” is a “settlement” process to establish itself inside the United States and, once rooted, to undertake a “grand jihad” characterized as a “civilization jihadist” mission that is likewise led by the Muslim Brotherhood.²¹

Specifically, the document explained that the civilization jihadist process involves a “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....”²² Author Robert Spencer has popularized the term “stealth jihad”²³ to describe this part of the shariah adherents’ civilization jihad. The two terms are used interchangeably in this report.

This commitment to employ whatever tactics are most expedient was expressed in 1966 by one of the Brotherhood’s seminal ideologues, Sayyid Qutb, in his influential book, *Milestones*: “Wherever an Islamic community exists which is a concrete example of the Divinely-ordained system of life, it has a God-given right to step forward and take control of the political authority...When Allah restrained Muslims from jihad for a certain period, it was a question of strategy rather than of principle....”²⁴

Other, more contemporary affirmations of the Brotherhood’s commitment to stealth jihad can be found in the words of

some of the Ikhwan's most prominent operatives in America today. For example, Louay Safi, a leader of two Brotherhood fronts – the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) and the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), has declared that, “The principle of jihad obligates the Muslims to maintain and achieve these objectives [i.e., the triumph of Islam and the institution of the caliphate]. The best way to achieve these objectives and most appropriate method upholding the principle of jihad is, however, a question of leadership and strategy.”²⁵

A particularly telling indication of the stealth jihad agenda comes from Omar Ahmad, one of the founders of the Brotherhood's Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) and an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation trial for funding international terrorism from the United States.²⁶ Ahmad made a reference to the MB's dual-messaging, a form of esoteric communication in which words seem innocuous to the uninitiated, but which have definite meaning to those duly indoctrinated: “I believe that our problem is that we stopped working underground. We will recognize the source of any message which comes out of us. I mean, if a message is publicized, we will know... the media person among us will recognize that you send two messages: one to the Americans and one to the Muslims.”²⁷

Note the Muslim Brotherhood operative's differentiation between “Americans” and “Muslims,” as if presuming that Muslims are not or should not be good Americans. This differentiation is clear in CAIR's own name. In short, it is the enemy among us, working out in the open but disguised by deceit, that poses the greater long-term threat to our legal system and way of life.

As this report demonstrates, many of the most prominent Muslim organizations in America are front groups for, or derivatives of, the Muslim Brotherhood.²⁸ New Brotherhood entities are added each year. That so hostile an entity enjoys such a large footprint and dominant position within our society speaks vol-

umes about the Ikhwan's organizational and financial reach.²⁹ No other *Muslim* group in the United States has been able even remotely to rival the Ikhwan's resource base, organizational skill or financial resources.

Multiculturalism, political correctness, misguided notions of tolerance and sheer willful blindness have combined to create an atmosphere of confusion and denial in America about the current threat confronting the nation. Of particular concern is the fact that political and military leaders in the United States find it difficult and/or distasteful to explain the true nature of the enemy to the public, and even to discuss it among themselves. Even when presented with detailed factual briefings and voluminous information about the essential linkage between shariah and violent acts of terrorism, most simply refuse to speak candidly about that connection.

To the contrary, U.S. national intelligence, law enforcement and security leadership seems determined to hide the Islamic origins of jihadist terrorism from the public. Through internal policy as well as public statements, U.S. officials have devised and seek to impose purposefully obscure and counterfactual language, evidently selected to divert American attention away from the Arab/Muslim origins of shariah and the Islamic doctrine of jihad.³⁰

Particularly worrying is the fact that, as counterterrorism expert Patrick Poole has put it: "Senior Pentagon commanders have labored to define the threat out of existence."³¹ Despite the rapidly expanding incidence of jihadist attacks and plots inside this country – whose perpetrators readily explain their Muslim identity and motivation – officials persist doggedly (and implausibly) in insisting on "lone wolf," "homegrown radical," or "isolated extremist" descriptions of our foes. The most recent example of this phenomenon was the Pentagon's final after-action report on the Fort Hood massacre of November, 2009.³²

Why would those sworn to support and defend the Constitution behave in a manner so detrimental to national security? Perhaps it is out of fear and perhaps out of recognition that they have abdicated their professional duty to develop an appropriate national security response. Perhaps, as Poole says, “Pretending that the threat is random and unknowable gives them license to do nothing.”³³ Ikhwan pushback and allegations of racism and bigotry make it professionally difficult to challenge the Muslim Brotherhood’s propaganda and operations.

THE WELLSPRING OF JIHAD

The truth is that today’s enemy is completely comprehensible and can be professionally analyzed and factually understood in precise and specific detail. When analysis is so conducted, it is clear that conformance to shariah in America constitutes as great a threat as any enemy the nation has ever confronted.

The Obama administration has nonetheless built upon the willful blindness-induced failures of previous administrations with respect to shariah. The incumbent president and his team have not only declared that there is no “War on Terror” for the United States. They insist – *reductio ad absurdum* and in conformance with the policy dictates of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), the second-largest multinational entity (after the United Nations) made up of 56 predominantly Muslim nations and the Palestine Authority – that Islam has nothing to do with terrorism. Such a statement can only be made because, as will be shown below, the OIC and others who adhere to and promote shariah do not define acts of jihad as “terrorism.”

The U.S. government line remains unchanged even as our enemies make plain the connection between their aggressive behavior and shariah-adherent jihad. To cite but one example, Iran’s President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad publicly describes the ongoing “historic war between the oppressor and the world of Islam.”³⁴

Yet, Obama's top counterterrorism advisor, John Brennan, insists that the President does not accept that there is a "global war" with Islamic terrorists.

Brennan further announced that the term "jihadists" will no longer be used to describe our enemies. According to Mr. Brennan, to use the term "jihadists" in describing Islamic terrorists is a mistake because it is "a legitimate term, 'jihad' meaning to purify oneself or to wage a holy struggle for a moral goal." He maintains that this use of the term to describe al Qaeda's ruthless operatives "risks giving these murderers the religious legitimacy they desperately seek, but in no way deserve."³⁵ The problem with this formulation is that jihad as a "holy struggle for a moral goal" may not be in conflict with al Qaeda's "ruthless" operations.

At a speech in late May 2010 at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Brennan expanded on the theme: "Nor do we describe our enemy as 'jihadists' or 'Islamists' because jihad is a holy struggle, a legitimate tenet of Islam, meaning to purify oneself or one's community, and there is nothing holy or legitimate or Islamic about murdering innocent men, women and children."³⁶ Left unresolved by Brennan is whether shariah classifies non-Muslims as innocent.

A NEEDED REALITY CHECK

Brennan's statements reflect a common lack of understanding of the fundamentals of shariah, including the doctrinal basis of the Quran, *hadiths*, the role of abrogation, and that status of consensus in which shariah is rooted. In fact, Brennan's assertions directly contradict the teachings of leading Islamic scholars.

For example, even a cursory review of the writings of Islamic authorities shows that "jihad" is warfare against non-Muslims.³⁷ The top counterterrorism adviser to the President of the United States has a professional responsibility to know these facts.

Brennan is correct in one respect: America is not in a “war on terror.” Terrorism is indeed merely a tactic, like aerial or naval bombardment, ambush, maneuver and other similar activities. But America is at war with a determined enemy who has yet to be honestly identified by anyone in a position of authority in the United States.

It is also accurate to label jihad as a “legitimate tenet of Islam.” But neither shariah nor its practitioners, our enemy, define it in terms that are even close to what Brennan used at CSIS. The shariah definition of jihad and that of the jihadis are the same.

This is not a partisan critique of behavior uniquely exhibited by the incumbent administration, or by Democrats alone. For example, President George W. Bush noted on September 20, 2001 that “terrorists are traitors to their own faith” that “hijacked their own religion.”³⁸ Regrettably, this and similar statements subsequently issued by various Bush administration officials set the stage for the misleading comments being uttered by their successors today.

Notably, these include President Obama’s statement made on January 7, 2010, that, “We are at war; we are at war with al Qaeda.”³⁹ The President was discussing the results of an investigation into the attempted Christmas Day bombing of a Northwest Airlines flight over Detroit by a young Muslim from Nigeria named Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab. Even some of the President’s critics expressed relief that the Chief Executive was finally recognizing that the nation was indeed facing a genuine enemy (albeit one comprised of many elements besides al Qaeda).

Since shariah emerged as a real threat, Obama, like Brennan and most of the U.S. national security leadership, has failed to define or explain accurately the nature of an enemy that explicitly threatens the American way of life; indeed, this threat imperils the constitutional framework that drives the exceptionalism that way of life sustains.

In fact, the forces of shariah have been at war with non-Muslims for 1,400 years and with the United States of America for 200 years.⁴⁰ While the most recent campaign to impose this totalitarian code began in the late 20th Century, it is but the latest in a historical record of offensive warfare that stretches back to the origins of Islam itself.

When Army Major Nidal Hasan murdered thirteen people at Fort Hood, Texas on November 5, 2009, the media, as well as the FBI, searched for answers as to why this American-born military officer would commit such an unconscionable act – the worst terrorist attack on U.S. soil since September 11, 2001. While myriad theories and opinions were offered, few in the Administration, the media, academia or the rest of the elite seemed capable of comprehending the killer’s motives – even as he expressly stated them for years leading up to the event.

In fact, Hasan fully articulated his intentions to senior officers in the U.S. Army Medical Corps years before his rampage, and the warnings were ignored when brought to higher ranks. In a fifty-slide briefing given to his medical school class in 2007, entitled “Koranic View as it Relates to Muslims in the U.S Military,”⁴¹ Hasan explained the requirement that Muslims under Islamic law conduct jihad against non-Muslims, and he specifically defined the parameters within which Muslims must act. For Hasan, the relevant parameter was being deployed to the Middle East as this would put him in a status where he could be required to “kill without right.” As can be demonstrated in detail, Hasan’s presentation tracks exactly with Islamic law⁴² – and he should know since, at the time of the massacre, he was the acting imam for Fort Hood.

Had anyone in the audience been taught the enemy threat doctrine (i.e., shariah on jihad), Hasan’s amazingly candid presentation, which thoroughly explained his concerns given the fundamental concepts of shariah, would have alerted authorities in time

to prevent his attack. Furthermore, the briefing contained an explicit declaration of Hasan's allegiance as a Muslim soldier in the Army of Allah. And yet, seemingly, none of the audience of senior medical officers recognized the threat that Hasan posed to his fellow soldiers. Hasan announced himself an enemy combatant and no one was either able or willing to process that information properly.

THE ENEMY WITHIN

Instinctively, even Americans who are unfamiliar with the term "shariah" understand that it poses a threat. For example, focus groups have shown that, when asked about "the law of Saudi Arabia," there is a considerable awareness about its brutal repression of those subjected to it and its aggressive designs on the rest of humanity.

Most of the public believes that it is the terrorists who seek to advance shariah via violence who pose the greatest threat. While this may be an understandable conclusion, it also points to how uninformed the public actually is.

Our intelligence community and law enforcement entities have disrupted roughly thirty terrorist attacks since September 11, 2001, and demonstrated laudable vigilance in pursuit of terrorists. Still, the community's failures – Major Hasan; the Christmas Day bomber, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab; and the Times Square bomber, Faisal Shahzad – highlight serious flaws that remain in our intelligence collection and understanding of the true nature of the threat we face. In the Christmas Day case, U.S. intelligence failed to act even when warned specifically in advance by Abdulmutallab's own father.

Yet, al Qaeda and other Islamist groups who perpetrate terrorist acts are *not* the most dangerous threat. These threats, regardless of their brutality, cannot bring America to submit to shariah – at least were they to act alone. While the terrorists can and

will inflict great pain on the nation, the ultimate goal of shariah-adherent Islam cannot be achieved by these groups solely through acts of terrorism, without a more subtle, well-organized component operating in tandem with them.

That component takes the form of “civilization jihad.” This form of warfare includes multi-layered cultural subversion, the co-opting of senior leaders, influence operations and propaganda and other means of insinuating shariah into Western societies. These are the sorts of techniques alluded to by Yusuf al-Qaradawi, the spiritual leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, when he told a Toledo, Ohio Muslim Arab Youth Association convention in 1995: ‘We will conquer Europe, we will conquer America! Not through the sword, but through *dawa*.’⁴³

The prime practitioners of this stealthy form of jihad are the ostensibly “non-violent” Muslim Brothers and their front groups and affiliates. It must always be kept in mind that such tactics are “non-violent” not because the Brotherhood eschews violence out of principle, but rather because it has decided that this phase of battlefield preparation is better accomplished through stealthy means. The violence is always implicit in the overall strategy, albeit held in reserve for the final stages of the offensive. It is the combined effect of the violent and pre-violent strains of jihad that constitutes the most serious threat to America and its free people.

As the pages that follow document in detail, the Muslim Brotherhood has been in this country for decades and is an existential threat to American society and the fundamental liberties ordained and established by the Founding Fathers in the U.S. Constitution. Its own mission statement asserts that “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."⁴⁴

This carefully articulated mission flows ineluctably from shariah, which holds that only Allah can make laws and that democratic rule whereby people legislate is impermissible. Therefore, the destruction of Western-style governments and subjugation of free societies to the Ikhwan's view of Allah's will is obligatory for the Muslim Brotherhood, as for other adherents to shariah. Since America is the world's preeminent exponent of individual liberties and the most powerful democratic country, those who are fighting to establish the Islamic caliphate have targeted this nation for destruction – not necessarily in the military or physical sense of the word, but in the destruction of American society as we know it.

Ultimately, the Muslim Brotherhood intends for America to live under shariah. This ambition was explicitly stated in 1996 by Abdurahman Alamoudi, at the time one of the top agents of the Muslim Brotherhood operation in the United States. Back then, Alamoudi enjoyed access to the Clinton White House since, as the founder of the American Muslim Council and a director of numerous other Brotherhood fronts, he was considered a leading spokesman for the Muslim community in America. (He is currently serving a twenty-three year federal prison term on terrorism-related charges.)

At the Islamic Association of Palestine's annual convention in Illinois in 1996, Alamoudi declared: "I have no doubt in my mind, Muslims sooner or later will be the moral leadership of America. It depends on me and you, either we do it now or we do it after a hundred years, but this country will become a Muslim country."⁴⁵

THE TACIT SUPPORTERS OF CIVILIZATION JIHAD

The Team B II Report details the Muslim Brotherhood's multi-phased plan of operations for the destruction of Western civilization. The successful execution of this plan depends on at least tacit support or submission from the Muslim population at large.

At the very least, popular Muslim passivity signals an unwillingness to face the consequences of standing up to the Muslim Brothers and other enforcers within Islam. Those consequences can be quite severe, starting with social ostracism and sometimes ending with death. Since the Ikhwan's instrument of discipline and control over their fellow Muslims is the fact that any criticism of shariah or the Quran can be considered to be apostasy, for which the penalty is death, enforcement through social pressure is simple and unseen. This is particularly true among Muslim immigrant communities that have fled such brutality in their native countries and come to America for shelter, only to find the threat emerge in their new homeland.

There are, moreover, Muslims in Europe and the United States who *do* support shariah by various means. As we have seen, these include mandatory *zakat* contributions to certain "charities" even when the "donor" knows that, under shariah, jihad is one of the authorized recipient categories⁴⁶; indoctrinating children with shariah at mosques and madrassas; and by participating in or failing to report abhorrent behavior including child abuse⁴⁷, wife abuse⁴⁸, female genital mutilation⁴⁹, polygamy⁵⁰, underage⁵¹ and forced marriage⁵², marital rape⁵³ and "honor killing."⁵⁴ One appalling example offers an insight into the extent to which shariah is being insinuated into the fabric of American society: The 2009 case of a Muslim woman whose request for a legal restraining order against her Moroccan husband who had serially abused and raped her was denied by New Jersey family court Judge Joseph

Charles. The judge ruled that the abusive husband had acted according to his Muslim (shariah) beliefs⁵⁵ and thus not with criminal intent.

Fortunately, a New Jersey appellate court overturned the ruling in July 2010, making clear that in the United States, the laws of the land derive from the Constitution and the alien dictates of shariah have no place in a U.S. courtroom.⁵⁶ Still, the fact that such a reversal was necessary is frighteningly instructive.

According to shariah, the Quran and *hadiths* (accounts of the actions and sayings of Mohammed) comprise the authoritative roadmap for Muslims and, hence, the Muslim Brotherhood. In accordance with that roadmap, its members – like other adherents to shariah⁵⁷ – are engaged in a global war of conquest.⁵⁸ One can see this battle campaign being executed in every part of the world. Europe is in a tremendous struggle with an ever-increasing and influential Islamic threat. Many Europeans are perplexed by what they see happening in their countries as Islam infiltrates every sector of their society. Notably, after the London subway bombing in 2005, many in the United Kingdom were astonished that British-born Muslims identified first and foremost with Pakistan and shariah, rather than with the nation where they were born and raised and its traditional values.

Like most Americans, these Britons fail to understand that the shariah-adherent Muslims do not identify with any sovereign nation. They see themselves as Muslims first and part of the future caliphate. Nowhere has this world view been more clearly enunciated than in the words of the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, spoken in 1980 about the country of his birth: “We do not worship Iran, we worship Allah....I say, let this land [Iran] burn. I say let this land go up in smoke, provided Islam emerges triumphant....”⁵⁹

THE NEED FOR CORRECTIVE ACTION

Given the gravity of this threat, it is simply astounding that the United States has, to date, neither developed nor adopted a strategy for defeating shariah's designs, and the Muslim Brotherhood's efforts to realize them. This information is not even being taught at a basic level to FBI counterterrorism agents and analysts, nor is it taught at the Justice Department, Department of Homeland Security, the State or Defense Departments, or the CIA.

Amidst the increasingly heated assertion of First Amendment protections for the practice and promotion of shariah in America, almost entirely missing is any recognition of the fundamental incompatibility with Article VI's requirement that "this Constitution shall be ... the supreme law of the land" inherent in efforts to insinuate Islamic law into the United States.

Such a deplorable state of affairs helps explain why there is no strategy to defeat the shariah movement: that movement and its agenda are simply not understood within the ranks of the organizations legally charged with protecting America and its Constitution from such threats.

It bears repeating: no such strategy can be put into place, let alone be successfully executed, as long as our national leadership refuses to define the enemy in realistic and comprehensive terms. If such ignorance is allowed to persist, the Muslim Brotherhood will continue infiltrating American society at every level and executing a very deliberate plan to manipulate the nation into piecemeal submission to shariah.

To discount the possibility that such a seemingly preposterous state of affairs will eventuate in America would be a serious mistake. It is one that many Europeans have been making for years. Experts like Bernard Lewis, the internationally acclaimed authority on Islam, are now saying that Europe will be an Islamic continent by the end of this century,⁶⁰ if not before. While the proportion of Muslims to non-Muslims in the United States is

much smaller than in Europe, America's accelerating submission to shariah documented in the following pages suggests that this country, too, is at risk of being fundamentally and unacceptably altered.

Heretofore, the United States has confronted primarily external threats. Today, we are facing an internal threat that has masked itself as a religion and that uses the tolerance for religious practice guaranteed by the Constitution's First Amendment to parry efforts to restrict or prevent what amount to seditious activities. In the process, the First Amendment itself is being infringed upon, as Muslim Brothers and others demand that free speech be barred where it gives offense to them – effectively imposing shariah blasphemy laws in this country.

For these reasons, among others, it should be understood that shariah is fundamentally about power, namely the enforcement of a body of law, not faith. In the words of the Muslim Brotherhood's Sayyid Qutb: "Whenever an Islamic community exists which is a concrete example of the Divinely-ordained system of life, it has a God-given right to step forward and control the political authority so that it may establish the divine system on earth, while it leaves the matter of belief to individual conscience."⁶¹

Shariah dictates a comprehensive and totalitarian system of laws, an aggressive military doctrine, an all-encompassing socio-economic program and a ruthless enforcement mechanism. It is, in short, a complete way of life. It is against this backdrop that the obligation shariah demands of its followers – namely, to conduct a global campaign to replace non-Muslim governments with Islamic States governed by Islamic law, to conquer *Dar al-Harb* (the House of War) for *Dar al-Islam* (the House of Islam) – must be seen as an illegal effort to supplant our Constitution with another legal code, not a religious practice protected by that document. Islamic scholar Majid Khadduri put it this way:

“It follows that the existence of a *Dar al-Harb* is ultimately outlawed under the Islamic jural order; that the dar al-Islam is permanently under jihad obligation until the *Dar al-Harb* is reduced to nonexistence; and that any community accepting certain disabilities – must submit to Islamic rule and reside in the dar al-Islam or be bound as clients to the Muslim community. The universalism of Islam, in its all-embracing creed, is imposed on the believers as a continuous process of warfare, psychological and political if not strictly military.”⁶²

Yet, many in this country – particularly in governmental, academic, and media elites – have shown themselves susceptible to the Muslim Brotherhood’s strategy for waging sabotage against the United States in order to destroy “its miserable house...by their own hand.” They are enabling shariah’s spread by enforcing a tolerance of that doctrine under the rubric of freedom of religion and diversity, instead of recognizing it for the seditious and anti-constitutional agenda it openly espouses.

In the words of Muslim scholar Shamim Siddiqi: “The movement may also seek legal protection from the court for fundamental human rights *to propagate what its adherents believe to be correct* and to profess the same through democratic, peaceful and constitutional means.”⁶³ (Emphasis added.)

Recent research indicates that in many mosques across the country the overthrow of the U.S. Constitution is being encouraged in the printed material offered on-site or in the textbooks used in children’s classes, if not directly from the Friday pulpit.⁶⁴

In addition, the 2008 Holy Land Foundation trial in Dallas, Texas, provided evidence that the majority of Islamic organizations in America are affiliates of or associated with the Muslim Brotherhood in some way and many of them are raising funds for jihad.⁶⁵ The convictions of all defendants in that case make clear that such behavior is not protected by the First Amendment. And

yet, American elites still deal with shariah as just a religious system, when in fact it is as totalitarian a political program as ever were those of communism, fascism, National Socialism, or Japanese imperialism.

Military historians and combat veterans understand that it is far easier to defend against an attack that comes from an enemy outside one's defensive perimeter. In that case, the defending army need only train its fire outwards and have no fear of fratricide. By contrast, the most difficult attack to defend against is the one that comes from *inside* the defensive perimeter, because distinguishing the enemy from friendly forces is problematic.

That is the situation in America today. *We have an enemy inside our perimeter.* But for this nation, the challenge is not just an inability to distinguish friend from foe. Rather, it is an unwillingness to do so.

As the succeeding pages establish in greater detail, accurate and highly relevant information is available concerning what the Muslim Brotherhood and other shariah-adherent Muslims are doing in America, their goals and strategy. Much of that information comes from the Brotherhood's own documents and leadership statements.

Other insights can be obtained from those who were at one time part of the Muslim Brotherhood, but have chosen a new direction for their lives. Three such individuals – Walid Shoebat (formerly with the Palestinian Liberation Organization or PLO),⁶⁶ Kamal Saleem (former Muslim Brotherhood),⁶⁷ and Mosab Yousef (former Hamas and author of *Son of Hamas*)⁶⁸ – are proclaiming to all who will hear them that the Muslim Brotherhood is in America to destroy our Constitution and replace it with shariah. These brave men are helping to define the enemy. Their testimony, taken together with that available from other sources, leaves us with no excuse for remaining ignorant of the truth.

Armed with that truth – as compiled and analyzed in the Team B II report – the American people and their leaders are in a position to comprehend fully the nature of the threat posed by shariah and by those who seek through violence or stealthy subversion to impose it upon us. This knowledge obligates one to take action.

RECOMMENDATIONS

While detailed recommendations for adopting a more prudential and effective strategy for surviving shariah's onslaught are beyond the scope of this study, several policy and programmatic changes are in order. These include:

- U.S. policymakers, financiers, businessmen, judges, journalists, community leaders and the public at large must be equipped with an accurate understanding of the nature of shariah and the necessity of keeping America shariah-free. At a minimum, this will entail resisting – rather than acquiescing to – the concerted efforts now being made to allow that alien legal code to become established in this country as an alternate, parallel system to the Constitution and the laws enacted pursuant to it. Arguably, this is already in effect for those who have taken an oath to “support and defend” the Constitution, because the requirement is subsumed in that oath.
- U.S. government agencies and organizations should cease their outreach to Muslim communities through Muslim Brotherhood fronts whose mission is to destroy our country from within, as such practices are both reckless and counterproductive. Indeed, these activities serve to legitimate, protect and expand the influence of our enemies. They conduce to no successful legal outcome that cannot be better advanced

via aggressive prosecution of terrorists, terror-funders and other lawbreakers. The practice also discourages patriotic Muslims from providing actual assistance to the U.S. government lest they be marked for ostracism or worse by the Ikhwan and other shariah-adherent members of their communities.

- In keeping with Article VI of the Constitution, extend bans currently in effect that bar members of hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, and endorsers of child abuse and other crimes, from holding positions of trust in federal, state, or local governments or the armed forces of the United States to those who espouse or support shariah. Instead, every effort should be made to identify and empower Muslims who are willing publicly to denounce shariah.
- Practices that promote shariah – notably, shariah-compliant finance and the establishment or promotion in public spaces or with public funds or facilities and activities that give preferential treatment to shariah’s adherents – are incompatible with the Constitution and the freedoms it enshrines and must be proscribed.
- Sedition is prohibited by law in the United States. To the extent that imams and mosques are being used to advocate shariah in America, they are promoting seditious activity and should be warned that they will be subject to investigation and prosecution.
- Textbooks used in both secular educational systems and Islamic schools must not promote shariah, its tenets, or the notion that America must submit to its dictates. Schools that promote anti-constitutional teaching should be denied taxpayer funding and lose their charters, accreditation and charitable tax status.

- Compounds and communities that seek to segregate themselves on the basis of shariah law, apply it alongside or in lieu of the law of the land or otherwise establish themselves as “no-go” zones for law enforcement and other authorities must be thwarted in such efforts. In this connection, assertion of claims to territory around segregationist mosques should be proscribed.
- Immigration of those who adhere to shariah must be precluded, as was previously done with adherents to the seditious ideology of communism.

Such measures will, of course, be controversial in some quarters. They will certainly be contested by shariah-adherent Muslims committed to jihad and others who, in the name of exercising or protecting civil liberties, are enabling the destruction of those liberties in furtherance of shariah. Far from being dispositive, their opposition should be seen as an opportunity – a chance, at a minimum, for a long-overdue debate about the sorts of policies that have brought the West in general and the United States in particular to the present, parlous state of affairs. If this study catalyzes and usefully informs that debate, it will have succeeded.

KEY FINDINGS

- The United States is under attack by foes who are openly animated by what is known in Islam as shariah (Islamic law). According to shariah, every faithful Muslim is obligated to wage jihad, whether violent or not, against those who do not adhere to this comprehensive, totalitarian, political-military code. The enemy's explicit goal is to establish a global Islamic State, known as the caliphate, governed by shariah.
- Shariah is based on the Quran (held by all Muslims to be the "uncreated" word of Allah as dictated to Mohammed), *hadiths* (sayings of Mohammed) and agreed interpretations. It commands Muslims to carry out jihad (holy war) indefinitely until all of the *Dar al-Harb* (i.e., the House of War, where shariah is not enforced) is brought under the domination of *Dar al-Islam* (the House of Islam – or literally the House of Submission, where shariah is enforced).
- Shariah dictates that non-Muslims be given three choices: convert to Islam and conform to shariah; submit as second-class citizens (*dhimmis*); or be killed. Not all classes are given the second option.
- Both Islamic terrorism and pre-violent, "civilization jihad" (popularly referred to as "stealth jihad") are

commanded by shariah. That is not only the view of “extremists” and “fringe” elements “hijacking the religion,” but of many authorities of Islam widely recognized as mainstream and drawing upon orthodox texts, interpretations and practices of the faith.

- The Muslim Brotherhood is the font of modern Islamic jihad. It is dedicated to the same global supremacist objectives as those (like al Qaeda and the Taliban) who share its adherence to shariah but who believe that violent jihad is more likely to more quickly produce the common goal of a global caliphate.
- The Brotherhood’s internal documents make clear that civilization jihad is subversion waged by stealth instead of violence only until such time as Muslims are powerful enough to progress to violent jihad for the final conquest.
- Those who work to insinuate shariah into the United States intend to subvert and replace the Constitution (itself a violation of Article VI) because, according to shariah, freedom of religion, other civil liberties enshrined in the Constitution, and the rule of man-made law are incompatible with Islam (which means “submission”).
- The shariah-adherent enemy prioritizes information warfare, manifested in American society as propaganda, political warfare, psychological warfare, influence operations and subversion of our foundational institutions. Our government structure fails to recognize this strategy because it is focused so exclusively on kinetic attacks. As a result, the United States remains crippled in its inability to engage this enemy effectively *on his primary battlefield*.

- The Brotherhood exploits the atmosphere of intimidation created by Islamic terrorists, thus inculcating in the West a perceived need for “outreach” to the “Muslim community” which, in turn, opens up opportunities to pursue a campaign of stealthy infiltration into American and other Western societies. The combined effect of such “civilization jihad” and jihadism of the violent kind may prove to be considerably more dangerous for this country and other Western societies than violent jihad alone.
- The Brotherhood has succeeded in penetrating our educational, legal and political systems, as well as top levels of government, intelligence, the media, and U.S. military, virtually paralyzing our ability to plan or respond effectively.
- Muslim Brotherhood organizations conduct outreach to the government, law enforcement, media, religious community, and others for one reason: to *subvert* them in furtherance of their objective, which is implementation of Islamic law.
- An informed and determined counter-strategy to defend the Constitution from shariah can yet succeed – provided it is undertaken in the prompt, timely and comprehensive manner recommended by Team B II.

KEY TENETS OF SHARIAH

The following are some of the most important – and, particularly for Western non-Muslims, deeply problematic – tenets of shariah, arranged in alphabetical order. The citations drawn from the Quran, schools of Islam and other recognized sources are offered as illustrative examples of the basis for such practices under shariah.

1. **Abrogation** (*Al-mansukh wa al-nasikh* in Arabic—the abrogated and the abrogating): verses that come later in the Quran, chronologically, supersede, or abrogate, the earlier ones. In effect, this results in the more moderate verses of the Meccan period being abrogated by the later, violent, Medinan verses. “When we cancel a message, or throw it into oblivion, we replace it with one better or one similar. Do you not know that Allah has power over all things?” (Quran 2:106)
2. **Adultery** (*Zina* in Arabic): unlawful intercourse is a capital crime under shariah, punishable by lashing and stoning to death. “Nor come nigh to adultery: for it is a shameful deed and an evil, opening the road to other evils.” (Q 17:32) “The woman and the man guilty of adultery or fornication, flog each of them with a hundred stripes; let not compassion move you in their case, in a matter prescribed by Allah, if ye believe in Allah

and the Last Day: and let a party of the Believers witness the punishment.” (Q24:2) “It is not lawful to shed the blood of a Muslim except for one of three sins: a married person committing fornication, and in just retribution for premeditated murder, and [for sin of treason involving] a person renouncing Islam, and thus leaving the community [to join the enemy camp in order to wage war against the faithful].” (Al-Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, Tirmidhi, and An-Nasa’i)

3. **Apostasy** (*‘Irtidad’* or *‘Ridda’* in Arabic): The established ruling of shariah is that apostates are to be killed wherever they may be found. “Anyone who, after accepting Faith in Allah, utters Unbelief, except under compulsion, his heart remaining firm in Faith—but such as open their heart to Unbelief—on them is Wrath from Allah, and theirs will be a dreadful Penalty.” (Q 16:106)

“Some atheists were brought to Ali and he burnt them. The news of this event, reached Ibn Abbas who said, ‘If I had been in his place, I would not have burnt them, as Allah’s messenger forbade it, saying, ‘Do not punish anybody with Allah’s punishment (fire).’ I would have killed them according to the statement of Allah’s Messenger, ‘Whoever changed his Islamic religion, then kill him.’” (Bukhari, Volume 9, #17)

“Leaving Islam is the ugliest form of unbelief (*kufr*) and the worst....When a person who has reached puberty and is sane voluntarily apostasizes from Islam, he deserves to be killed... There is no indemnity for killing an apostate...” (*‘Umdat al-Salik*, Reliance of the Traveler, Chapter o8.0-o8.4)

4. **Democracy & Islam:** Any system of man-made law is considered illicit under Islamic law, for whose adherents Allah already has provided the only law permitted, shariah. Islam and western-style democracy can never co-exist in harmony. “And if any fail to judge by the light of what Allah has revealed, they are no better than unbelievers.” (Q 5:47) “Sovereignty in Islam is the prerogative of Almighty Allah alone. He is the absolute arbiter of values and it is His will that determines good and evil, right and wrong.” (Mohammed Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, 3d rev. ed., (Cambridge, UK: The Islamic Text Society, 2003), 8.)

“The shariah cannot be amended to conform to changing human values and standards. Rather, it is the absolute norm to which all human values and conduct must conform.” (Muslim Brotherhood spiritual leader Yousef al-Qaradawi)

5. **Female Genital Mutilation:** “Circumcision is obligatory...for both men and women.” (*Umdat al-Salik*, e4.3)
6. **Gender Inequality:** Shariah explicitly relegates women to a status inferior to men.
- Testimony of a woman before a judge is worth half that of a man: “And get two witnesses, not of your own men, and if there are not two men, then a man and two women, such as ye choose for witnesses.” (Q2:282)
 - Women are to receive just one half the inheritance of a male: “Allah thus directs you as regards

your children's inheritance: to the male, a portion equal to that of two females...." (Q4:11)

- Muslim men are given permission by Allah in the Quran to beat their wives: "As to those women on whose part ye fear disloyalty and ill conduct, admonish them first, next refuse to share their beds, and last, beat them." (Q4:34)
- Muslim men are given permission by Allah to commit marital rape, as they please: "Your wives are as a tilth unto you, so approach your tilth when or how ye will...." (Q2: 223)
- Muslim men are permitted to marry up to four wives and to keep concubines in any number: "...Marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four; but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly with them, then only one, or a captive that your right hands possess..." (Q4:3)
- Muslim women may marry only one Muslim man and are forbidden to marry a non-Muslim: "And give not (your daughters) in marriage to Al-Mushrikun [non-Muslims] till they believe in Allah alone and verily a believing slave is better than a (free) Mushrik, even though he pleases you...." (Q2:221)
- A woman may not travel outside the home without the permission of her male guardian and must be accompanied by a male family member if she does so: "A woman may not leave the city without her husband or a member of her unmarriageable kin... accompanying her, unless the journey is obligatory, like the hajj. It is unlawful for her to tra-

vel otherwise, and unlawful for her husband to allow her.” (*Umdat al-Salik*, m10.3)

- Under shariah, to bring a claim of rape, a Muslim woman must present four male Muslim witnesses in good standing. Islam thus places the burden of avoiding illicit sexual encounters entirely on the woman. In effect, under shariah, women who bring a claim of rape without being able to produce the requisite four male Muslim witnesses are admitting to having had illicit sex. If she or the man is married, this amounts to an admission of adultery. The following Quranic passages, while explicitly applying to men are cited by shariah authorities and judges in adjudicating rape cases: “And those who accuse free women then do not bring four witnesses (to adultery), flog them...” Q 24:4 “Why did they not bring four witnesses to prove it? When they have not brought the witnesses, such men, in the sight of Allah, stand forth themselves as liars!” (Q 24:13)
 - A Muslim woman who divorces and remarries loses custody of children from a prior marriage: “A woman has no right to custody of her child from a previous marriage when she remarries because married life will occupy her with fulfilling the rights of her husband and prevent her from tending the child.” (*Umdat al-Salik*, m13.4)
7. **“Honor” Killing** (aka Muslim family executions): A Muslim parent faces no legal penalty under Islamic law for murdering his child or grandchild: “... not subject to retaliation” is “a father or mother (or their fathers or

mothers) for killing their offspring, or offspring's offspring." (*Umdat al-Salik*, o1.1-2)

8. **Hudud Punishments:** The plural of *hadd*, is "a fixed penalty prescribed as a right of Allah. Because *hudud* penalties belong to Allah, Islamic law does not permit them to be waived or commuted."⁶⁹
- "Let not compassion move you in their case, in a matter prescribed by Allah, if you believe in Allah and the Last Day: and let a party of believers witness their punishment." (Q 24:2)
 - "On that account, We ordained for the Children of Israel that if any one slew a [Muslim] person – unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the land – it would be as if he slew the whole people....The punishment of those who wage war against Allah and his apostle, and strive with might and main for mischief through the land is execution, or crucifixion, or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides, or exile from the land..." (Q 32-33)
 - From the *Kitab al-kaba'ir* (*Book of Enormities*) of Imam Dhahabi, who defines an *enormity* as any sin entailing either a threat of punishment in the hereafter explicitly mentioned by the Koran or hadith, a prescribed legal penalty (Hadd), or being accursed by Allah or His messenger (Allah bless him & give him peace). (*Umdat al-Salik*, Book P "Enormities," at § p0.0)
 - "Shariah stipulates these punishments and methods of execution such as amputation, crucifixion, flogging, and stoning, for offenses such as adul-

tery, homosexuality, killing without right, theft, and 'spreading mischief in the land' because these punishments were mandated by the Qur'an or Sunnah." (*Islamic Hudood Laws in Pakistan*, Edn 1996, 5.)

9. **Islamic Supremacism:** belief that Islam is superior to every other culture, faith, government, and society and that it is ordained by Allah to conquer and dominate them: "And whoever desires a religion other than Islam, it shall not be accepted from him, and in the hereafter he shall be one of the losers." (Q3:85):

- "Ye are the best of Peoples, evolved for mankind." (Q3:110)
- Non-Muslims are "the most vile of created beings" (Q98:6)
- Be "merciful to one another, but ruthless to the unbelievers" (Q48:29)
- "It is the nature of Islam to dominate, not to be dominated, to impose its law on all nations and to extend its power to the entire planet." (Hasan al-Banna, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood)
- "Islam isn't in America to be equal to any other faith, but to become dominant. The Koran should be the highest authority in America, and Islam the only accepted religion on Earth." (Omar Ahmad, Council on American Islamic Relations co-founder/Board Chairman, 1998)

10. **Jew Hatred:** Antisemitism is intrinsic to shariah and is based on the genocidal behavior of Mohammed himself

in wiping out the entire Jewish population of the Arabian Peninsula.

- “And certainly you have known those among you who exceeded the limits of the Sabbath, as we said to them: Be as apes, despised and hated.” (Q2:65)
- “And you will most certainly find them [the Jews] the greediest of men for life, greedier than even those who are polytheists...” (Q2:96)
- “O you who believe! Do not take the Jews and the Christians for friends; for they are friends but of each other; and whoever amongst you takes them for a friend, then surely he is one of them; surely Allah does not guide the unjust people.” (Q5:51)
- “Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by Allah and his apostle, nor acknowledge the religion of truth, even if they be of the People of the Book [Christians and Jews], until they pay the *jizya* with willing submission and feel themselves subdued.” (Q9:29)

11. **Jihad:** Jihad is warfare to spread Islam:

- “Fight and kill the disbelievers wherever you find them, and seize them, beleaguer them and lie in wait for them in every stratagem of war...” (Q9:5)
- “Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden by Allah and His Messenger, nor acknowledge the Religion

of Truth, from among the People of the Book, until they pay the *jizya* with willing submission and feel themselves subdued.” (Q9:29)

- “So fight them until there is no more *fitna* and all submit to the religion of Allah alone.” (Q 8:39)
- “I have been commanded to fight people until they testify that there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah, and perform the prayer, and pay the *zakat*. If they say it, they have saved their blood and possessions from me, except for the rights of Islam over them. And their final reckoning is with Allah” (Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim – agreed upon – as cited in ‘*Umdat al-Salik* o9.1 Jihad)
- “Jihad means to wage war against non-Muslims and is etymologically derived from the word *mujahada*, signifying warfare to establish the religion.” (‘*Umdat al-Salik*, o9.0, Jihad)
- “Islam makes it incumbent on all adult males, provided they are not disabled or incapacitated, to prepare themselves for the conquest of [other] countries so that the writ of Islam is obeyed in every country in the world.... But those who study Islamic Holy War will understand why Islam wants to conquer the whole world.... Those who know nothing of Islam pretend that Islam counsels against war. Those [who say this] are witless. Islam says: Kill all the unbelievers just as they would kill you all!” (Ayatollah Khomeini as quoted by Amir Taheri.)

- “Does this mean that Muslims should sit back until they are devoured by [the unbelievers]? Islam says: Kill them [the non-Muslims], put them to the sword and scatter [their armies]. Does this mean sitting back until [non-Muslims] overcome us? Islam says: Kill in the service of Allah those who may want to kill you! Does this mean that we should surrender [to the enemy]? Islam says: Whatever good there is exists thanks to the sword and in the shadow of the sword! People cannot be made obedient except with the sword! The sword is the key to Paradise, which can be opened only for the Holy Warriors! There are hundreds of other [Quranic] psalms and *Hadiths* [sayings of the prophet] urging Muslims to value war and to fight. Does all this mean that Islam is a religion that prevents men from waging war? I spit upon those foolish souls who make such a claim.” (Ayatollah Khomeini as quoted by Amir Taheri.⁷⁰)

12. **Lying/Taqiyya:** It is permissible for a Muslim to lie, especially to non-Muslims, to safeguard himself personally or to protect Islam.

- “Let not the believers take the disbelievers as friends instead of the believers, and whoever does that, will never be helped by Allah in any way, *unless you indeed fear a danger from them*. And Allah warns you against Himself, and to Allah is the final return.” (Q3:28)
- “*Unless you indeed fear a danger from them*’ meaning, except those believers who in some

areas or times fear for their safety from the disbelievers. In this case, such believers are allowed to show friendship to the disbelievers outwardly, but never inwardly... ‘We smile in the face of some people although our hearts curse them.’” (*Tafsir Ibn Kathir*, vol. 2, 141)

- “Mohammed said, ‘War is deceit.’” (Bukhari vol. 4:267 and 269)
- “He who makes peace between the people by inventing good information or saying good things, is not a liar.” (Bukhari vol. 3:857 p.533)

13. **Slander/Blasphemy:** In shariah, slander means anything that might offend a Muslim, even if it is true: “... The reality of tale-bearing lies in divulging a secret, in revealing something confidential whose disclosure is resented. A person should not speak of anything he notices about people besides that which benefits a Muslim to relate or prevent disobedience.” (*Umdat al-Salik*, r3.1)

14. **Underage Marriage:** Islamic doctrine permits the marriage of pre-pubescent girls. There is no minimum age for a marriage contract and consummation may take place when the girl is age eight or nine.

- “And those of your women as have passed the age of monthly courses [periods], for them the *Iddah* [prescribed period before divorce is final], if you have doubts (about their periods), is three months, and for those who have no courses [(i.e. they are still immature) their *Iddah* (prescribed period) is three months likewise, except

in case of death]. And for those who are pregnant (whether they are divorced or their husbands are dead), their 'Iddah (prescribed period) is until they deliver (their burdens), and whosoever fears Allah and keeps his duty to Him, He will make his matter easy for him.” (Q 65:4)

- “Aisha narrated: that the Prophet married her when she was six years old and he consummated his marriage when she was nine years old, and then she remained with him for nine years (i.e., till his death).” (*Sahih al-Bukhari*, vol. 7, Book 62, Number 64; see also Numbers 65 and 88)“They may not have menstruated as yet either because of young age, or delayed menstrual discharge as it happens in the case of some women, or because of no discharge at all throughout life which, though rare, may also be the case. In any case, the waiting-period of such a woman is the same as of the woman who has stopped menstruation, that is, three months from the time divorce was pronounced.
- “Here, one should bear in mind the fact that, according to the explanations given in the Qur'an, the question of the waiting period arises in respect of the women with whom marriage may have been consummated, for there is no waiting-period in case divorce is pronounced before the consummation of marriage. (Al-Ahzab: 49). Therefore, making mention of the waiting-period for girls who have not yet menstruated, clearly proves that it is not only permissible to give away the girl at this age but it is permissible

for the husband to consummate marriage with her. Now, obviously no Muslim has the right to forbid a thing which the Qur'an has held as permissible." (Syed Abu-Ala' Maududi, *Towards Understanding the Qur'an*, volume 5, p. 620, note 13)

15. **Zakat:** the obligation for Muslims to pay *zakat* arises out of Quran Verse 9:60 and is one of the Five Pillars of Islam. *Zakat* may be given only to Muslims, never to non-Muslims.

- *Zakat* is for the poor and the needy, and those employed to administer the (funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to Truth); for those in bondage and in debt; in the cause of Allah; and for the wayfarer: (thus is it) ordained by Allah, and Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom. (Q 9:60) "Of their goods take alms so that thou mightiest purify and sanctify them...." (Q 9:103) "*Zakat* is obligatory: (a) for every free Muslim and (b) who has possessed a *zakat-payable amount* [the minimum that necessitates *zakat*] (*Umdat al-Salik*, h1.1)
- According to shariah, there are eight categories of recipients for *Zakat*: The poor; Those short of money; *Zakat* workers (those whose job it is to collect the *zakat*); Those whose hearts are to be reconciled; Those purchasing their freedom; Those in debt; Those fighting for Allah (Jihad); Travelers needing money (*Umdat al-Salik*, h8.7-h8.18)

- “It is not permissible to give *Zakat* to a non-Muslim...” (*Umdat al-Salik*, h8.24)

PART I

THE THREAT POSED BY
SHARIAH

1

WHAT IS 'SHARIAH'?

The Arabic word “shariah,” according to one modern English-language student textbook on Islam, “literally means a *straight path* (Quran 45:18) or *an endless supply of water*. It is the term used to describe the rules of the lifestyle (*Deen*) ordained for us by Allah. In more practical terms, shariah includes all the do’s and don’ts of Islam.”⁷¹

In other words, shariah is held by mainstream Islamic authorities – not to be confused with “radical,” “extremist” or “political” elements said to operate at the fringes of Islam – to be the perfect expression of divine will and justice and thus is the supreme law that must comprehensively govern all aspects of Muslims’ lives, irrespective of when or where they live. Shariah is characterized as a “complete way of life” (social, cultural, military, religious, and political), governed from cradle to grave by Islamic law.

While many, many millions of Muslims around the world do not practice their faith in a manner consistent with shariah, as this chapter makes clear, those who *do* practice shariah have grounds for arguing that their version of Islam is the authoritative one. And those who claim that there is no single shariah – a narrative that has recently emerged from representatives of Muslim- and Arab-American groups⁷² and their non-Muslim apologists⁷³ – are either ignorant of the facts about shariah discussed below, or deliberately dissembling (see chapter three).

THE SOURCES OF SHARIAH

There are four sources for shariah that make it authoritative: the Quran, the *Sunna*, *ijma*, and *qiyas*. Deemed the “uncreated word of Allah,” the Quran reflects direct divine revelation and is understood to be the primary source of Islamic law. After the Quran, Islamic jurists next turn to the *Sunna*, considered to be indirect divine revelation arising out of the *hadiths*, or sayings or acts of Mohammed. *Ijma* refers to the consensus of the grand *muftahids* of the past, a historic process in which, once consensus attached, became a permanent part of the immutable body of Islamic law. Finally, the fourth source for shariah is *qiyas*, or reasoning by analogy, which applies an accepted principle or assumption to arrive at a legal ruling.⁷⁴

In order fully to understand shariah, it is necessary to examine each of these sources and their contributions in turn.

The Quran: In Islamic parlance, the Quran is considered to be the uncreated word of Allah. According to Muslim belief, it has existed since the beginning of time and was revealed by the Archangel Gabriel in the 7th Century to the Prophet Mohammed in the Arabic language of his homeland.

It follows from the characterization of the Quran as the uncreated word of Allah that its points are timeless. Clearly, if it were possible to place the Quran in context within a certain his-

torical period, it could be said that it has subsequently become obsolete – especially since so many of its tenets are unique to 7th Century Bedouin culture. That would be tantamount, however, to asserting that Allah’s uncreated, and therefore eternal, word is actually time-limited. Thus, it is mandatory that the Quran be deemed as eternal and eternally applicable to *everyone*, not just Muslims.

The preeminence of the Quran in shariah is closed to debate. An Indian Islamic jurist, Asaf A.A. Fyzee, put it in his work *Outlines of Mohammedan Law*: “The Koran according to this theory is the first source of law. ... It is for this reason that the verse of the Koran (*ayat*), although only a few of them deal specifically with legal questions, are held to be of paramount authority.”⁷⁵

The Quran is comprised of 114 chapters (or *Suras*) that include some 6,236 *ayat* or verses, and is believed by Muslims to have been revealed over a period of 22 years (from 610 to 632 A.D., the year of Mohammed’s death). Chronologically speaking, the first 86 of the 114 chapters were said to have been revealed to the Prophet in Mecca while the remaining 28 came after the *hijra* to Medina in 622.

Although the chronological order of these verses is known, the Quran itself is not laid out in order of reported revelation but by length of verses (longest to shortest). In the beginning, Quranic verses were memorized and recited orally, with some being jotted down in a haphazard manner on pieces of parchment, plant leaves, and even stones. It was not until about 650 that the third Caliph, Uthman, commissioned an official, standardized version of the Quran, after which a concerted effort was made to find and destroy any earlier remnants and versions.

It is important to appreciate that *the Quran was not compiled in the chronological order of revelations, but rather organized from longest to shortest verses*. This decision makes for difficult

reading and even more difficult understanding of what was said and when.

In light of the Islamic *doctrine of "abrogation"* – which holds that the later verses supersede, or abrogate, the earlier ones – the actual chronological order of the Quranic verses makes a critical difference. This is because there are contradictions among the verses, a delicate situation that had to be dealt with by Mohammed himself. Thus arose the device known as *al-mansukh wa al-nasikh* ("that which is abrogated and that which abrogates"). The basis for this solution to an otherwise difficult conundrum in what is supposed to be a perfect book can be found in both the *hadiths* and the Quran itself, where verse 2:106 states: "When we cancel a message, or throw it into oblivion, we replace it with one better or one similar. Do you not know that God has power over all things?" A number of other verses convey the same understanding. All four schools of Sunni Islamic jurisprudence are in complete agreement on doctrine of abrogation and in general agreement on the abrogating and abrogated import of shariah doctrine regarding Quranic texts.⁷⁶ Seventy-five percent of Sunni Islamic law is recognized in common across all four schools. An Islamic jurist does not read Islamic law and decide for himself what is or is not abrogated as this has already been determined by the school of law to which the jurist belongs. These issues have already been decided. A Hanafi, Shafite, Maliki, and even Hanbali Islamic scholar will refer to their respective school's books on abrogating and abrogated texts. No one can become a shariah judge unless he knows these passages *by heart*; they are that important.

In practice, Quranic abrogation results in a known doctrinal footprint that subordinates the milder, more moderate verses of the Quran from the Meccan period of revelation, to the later and violent verses of the Medina period. *Islamic law is substantially derived from the Medinan period.* Where a conflict exists, anything said during the Medinan period overrules anything on

the same subject in the Meccan. And anything said in the later part of the Medinan period either overrules or controls anything said in the earlier part.

To put a fine point on it: When our shariah-compliant enemies cite from the most violent verses of the Quran to justify their actions, they are completely aligned with Islamic law and doctrine.

As the noted scholar David Bukay wrote in a 2007 essay for the *Middle East Quarterly*, “Statements that there is no compulsion in religion and that jihad is primarily about internal struggle and not about holy war may receive applause in university lecture halls and diplomatic board rooms, but they misunderstand the importance of abrogation in Islamic theology.”⁷⁷ The point also should be made here that, independent of abrogation, the forcible imposition of shariah is intended to set the pre-conditions within a society that will “open minds and hearts to Islam, and thereby encourage conversion.” (We shall discuss below the implications for national security leaders whose professional responsibility includes understanding the motivations and claimed justifications of the jihadi enemy.)

Closely related to the doctrine of abrogation is the *concept of progressive revelation*, which means that the Quran’s verses were revealed gradually over a lengthy period of some 20 years. As Sayyid Qutb, the Muslim Brotherhood strategist put it: “The Quran did not come down all at once; rather it came down according to the needs of the Islamic society in facing new problems”⁷⁸

According to Muslim belief, the gradual revelation of the Quranic verses tracked with the development of the early Muslim community itself under the Prophet Mohammed’s leadership. Early on, when his followers were a small, reviled group in Mecca, the corresponding revelations from Allah commanded a protective low profile. Even in the face of harsh criticism, Mohammed

instructed his followers to maintain a peaceful attitude and the Quranic verses of the period reflect that attitude.

Later on, after Mohammed's move to Medina (the *hijra*), circumstances for the early Muslims improved and their numbers, and strength, grew significantly. At this time, new revelations permitted them to fight back against those who attacked them. This is precisely the point made by Major Nidal Malik Hasan in his pre-Fort Hood massacre presentation at Walter Reed.⁷⁹ Hasan explained the "Jihad-rule of Abrogation" in Slide 35 of his presentation.⁸⁰

Finally, after the signal Battle of Badr in the year 624, where a relatively small Muslim force overcame a much larger enemy force of non-Muslims for the first time, revelations emerged that permitted – and then commanded – Muslims to go on the offensive from that time onward, until all the world should be under shariah. Specifically, the chronologically last Sura to address jihad is Sura 9, the "Sura of the Sword." In accordance with the doctrine of abrogation, its passages represent the ultimate authority on the requirements of jihad:

Fight and slay the unbelievers wherever ye find them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem of war. But if they repent, and establish regular prayers and practice regular charity, then open the way for them; for Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful. (Q9:5)

Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by Allah and His Apostle, nor acknowledge the religion of truth, even if they are of the people of the Book, until they pay the jizya with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued. (Q 9:29)

Instructions on Muslim relations with Christians and Jews were laid out in the late Medinan period as well. Those familiar with Islamic concerns with regard to terrorism are familiar with

the Quranic injunction: "Let there be no compulsion in religion." (Q 5:99) This passage is a particular favorite of those Muslim Brotherhood operatives and others seeking to obscure the true character of shariah.

What most non-Muslims have not heard is Quran 3:85: "*Whoever seeks a religion other than Islam will never have it accepted of him, and he will be of those who have truly failed in the hereafter.*" (Emphasis added.) Even more graphic is Sura 98:6 where it is asserted that non-Muslims are "the most vile of created beings."

These verses are interpreted under shariah to mean that anyone who does not accept Islam is unacceptable in the eyes of Allah and that he will send them to Hell. When it is said that shariah is a supremacist program, this is one of the bases for it.

And even more specifically, regarding the possibility of Muslim friendship with any but fellow Muslims: "Oh ye who believe! Take not the Jews and the 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." (Q 5:51)

This verse lays down the rule for Muslims that "the unjust" are not only the Christians and Jews: they are also Muslims who take Christians and Jews as friends.

And lastly, to quote just one of the Quranic verses that is used repeatedly by shariah-adherent Muslims to castigate Jews and Christians, and by extension, the West:

"Shall I point out to you something much worse than this, (as judged) by the treatment it received from Allah? Those who incurred the curse of Allah and His wrath, those of whom some He transformed into apes and swine, those who worshipped evil..." (Quran 5:60)

So, according to Sura 5:60, Allah turned people who worshipped evil into apes and swine. The references refer, respec-

tively, to the apes, who are the Jews (the people of the Sabbath), while the swine are Christians, the infidels who adhere to the communion of Jesus.

Apologists for shariah try to dismiss such citations as “cherry picking” from the Quran. However, *these Sura are selected precisely because they are operative according to shariah’s doctrine of abrogation*. This stepped process of development through which the first Muslims moved forms the model for all Muslims to the current day.

Muslim children, and those studying to become converts to Islam, are typically taught first about the gentle “your religion for you, mine for me” verses of the Quran.

Instruction to Westerners, as it turns out, is strictly limited to understanding Islam in its early peaceful phases. In fact, it is a top priority of the Islamic Movement to discourage U.S. leaders from studying Islamic doctrine and law. As Edward Said famously argued in his 1978 book *Orientalism*, only those who can speak classical Arabic can understand the true meaning of Islam, so why read anything at all?

Muslims, however, are required to proceed on to eventual understanding of the complete sequence contained in the Quran and *hadiths*. This graduated progression to manage the Muslim community is what Ikhwan strategist Sayyid Qutb made as the object of his seminal jihadist monograph *Milestones*. The method of graduated progression is why it is impossible to understand the full import of Islam without mastering the doctrines of abrogation and its associated “progressive revelation.”

Finally, progressive revelation along “milestones” tracks with the stepped-learning process that many national security and law enforcement officials have taken to calling “the self-radicalization process.” Shariah itself calls for this evolution. The practice may or may not be properly described as “radical,” but it certainly reflects the gradual revelation of Islam itself.

The Sunna: The second most authoritative source for shariah is the *Sunna*, commonly understood to be the actions and sayings of the Prophet. The *Sunna* includes the *ahadith* (plural of *hadith*), or collections by Mohammed's contemporaries of what he did and said during his lifetime. Also within the *Sunna* is the *Sira*, which are biographical accounts of the life of Mohammed. It should be noted that the *ahadith* (not the *Sira*) constitute the legally significant element of the *Sunna*.⁸¹

The many hundreds of thousands of *hadiths* have been recorded in a number of *hadith* collections, of which six collections are held to be the most authoritative (or "strong *hadiths*," meaning their chain of transmission is considered solid). The two most important collections of all are those by Sahih Al-Bukhari (collected and compiled by Mohammed bin Isma'il, known as Imam Bukhari, born 810, died 870) and Sahih Muslim (Muslim bin al-Hajjaj, known as Imam Muslim, born 817/818, died 874/875).

Ijma: In addition to the Quran and *Sunna*, there are also two accepted secondary sources for shariah: these are *ijma* (consensus of the scholars) and *qiyas* (analytical deduction). Consensus of the Islamic jurists refers to the achievement of agreement on particular legal issues and finds its justification in numerous verses of the Quran.⁸² *Hadith* accounts also provide support with the words of Mohammed: "My followers will never agree upon an error or what is wrong." The early Muslim scholars turned to this device of *ijma* only when they could not find a specific legal ruling in either the Quran or the *Sunna*.

Qiyas: *Qiyas* make up the fourth most important source for shariah. The term means "to judge by comparing with a thing." Its methods of deductive reasoning derive from the previous three sources of authenticity, namely the Quran, the *Sunna*, and *ijma*. When a legal ruling was required but could not be found in the other sources, the Islamic jurists employed analogy, reasoning, and legal precedent to arrive at new case law. Although all four

schools of Sunni jurisprudence (Hanafi, Shafi'i, Maliki, and Hanbali) accept *ijma* as a legitimate source of shariah, Shiite Muslims do not; however, they replace *ijma* with *aql* (or reason). Considering that Shiites do not accept the authority of the Sunni Caliphs after Imam Ali, it is understandable that they would reject a source of legal authority that arose under their authority. In any case, the Shia practice of *aql* is essentially identical to *ijma*.

THE APPLICATION OF SHARIAH

Shariah contains categories and subjects of Islamic law called the branches of *fiqh* (literally, "understanding"). They include Islamic worship, family relations, inheritance, commerce, property law, civil (tort) law, criminal law, administration, taxation, constitution, international relations, war and ethics, and other categories.

Four Sunni and two Shiite schools (*madhhab*) of jurisprudence address these legal issues. The Islamic scholars of the Sunni schools – Hanafi, Hanbali, Maliki, and Shafi'i – as well as the Ja'fari and Ismaili Fatimid Shiite schools, completed codification of Islamic law by the tenth century. From that time until the present, Islamic *fiqh* has remained reasonably fixed.

Despite a measure of variation on minor details, and a more flexible attitude about *ijtihad* by traditional Shiite scholars, all of the major schools of shariah are in agreement on more than 70 percent of substantive matters. In 1959, al-Azhar University (today the seat of Sunni jurisprudence although it was founded by the Shiite Fatimids) issued a fatwa that recognized Shia Islam as legitimate. Despite its own adherence to *fiqh* of the Ja'fari Twelver school, the Iranian constitution of 1989 likewise made a point of explicitly recognizing the validity of the four Sunni madhhabs.

According to shariah, all of Islam – its doctrines, practices, theology and adherents – are subordinate to that comprehensive code. The enemy fights jihad at the command of and in legal

compliance with Shariah expressly to achieve the global imposition of shariah. Indeed, shariah is law of the land within the Dar al-Islam (Abode or House of Islam or those places where shariah is implemented) and its imposition within the *Dar al-Harb* (Abode or House of War or places where shariah is not implemented at all or not fully implemented) is the primary objective of jihad.

Much can be said about the brutally repressive, even totalitarian character of shariah with its harsh treatment of women, homosexuals, Jews and other “infidels,” apostates and petty criminals, among others. Shariah is wholly at odds with U.S. national sovereignty, the U.S. Constitution, and the liberties it guarantees. (This subject is dealt with at greater length in chapter six).

To get a sense for the character of shariah, a brief sampling is in order of contemporary Islamic legal scholars who are generally considered “moderate.” Representative is the commentary about the importance of shariah and its centrality to Islam of Abdur Rahman I. Doi. Doi, who died in 1999, was born in India but lived and taught Islamic law in Malaysia, Nigeria, and South Africa. In *Shariah: The Islamic Law*, he wrote:

In the shariah, there is an explicit emphasis on the fact that Allah is the Lawgiver and the whole *ummah*, the nation of Islam, is merely His trustee. It is because of this principle that the *ummah* enjoys a derivative rule-making power and not an absolute law-creating prerogative. The Islamic State, like the whole of what one might call Islamic political psychology, views the Dar al-Islam (Abode of Islam) as one vast homogeneous commonwealth of people who have a common ideology in all matters both spiritual and temporal. The entire Muslim *ummah* lives under the shariah to which every member has to submit, with sovereignty belonging to Allah alone.

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For Doi, shariah is incompatible with democracy: “It is because of this principle that the *Ummah* enjoys a *derivative rule-making power*.” Unfortunately, that is not a minority view. Rather,

it is the position of the collective Islamic scholars speaking in consensus (*ijma*).

Take for example, the analysis of Muhammad Hashim Kamali, who was born in Afghanistan in 1944 and is a professor of Islamic law at the International Islamic University of Malaysia. As he put it in his *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*: “Sovereignty in Islam is the prerogative of Almighty Allah alone. He is the absolute arbiter of values and it is His will that determines good and evil, right and wrong.”⁸⁴ Kamali added: “It is neither the will of the ruler nor of any assembly of men, nor even the community as a whole, that determines the values and the laws which uphold those values...The sovereignty of the people, if the use of the word ‘sovereignty’ is appropriate at all, is a delegated, or executive, sovereignty... only.”⁸⁵

Yet another confirmation of the expressed inherent incompatibility of shariah with democratic principles can be found in *Theories of Islamic Law: The Methodology of Ijtihad*⁸⁶ by Imran Ahsan Khan Nyazee, a Pakistani professor of Islamic law in the Faculty of shariah and Law of Islamabad: “Islam, it is generally acknowledged, is a ‘complete way of life’ and at the core of this code is the law of Islam.” It follows that:

No other sovereign or authority is acceptable to the Muslim, unless it guarantees the application of these laws [shariah] in their entirety. Any other legal system, howsoever attractive it may appear on the surface, is alien for Muslims and is not likely to succeed in the solution of their problems; it would be doomed from the start... A comprehensive application of these laws, which flow directly or indirectly from the decrees (*ahkam*) of Allah, would mean that they should regulate every area of life, from politics to private transactions, from criminal justice to the laws of traffic, from ritual to international law, and from the laws of taxation and finance to embezzlement and white collar crimes.⁸⁷

For those who hold out hope that a more moderate form of shariah might exist or be developed that would be more compatible with Western mores, principles, and rights, Doi makes the point that shariah is absolutely immutable:

The shariah was not revealed for limited application for a specific age. It will suit every age and time. It will remain valid and shall continue to be, till the end of this life on earth. Its injunctions were coined in such a manner that they are not affected by the lapse of time. They do not become obsolete, nor do their general principles and basic theories need to be changed or renovated.⁸⁸

In fact, as was noted above, doctrinal Islam holds that within the first two centuries after the death of Mohammed, the *Mujtaheed* (the recognized Islamic scholars of the day)⁸⁹ came to consensus (*ijma*) regarding various aspects of shariah. Once the *Mujtaheed* completed this process, once agreement among the scholars was established on an issue, that element of Islamic law became permanently established as an element of sacred law.⁹⁰

Yousuf al-Qaradawi, spiritual leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, affirmed this reality in that shariah-promoting organization's online forum: "The shariah cannot be amended to conform to changing human values and standards. Rather, it is the absolute norm to which all human values and conduct must conform."⁹¹

Abdur Rahman Doi cites the Quran directly⁹² in describing the fate of those who fail to conform to shariah:

"And if any fail to judge by the light of what Allah has revealed, they are not better than those who rebel." (5:50)

"And if any fail to judge by the light of what Allah has revealed, they are no better than wrong-doers." (5:48)

"And if any fail to judge by the light of what Allah has revealed, they are no better than unbelievers." (5:47)

Even a mass-market, English-language seventh-grade textbook entitled, *What Islam Is All About*, by Yahiya Emerick – one of the most popular texts used in Islamic schools in America today – makes plain that shariah is a program wholly at odds with the American form of government and way of life: “Muslims know that Allah is the Supreme Being in the universe, therefore, His laws and commandments must form the basis for all human affairs.”⁹³ The textbook also notes that, “The basis of the legal and political system is the shariah of Allah. Its main sources are the Quran and *Sunnah*. Muslims dream of establishing the power of Islam in the world.”⁹⁴ In short, “The law of the land is the shariah of Allah.”⁹⁵ (This book is also used in connection with Islamic proselytizing in U.S. federal penitentiaries.)

It bears repeating: The foregoing quotes are from Islamic legal texts which were written by so-called “non-radicalized” Muslim legal scholars, yet they proclaim that Islamic law is categorically and unquestionably a monopoly, the absolute and sole law of the land. As will be discussed further below, this reality creates an unavoidable legal problem with respect to shariah in America because Article VI of the U.S. Constitution established that, in this country, the Constitution is “the supreme law of the land.”

2

SHARIAH AND JIHAD

Shariah – derived from Islam’s foundational documents – defines Islamic doctrine, including the universal obligation to jihad against non-believers. The question is: What is meant by “jihad”? Is jihad merely a personal struggle to be the best possible Muslim? Or does jihad mean holy war, the pursuit of a global Islamic State (caliphate) that rules in accordance with shariah?

THE QURAN AND JIHAD

The answer is readily accessible to those willing to seek it. Islamic jurisprudence, fiqh in Arabic, forms the legal context for shariah and its rulings. As such, it relies first and foremost on the Quran and cites its verses to support the caliphate and jihad. Simple citation of the verses themselves, without the context provided by how the shariah scholars interpreted these verses, provides an incomplete and incorrect understanding.

Shariah scholars typically cite as authority for jihad from the Quran any of the 164 verses that specifically refer to jihad against non-Muslims in terms that include military expeditions, fighting enemies, or distributing the spoils of war. Among these are: "Fighting is prescribed for you" (Q 2:216); "Slay them wherever you find them" (Q 4:89); and "Fight the idolaters utterly" (Q 9:36).

Among the most categorical of such Quranic entries and the most often cited as authoritative by the shariah scholars is the "Verse of the Sword": "So when the sacred months have passed, then fight and slay the pagans wherever you find them, and seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem of war; but if they repent and establish regular prayers, and practice regular charity, then leave their way free to them; for surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful." (Q9:5)

As regards pagans (or polytheists), therefore, the doctrine is clear: Convert or die. The treatment for "People of the Book," Christians and Jews, is controlled by a Sura 9: "Fight those who believe not in God nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by God and His Apostle, nor acknowledge the Religion of truth, even if they be People of the book [Christians and Jews] until they pay the *Jizya* with willing submission and feel themselves subdued." (Q9:29)

Thus, Christians and Jews are afforded a third choice not available to polytheists: convert, die or submit to Islam as *dhim-mis*.⁹⁶

In the Quran and in later Muslim usage, the word jihad is commonly followed by the expression *fi sabil Allah*, "in the path of Allah."⁹⁷ By describing the warfare of jihad as something sanctioned by Allah himself, Islamic authorities set it apart from the common tribal warfare of the time and elevated it to a superior status as something sacred.

THE HADITHS AND JIHAD

The *hadiths* are the second source of shariah. Throughout those *hadiths* considered authoritative, jihad means warfare. The hadith collections of Sahih al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim are accorded the highest level of authenticity by Islamic scholars and both include hundreds of references to jihad. Each and every one of these citations leaves no room for doubt that jihad means warfare.⁹⁸

For example, one of the most oft-cited Sahih al-Bukhari *hadiths* about jihad says:

Narrated abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "I have been ordered to fight with the people till they say, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah,' and whoever says, 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allah,' his life and property will be saved by me except for Islamic laws and his accounts will be with Allah, (either to punish him or to forgive him)." ⁹⁹

The wording of this "*sahih*" *hadith* (meaning that its authoritative status has already been determined) not only states unequivocally that it is Allah himself who has ordered Muslims to war against non-Muslims, but also states the command in completely open-ended terms; i.e., Muslims are to fight "the people" who do not worship Allah until "they" all submit to Islam. This is not a command to convert non-believers but to subjugate them to "Islamic laws."

THE CLASSICAL SOURCES ON JIHAD

There are, moreover, a number of recognized compilations that systematize and codify Islamic law. They spell out the duty of jihad as holy war, which all Muslims, so the shariah states, must advance in one or more carefully delineated ways.

Excerpts from several of these texts are illustrative. The first is from the Shafite school's *Reliance of the Traveller: The Clas-*

sic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law (Umdat Al-Salik) by Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri. An English-language edition of *Reliance* was published in 1994, with Nu Ha Mim Keller as the translator and chief commentator. Readers are advised at the outset that this version of the 14th Century classic is an officially approved translation, complete with testimonials to that effect in English and Arabic from the governments of Syria, Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.¹⁰⁰

In Chapter O, o9.0, *Reliance of the Traveler* states: “Jihad means to wage war against non-Muslims, and is etymologically derived from the word *mujahada*, signifying warfare to establish the religion. And it is the lesser Jihad.”¹⁰¹ Al-Misri goes on to explain that the “greater” jihad is the struggle for the spiritual self. Importantly, he adds that *the hadith upon which that distinction is based is weak or false, depending on which authority is referenced, and so is not authoritative.*¹⁰²

Consequently, when *Reliance* refers to the greater and lesser jihad, it indicates that this differentiation is not a part of the law of jihad – leaving us with no alternative but to understand that, under shariah, the meaning of ‘jihad’ connotes force and violence.

Al-Misri also cites at o9.0:

...Such *hadiths* as the one related by Bukhari and Muslim that the Prophet...said: “I have been commanded to fight the people until they testify that there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah, and perform the prayer, and pay the *zakat*. If they say it, they have saved their blood and possessions from me, except for the rights of Islam over them.”¹⁰³

Other confirmations of this interpretation can be found in the *Al-Hidayah*, which came out in the 12th century and is a classic from the Hanafi Islamic school of law.¹⁰⁴ Then, there is *The Distinguished Jurist’s Primer* by Ibn Rushd, which was published in the 12th century, and is a classic Maliki text.¹⁰⁵ It is worth noting that

Ibn Rushd was a *qhadi*, an Islamic law judge, in the court of Cordoba in Andalus. He is best known as “Averroës” in the West.

Each of these texts contains similar treatments on the subject of “jihad.” In Ibn Rushd’s work, Book Ten is entitled, “Jihad.” In the *Hidayah*, Book Thirteen entitled “The Siyar,” deals with jihad and relations with non-Muslims. It maps almost exactly with the book *Shaybani Siyar*, or, as translated by a Professor Majid Khadduri – *The Islamic Law of Nations* – which is the oldest, most completely extant text of Islamic law on warfare.¹⁰⁶

CONTEMPORARY ADVOCATES OF JIHAD

Moving to modern times, Abu al-A’la Mawdudi (1903-79), the Indian-born (and later, Pakistani) thinker, paved the way for Muslim Brotherhood ideologues such as Hasan al-Banna (1906-49) and Sayyid Qutb (1906-56). Those Ikhwan ideologues recast modern jihad in the fiery language of revolution and anti-colonialism of the times and not just strictly warfare to expand Islamic legal and political dominance. Their war was directed against oppressive colonialist forces or Muslim rulers (“the near enemy”) who were judged apostates because of their failure to uphold shariah.¹⁰⁷ Mawdudi’s approach harkened back to the 13th century Islamic jurist, Taqi ad-Din Ahmed ibn Tamiyya (1263-1328), who declared the overthrow of unjust governments to be lawful.

In his capstone book, *Milestones*, Muslim Brotherhood chief theoretician Qutb¹⁰⁸ declared:

The reasons for Jihad which have been described in ... verses [from cited sacred texts] are these: to establish God's authority in the earth; to arrange human affairs according to the true guidance provided by God; to abolish all the Satanic forces and Satanic systems of life; to end the lordship of one man over others since all men are creatures of God and no one has the authority to make them his servants or to make arbitrary laws for them. These reasons are sufficient for proclaiming Jihad.¹⁰⁹

By “Satanic systems of life,” Qutb means the way of life practiced in Western-style liberal democracies – the way of the infidel, the Westerner, the non-Muslim. Similarly, “the lordship of one man over others” means the system of democracy – which is the political system of the infidel, the Westerner, the non-Muslim.

Among those who acted on Mawdudi and Qutb’s injunctions with respect to jihad were the assassins of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. The followers of Ayman al-Zawahiri and his group, Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ), produced a pamphlet called *The Neglected Duty*, which exalted violent jihad to “enjoin the good and forbid evil”¹¹⁰ as the heart and soul of Islam. *The Neglected Duty* exhorts Muslims to be aggressive and to “exert every conceivable effort” to establish truly Islamic government, a restoration of the caliphate, and the expansion of Dar al-Islam.¹¹¹

Then, there is a volume whose title says it all: *The Quranic Concept of War*, written in 1979 by Brigadier General S. K. Malik when he was chief of staff of the Pakistani army.¹¹² Then-Pakistani Army Chief of Staff Zia ul Haq declared this book to be his country’s doctrine.¹¹³ The Advocate General in Pakistan said that it constitutes a “Restatement” of the law.¹¹⁴

OTHER SOURCES ON JIHAD

Modern means of communication allow for an even broader dissemination of Islamic thinking on the subject than ever before. For instance, the online Arabic language magazine *Moheet*, which has offices in Egypt and the United Arab Emirates, carried an article on March 13, 2010 by Islamic cleric Iman al-Khashab. The article extolled the virtues of jihad, provided doctrinal references for his position and described violent warfare against infidels as the “sixth pillar of Islam.”¹¹⁵ Al-Khashab wrote:

Jihad in the path of Allah is a mainstay of the religion and a great religious duty, as the Prophet (PBUH) said: “The most important thing is Islam, and it is supported by prayer, and its

apex is jihad in the path of Allah.” Allah has commanded us in many verses (of the Quran), and urged us, as has also our Prophet (PBUH), regarding the issue of jihad. The Prophet desired it himself, and urged (others) to it. He declared its virtues so often that some scholars consider it the sixth pillar of Islam, due to its importance, which is attested by how often it appears in the Quran and hadith.

THE SHIITE AND IRANIAN VIEWS OF JIHAD

The Sunni and Shiite schools of jurisprudence differ in a number of respects. One difference has been with respect to the doctrine under which “offensive” jihad could be conducted, with traditional Shiites holding that it may not be waged in the absence of an imam to lead it. According to Shia Islam, the 12th and final Shiite imam, directly descended from the Prophet, disappeared in the 10th century. For centuries afterward, Shiite scholars held that renewal of offensive jihad must await his reappearance as Shiism’s messianic figure at the End of Times.

But in practice and in historical example, Shia and Sunni doctrines on jihad were fundamentally the same.¹¹⁶ Even the so-called “requirement” for the “hidden” Shia Imam’s “consent” to wage jihad, was already argued away regarding “defensive jihad” by Abu Jaffar al-Tusi during the 11th century as the Shia of Iraq were beset by the Sunni Seljuk Turks.¹¹⁷ This position was reiterated in the 13th century by al-Hilli.¹¹⁸ These legists maintained—in a deliberately vague and elastic formulation—that Shia Muslims could be summoned to jihad by the Imam’s so-called “designee(s)” —which came to mean the “fuqaha,” or doctors of the (Shiite) Muslim Law.¹¹⁹ With the advent at the outset of the 16th century of the very aggressive Shiite Safavid theocracy under Shah Ismail, who claimed direct descent from the Imams, we see “non-fuqaha” rulers declaring unabashed offensive, expansionist jihad throughout this dynasty.¹²⁰

Demonstrating how Safavid Shi'ite jurisprudence was in agreement with the Sunni consensus on the basic nature of jihad war, including offensive jihad, here is an excerpt from the *Jami-i-Abbasi* [the popular Persian manual of Shi'a Law] written by al-Amili (d.1622), a distinguished theologian under Shah Abbas I:
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Islamic Holy war [jihad] against followers of other religions, such as Jews, is required unless they convert to Islam or pay the poll tax.

The 18th century Qajar Shiite theocratic dynasty saw the role of declaring jihad—again, including offensive, expansionist jihad—restored in theory to the Shiite fuqaha.¹²² Finally re-emphasizing how such campaigns under the both Safavids and Qajars no longer required endorsement by the Imam, an early 18th century Qajar treatise on jihad states, “It is possible to say that jihad during the Imam's concealment is more praiseworthy than during his presence.”¹²³

The ascendancy of the Khomeini theocracy marked a revitalized militancy of Shiite jihadism unparalleled since the 16th to early 18th century Safavid dynasty. In 1970, the Iranian Ayatollah Ruhollah Musavi Khomeini outlined a personal ideology he called *Velayat-e Faqih* (Rule of the Jurisprudent). In it, he asserted – within this branch of Shia scholarly tradition – that Shiites should not have to wait interminably for the return to earth of their Mahdi to wage jihad.

Khomeini set himself up as a kind of stand-in for the 12th Imam as a grand ayatollah and arrogated to himself the title of “Imam.” Following his revolution and rise to power in Tehran, the policy of his Iranian theocracy to bear in advancing the sort of offensive jihad shariah-adherent Sunnis had always espoused.

For example, Khomeini declared himself unequivocally committed to jihad:

Islam says: Whatever good there is exists thanks to the sword and in the shadow of the sword! People cannot be made obedient except with the sword! The sword is the key to Paradise, which can be opened only for Holy Warriors! There are hundreds of other [Koranic] psalms and *Hadiths* [sayings of the Prophet] urging Muslims to value war and to fight. Does all that mean that Islam is a religion that prevents men from waging war? I spit upon those foolish souls who make such a claim.¹²⁴

Khomeini's ideology found its way into the 1989 Iranian constitution, as well. In the chapter dealing with the "Religious Army," better known as the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), the constitution pronounces: "The [IRGC has] the responsibility not only for the safeguarding of the frontiers, but also for a religious mission, which is Holy War (JIHAD) along the way of God, and the struggle to extend the supremacy of God's Law in the world."

Immediately following this chapter, the constitution quotes directly from Quranic verse 8:60: "Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of God and your enemies, and others besides." Interestingly, that is the same verse displayed on the Sunni Muslim Brotherhood's coat of arms.

It was this pan-Islamic perspective that brought the Iranian regime and its terror proxy Hezbollah to work with Osama bin-Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri and an incipient al Qaeda in Sudan in the early 1990s in an operational alliance to conduct a unified jihad against the West. That Sunni-Shia alliance, formed under the aegis of the Sudanese Islamic figure, Hasan al-Turabi, solidified and intensified throughout the 1990s, with joint attacks against Khobar Towers (1996), two American embassies in East Africa (1998), the USS *Cole* (2000) and the attacks of September 11, 2001.

In short, each of these sources makes plain the supremacist character of shariah and the instrument for realizing its global dominance, jihad. The bottom line: There is no basis in doctrinal Islam for concluding that jihad means anything other than waging holy war for the implementation of shariah and the establishment of the caliphate throughout the world. Indeed, a scholarly consensus on the definition of jihad was achieved over a thousand years ago – because it was impossible *not* to have consensus on the question: Allah commanded it and Mohammed confirmed it. In both direct and indirect divine revelation, the meaning of jihad as holy war was made clear.

JIHAD IS OBLIGATORY¹²⁵

With the correct meaning of jihad within shariah thus established, it is important next to note the compulsory nature of participating in jihad, which is founded in Quranic verse 2:216: “Prescribed for you is fighting, though it be hateful to you.”

In his renowned *Muqaddimah*, the first work of Islamic historical theory, Ibn Khaldun, an acclaimed historian, jurist, philosopher, and early social scientist who lived from 1332-1406, picked up the theme of the Muslims’ sacred duty to participate in jihad. He noted that, “In the Muslim community, the holy war is a religious duty, because of the universalism of the Muslim mission and [the obligation to] convert everybody to Islam either by persuasion or by force.” Ibn Khaldun asserts that this is because Islam is “under obligation to gain power over other nations.”¹²⁶

In general, the obligation to jihad is a collective one (*fard kifayah*) and only becomes a personal one (*fard ‘ayn*) when Muslim lands are invaded or occupied by an infidel force that is uninvited. Ibn Rushd, writing in 12th Century Seville and Cordoba, Spain during the so-called “Golden Era” of Islam invoked the consensus of the scholars in his seminal *Bidayat al-Mujtahid wa-Nihayat al-Muqtasid*:

... This obligation [to jihad], when it can be properly carried out by a limited number of individuals, is cancelled for the remaining Muslims, is founded on [Q 9:122]: “It is not for the believers to go forth totally,” “Yet to each Allah has promised the reward most fair” [Q 4:95] and, lastly, on the fact that the Prophet never went to battle without leaving some people behind. All this together implies that this activity is a collective obligation. . . .

Scholars agree that all polytheists should be fought [According to some modern shariah authorities, this includes anyone who holds secular law as superior to Allah’s shariah.] This is founded on: “Fight them until there is no persecution and the religion is Allah’s entirely . . .” [Q 8:39]

Damage inflicted upon the enemy may consist in damage to his property, injury to his person or violation of his personal liberty, i.e., that he is made a slave and is appropriated. This may be done, according to *ijma* [the consensus of the shariah authorities] to all polytheists: men, women, young and old, important and unimportant. . . .

Most scholars are agreed that, in his dealings with captives, various policies are open to the Caliph or Imam [head of the Islamic State]. He may pardon them, enslave them, kill them, or release them either on ransom or as *dhimmi* [non-Muslim subjugated to the Muslim regime], in which latter case the released captive is obliged to pay poll-tax (*jizya*).¹²⁷

WAGING JIHAD

Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Shaybani, who lived in the 8th and 9th Centuries, was an important jurist of the Hanafi school of jurisprudence and the first to write extensively on the *Siyar* or Islamic Law of Nations. An important staple of Islamic jurisprudence, *Shaybani’s Siyar* was translated and annotated by the respected contemporary scholar, Majid Khadduri, in 1966.

Shaybani wrote that a constant state of war must exist between the *Dar al-Islam* and the *Dar al-Harb* and explained the protocols to be followed in waging jihad.

Fight in the name of Allah and in the “path of Allah.” Combat those who disbelieve in Allah. Do not cheat or commit treachery, nor should you mutilate anyone or kill children. Whenever you meet your polytheist enemies, invite them [first] to adopt Islam. If they do so, accept it, and let them alone. . . .If they refuse, then call upon them to pay the *jizya* [poll tax imposed on dhimmis]; if they do, accept it and leave them alone. . . .If the army [of Islam] attacks *Dar al-Harb* and it is a territory that has received an invitation to accept Islam, it is commendable if the army renews the invitation, but if it fails to do so it is not wrong. The army may launch the attack by night or by day and it is permissible to burn [the enemy] fortifications with fire or to inundate them with water.¹²⁸

Ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani (10th century), a leading Maliki jurist, echoes al-Shaybani’s injunction about the requirement to issue the call to Islam (*dawa*) before launching an attack (jihad) against the infidel. This legal requirement remains valid and relevant today. Al-Qayrawani also notes the choice given to People of the Book (Christians and Jews), who are not compelled to convert, but may submit to Islam, pay the *jizya*, and live under Muslim domination as *dhimmis*:

Jihad is a precept of Divine institution. Its performance by certain individuals may dispense others from it. We Malikis maintain that it is preferable not to begin hostilities with the enemy before having invited the latter to embrace the religion of Allah except where the enemy attacks first. They have the alternative of either converting to Islam or paying the poll tax (*jizya*), short of which war will be declared against them.¹²⁹

Finally, there is Ibn Taymiyya, a Hanbali jurist of the 14th century, and a favorite of contemporary jihadis, who, although primarily focused on defensive jihad, nevertheless wrote:

Since lawful warfare is essentially jihad and since its aim is that the religion is Allah's entirely and Allah's word is uppermost, therefore according to all Muslims, those who stand in the way of this aim must be fought. As for those who cannot offer resistance or cannot fight, such as women, children, monks, old people, the blind, handicapped and their likes, they shall not be killed unless they actually fight with words (e.g., by propaganda) and acts (e.g., by spying or otherwise assisting in the warfare).¹³⁰

Seething anger at the presence of hated non-Muslim influence anywhere in the "Muslim world" or in those parts of the world once under the dominion of Dar al-Islam infused Taymiyya's writings, including *Al-Ubudiyyah. Being a True Slave of Allah* and *Public and Private Law in Islam: Or Public Policy in Islamic Jurisprudence*.¹³¹ It is in part Ibn Taymiyya's characterization of defensive jihad as a personal obligation (*fard 'ayn*) to fight "false" Muslim leaders (those who do not uphold strictly the obligations of shariah and allow Western/infidel troops on their soil) that has made him such a favorite source for contemporary jihadists.

CIVILIZATION JIHAD

Jihad in the form of violent acts, often referred to by some as "kinetic" jihad, dominates the attention of those responsible for national and homeland security. But the more dangerous threat, especially in the long run, is what the Muslim Brotherhood calls "civilization jihad" – a form of warfare that Robert Spencer has more popularly dubbed "stealth jihad."

According to shariah, this "pre-violent" form of jihad is considered an integral, even dominant element of jihad that is at least as obligatory for shariah's adherents as the violent kind. *Da-*

wa, the call to Islam that by Islamic law must precede jihad, is all-too-often dismissed – as are its manifestations under the rubric of non-violent jihad – simply because this kind of assault does not kill but intends “merely” to subjugate. Absent an appreciation of the threat posed by stealth jihad, the pre-violent jihadist is free to proceed unimpeded under the radar in Western societies, infiltrating and subverting along lines specifically tailored to today’s liberal, multicultural-minded non-Muslim populations in ways that are genuinely difficult to recognize, oppose or counter. (See chapter seven.)

To be clear: The objective of the stealth jihad is the same as the violent: subjugation of *Dar al-Harb* to shariah, which would result in the non-Muslim world being subsumed under *Dar al-Islam*.

This subject will be dealt with at length in chapter five’s discussion of the Muslim Brotherhood, because it is the Brotherhood that has the dominant role with respect to the prosecution of the pre-violent form of jihad in the United States, and the West more generally. The insinuation of shariah and its adherents into America’s academic, banking and finance, government, intelligence, law enforcement and military institutions and society more generally is quite far advanced.

Official U.S. doctrine on threat development requires that threat assessment begin with an unconstrained analysis of the enemy’s stated threat doctrine. The first two sections of this report make plain that it is possible to know the enemy and his intentions with certitude.

If adherents to shariah have sworn to destroy us, it is *their* doctrine we are required to know. Whether that doctrine is judged by us to be accurate, appropriate or even identifiable with “genuine” Islam is wholly irrelevant. If it can be demonstrated that the enemy that attacks and kills Americans and seeks to subvert our Constitution refers to and relies on this doctrine to guide

and justify his actions, then that is all that matters in terms of the enemy threat doctrine U.S. civilian and military leaders must thoroughly understand and orient upon for the purpose of defeating such foes. (It is only in what the military calls the “course of action” development phase that issues concerning the actual validity of the threats adherence to Islamic law entails come into play.)

Failing to orient on an enemy’s self-identified doctrines not only violates our own doctrine on threat analysis but renders us unable to defeat the enemy because we have failed properly to identify him. As noted at the beginning of this report, such failure defies the rules of warfare reaching back to Sun Tzu on the requirement to “know the enemy.” It also completely defies common sense and the canons of professional conduct of our leadership.

3

SHARIAH'S SECURITY-RELEVANT ATTRIBUTES

Successfully assuring American security in the face of a determined jihadist effort to destroy this country will depend in part on an understanding of several attributes inherent in this seditious doctrine that have direct bearing on the character and insidiousness of the threat.

TREATIES AND TRUCES

Although the objective of the Muslim community, in the eyes of its jurists, is to spread submission to shariah through jihad, there are circumstances when the forces of Islam are not strong enough to prevail. Governed as they are by Islamic law in all they do, it is incumbent upon Muslims accurately to judge their capabilities at any point in time. When Muslims are powerful, they are commanded to mount offensive jihad without hesitation, relying

on the Quranic verse 47:35 for authority: “So do not be faint-hearted and call for peace, when it is you who are the uppermost.”

When infidel forces are too powerful to defeat, however, Muslims are obligated under the laws of war as defined in shariah to refrain from engaging in violence until such time as their forces once again are strong enough not just to take on the enemy, but to defeat him. This injunction against “transgressing the limits” also derives from the Quran: “Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah loveth not transgressors.” (Q2:190)

Transgressing the limits of war in the context of shariah means launching jihad against superior enemy forces without ensuring adequate Muslim forces first. If the result of such rash action is that the enemy then retaliates by invading Muslim lands, with the result that (innocent) Muslims are killed, this becomes a “transgressing the limits” issue and may be consonant with what, according to the Quran, Allah viewed as the terrible crime of “spreading mischief in the land.”

On that account: We ordained for the Children of Israel that if any one slew a person - unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the land - it would be as if he slew the whole people: and if any one saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of the whole people. Then although there came to them our messengers with clear signs, yet, even after that, many of them continued to commit excesses in the land. (Q 5:32)

The following verse, Quran 5:33, specifies the gruesome punishments that Allah ordains for those who violate this prohibition:

The punishment of those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger, and strive with might and main for mischief through the land is: execution, or crucifixion, or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides, or exile from the

land: that is their disgrace in this world, and a heavy punishment is theirs in the Hereafter.”¹³²

One of the reasons that Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda came in for criticism from shariah-oriented entities after the attacks of 9/11 was not because he launched terror attacks that killed thousands of innocent civilians, but because some Islamic authorities viewed the attacks as precipitous and premature. The fact that the U.S. was still powerful enough after 9/11 to invade Muslim lands with a large military force and exact massive retribution against Muslim populations may be considered evidence that bin Laden exceeded Muslim abilities, that is, “transgressed the limits.”

It is important for national security leadership to pay attention when prominent Islamic entities or individuals, especially Salafis, appear to condemn the killing of non-Muslims in non-Muslim lands to determine whether the condemnation was made in an unqualified and outright manner or whether it was in some way associated with downstream acts that merely caused “mischief” to be brought down upon Muslim lands. This becomes especially relevant when jihadi forces come to be perceived as violating Islamic law themselves, especially actions that cause such downstream “killing without right” – meaning the unjust killing, not of non-Muslim innocents, but of *Muslims*.

This discussion about causing “mischief in the land” and the shariah prohibitions against launching jihad without the ability to carry through and prevail leads to situations in which Muslim forces might lawfully enter into a treaty or truce with the enemy. The classic example of such circumstances occurred in the year 628 when Mohammed, then in control of Medina, agreed to a 10-year truce with the pagan Qurashi tribe of Mecca.

Although he had set out to attack Mecca, Mohammed realized en route that his forces were not yet strong enough to prevail; so, he agreed to the Treaty of Hdaybiyyah. Two years later,

with 10,000 men now under his command, Mohammed broke the treaty and marched into Mecca. Sahih hadith from Bukhari attributed to Mohammed, “War is deceit”¹³³ and “By Allah, and Allah willing, if I take an oath and later find something else better than that, then I do what is better and expiate my oath”¹³⁴ clearly demonstrate this doctrinal or moral justification of deception and truces.

Yasser Arafat’s repeated references to the Treaty of Hudaibiyyah following his signature of the Oslo Accords in 1993 on behalf of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) is a good example in modern times of Muslim awareness of the Quranic position on entering into truces with the enemy. Arafat was careful to reassure his followers (in Arabic) that his commitment at Camp David was nothing more than a temporary hiatus in jihad (a *hudna*) at a time of PLO weakness vis-à-vis the Israelis – and entirely in keeping with shariah. Similarly, in 2006, the leadership of Hamas offered Israel a ten-year truce to break the deadlock over its refusal to recognize the Jewish State. At the time, few in the West seemed to realize that Palestinian Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh was in perfect accord with the example of Mohammed and would predictably break any such *hudna* the moment it proved advantageous for the Muslim side to do so.

In practice, though, truces are generally disfavored under shariah “because it entails the nonperformance of jihad.”¹³⁵ As noted above, the Quran enjoins its followers “So do not be faint-hearted and call for peace, when it is you who are the uppermost.” (Q 47:35). Consequently, under Islamic law, the maintenance of a peaceful status quo cannot serve as the basis for a truce when the milestones favor Islamic success in Jihad.

As Majid Khadduri, the translator of Mohammed ibn al-Hasan al-Shaybani’s highly revered *Siyar*¹³⁶ puts it: “Muslim authorities concluded peace treaties with the enemy only when it was to the advantage of Islam, whether because it found itself in a

state of temporary weakness following a military defeat or because of engagement in war in another area.”¹³⁷

SACRED SPACE

The concept of “sacred space” is well-developed in shariah, which centuries of commentary have established as authoritative. Indeed, shariah is an aggressively territorial system that holds all land on earth has been given by Allah to Muslims in perpetuity: Since the world already belongs in its entirety to Muslims – whether currently in reality or prospectively – they are both destined and obligated to dominate it.¹³⁸

Land already conquered and occupied by Muslims as well as any space ever gained in the past for the forces of the faith are *waqf* and considered sacred ground, endowed by Allah to the *ummah* or Muslim people forever. If ever such space has been lost, it is the duty of all Muslims to regain it, by jihad, if necessary. Chechnya, the State of Israel, Iberian Peninsula (or al-Andalus), and Indian subcontinent (Hind) are all examples of such territory, once conquered by the armies of Islam but now under the control of non-Muslims (infidels, or *kuffar*). In keeping with the shariah principle of sacred space, each of these places is to remain the target of declarations of ownership by the forces of jihad and repeated terrorist attacks and plots by Muslim jihadis intent upon returning them to the *Dar al-Islam*.

Sacralizing new or reclaimed territory for Islam is an ongoing venture in which migrant and converted Muslim communities in the West are constantly engaged, according to Patrick Sookhdeo, who has written extensively about the concept of Sacred Space in Islam.¹³⁹ Such Muslims may first sacralize the spaces within their own homes and mosques while later generations typically move outward to claim an ever-expanding share of the public space.

This Muslim mission to sacralize new physical ground for Islam has been especially obvious in Europe. There gigantic mosques (some have been dubbed “mega-mosques”) have been going up across the continent since the mid-20th century, when infusions of Saudi oil money began to make such massive buildings possible. The mosques, with their towering minarets, attest in a deliberately physical way to the presence and dominance of Islam. As Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan stated in 1998, “The mosques are our barracks, the domes our helmets, the minarets our bayonets, and the faithful our soldiers.”¹⁴⁰

The neighborhoods around such mosques often are purchased in an incremental way, too, gradually expanding to encompass apartment buildings and even entire city blocks occupied exclusively by Muslims. This tactic (in the U.S.) often involves Muslim real estate agents who ensure that homes occupied by Muslims will always be occupied by Muslim families. By establishing such a network of Muslim-controlled space, in which adherence to shariah is enforced and from which non-Muslims are excluded, Islamic communities seek the ability to live in imitation of Mohammed and the earliest Muslims after the *hijra* (the move from Mecca to Medina). Muslims also demonstrate their dominance by requiring non-Muslims who may be permitted access to such areas to comply with shariah while in Muslim space.¹⁴¹

In many cases, as these segregated areas expand, they become not only ghettos where crime flourishes among an immigrant population that refuses to assimilate, but actual sacred space where shariah is practiced in contravention and supersession of local law. All too often, as is the case in France and elsewhere, such enclaves are avoided by the security forces, which literally cede sovereignty by abrogating their duty to enforce local law in such areas.¹⁴²

The concept of sacred space also explains why Muslims who conquer enemy territory traditionally erect mosques and Is-

lamic centers literally on top of the destroyed sacred places of other faiths. Examples of this practice include: the great Hagia Sophia mosque in Istanbul (formerly the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Constantinople); the al-Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock Mosque, both built on Jerusalem's Temple Mount, directly above the remnants of the Jewish Second Temple; and the Cordoba mosque complex – the third largest in the world – which transformed a Christian cathedral in the capital city of the Moorish kingdom. The city was conquered in the 8th Century and was the headquarters of what came to be known as the “Cordoba Caliphate” for the next 500 years.

Most recently, plans were announced to construct a \$100 million, 13-story Islamic center and mega-mosque complex two blocks from Ground Zero in New York City, the site of the World Trade Center, which was destroyed in jihadi attacks on September 11, 2001. The name of the organization leading the Ground Zero mosque project is likewise revealing of Islamic traditions: it is called the “Cordoba Initiative.”

Sometimes, mere proximity to Muslims' sacred space, where displays of Islamic supremacy are expected, is sufficient to compel Westerners to censor their speech or alter their behavior or dress. Examples include female journalists who don a headscarf for an interview with a Muslim personage and Western political figures who do the same thing, even when they are visiting Muslim heads of state whose own wives do not wear the hijab. This sort of behavior demonstrates a kind of pre-emptive submission on the part of non-Muslim Westerners who adopt a subservient mentality of *dhimmitude*, erroneously believing their diplomacy, interview or outreach will go the better for it.

APOSTASY

To understand what is meant by *kufr*, or unbelief, it is instructive to move on to Book O, “Justice” in the *Reliance of the Traveller*. In the chapter on “Apostasy from Islam,”¹⁴³ it states:

- “Leaving Islam is the ugliest form of unbelief and the worst.”
- “Whoever voluntarily leaves Islam is killed.”
- “When a person who has reached puberty and is sane voluntarily apostatizes from Islam, he deserves to be killed.”

This is an absolute rule in shariah that does not admit of an alternate interpretation. A modern case in point is Abdul Rahman, the Afghan national who, in 2006, converted to Christianity. When the Islamic authorities found out about his conversion, Rahman was sentenced to death for apostasy. The European Union determined this was a human rights violation and they reacted by threatening to withhold five hundred million euros in economic aid from Afghanistan.

This created a significant political and legal issue for Afghan President Hamid Karzai. If he failed to put Rahman to death for apostasy, he would be violating Islamic law (and the Afghan Constitution in which shariah is the law of the land) and failing in his duty as a Muslim leader. If Karzai allowed the sentence to be carried out, he would lose the European economic aid.

The solution: Rahman was declared insane.¹⁴⁴ Under Islamic law, declaring a person insane is one of the only ways a Muslim leader (who is required to follow shariah) can avoid putting the apostate to death.

In the Western world, declaring a sane man to be insane would be an abominable human rights violation, but under shariah, it can be the only thing that allows the authorities to avoid imposing the death sentence that is prescribed by Islamic law for apostasy.

The enumerated reasons in shariah for declaring a Muslim an “apostate” include: “to deny any verse of the Koran or anything which by scholarly consensus...belongs to it” and “to deny the obligatory character of something which by the consensus of Muslim... is a part of Islam.”¹⁴⁵ This means that Islamic law makes violation of scholarly consensus an unambiguous act of apostasy.

So, if one were to disagree with something where there is consensus among the scholars, one could be charged with apostasy and put to death. *This shariah concept of “scholarly consensus” effectively precludes any effort to moderate or reform any element of shariah sustained by such consensus.*

Reliance underscores the magnitude of the crime of apostasy in Book C, “The Nature of Legal Rulings”¹⁴⁶: Here, the author notes, “Scholars distinguish between three levels of the unlawful: (1) minor sins...; (2) enormities...; and (3) *unbelief (kufr)*, sins which put one beyond the pale of Islam... and necessitate stating a Testification of Faith...”

The only way a Muslim who is declared a *kufr* can escape this is to recant and recite the *Shahada* (the declaration of Islamic faith in Allah and the Prophet), thus declaring a new testimony of faith. He has to re-enter the Islamic faith, as it were.

As Louay Safi, a top Muslim Brotherhood member operating in the United States who is nonetheless considered by many officials to be a respected “moderate,” wrote in his 2001 book *Peace and the Limits of War — Transcending Classical Conception of Jihad*: “The war against the apostates is carried out not to force them to accept Islam, but to enforce the Islamic law and maintain order.”¹⁴⁷

Safi then adds:

Therefore, the individual apostasy which takes place quietly, and without causing any public disorder, should not be of concern to Islamic authority.... Only when the individual

openly renounces Islam and violates Islamic law should he be punished for breaking the law.

In other words, Safi is saying, in effect: We do not put people to death for becoming apostates. We put people to death when we find out that they have become apostates.

In the final analysis, defining elements of shariah are intolerant of any deviation. There is freedom of belief in Islam only to the extent that matters of individual conscience do not threaten the *ummah*, whose cohesion and public appearance of rigid compliance with shariah is paramount and takes precedence over any individual's personal preferences.

PERMISSIBLE LYING

It is imperative that national security professionals with responsibility for defending the U.S. Constitution from encroachment by shariah understand that, under Islamic law, lying is not only permissible, but *obligatory* for Muslims in some situations. This complicates efforts to understand the true nature of the threat – and to have confidence in those Muslims at home and abroad with whom the government hopes to make common cause in countering that threat.

What is particularly confusing is the fact that shariah has two standards of truth and falsehood: In general, the Quran disapproves of Muslims deceiving other Muslims. It declares, “Surely God guides not him who is prodigal and a liar.”¹⁴⁸ Yet, Quranic passages and statements attributed to Mohammed in reliable *hadiths* provide exceptions even to the usual prohibitions on lying to fellow Muslims.

For example, *Reliance of the Traveler* provides practical examples of where lying even to Muslims can be appropriate: “Giving directions to someone who wants to do wrong” is one such example, explaining that “It is not permissible to give directions

and the like to someone intending to perpetrate a sin, because it is helping another to commit disobedience.”¹⁴⁹ Such disobedience, as understood under Islamic law, is defined as: “Giving directions to wrongdoers includes: (1) showing the way to policemen and tyrants when they are going to commit injustice and corruption.”¹⁵⁰

Reliance also shows in quotes from Mohammed that there are other grounds for lying even to Muslims: “He who settles disagreements between people to bring about good or says something commendable is not a liar.”¹⁵¹ And “I did not hear him permit untruth in anything people say, except for three things: war, settling disagreements, and a man talking with his wife or she with him (in smoothing over differences.)”¹⁵² These exceptions are sufficiently broad to cover most instances in which lying would be expedient.

Shariah demands, moreover, that its adherents lie where it will be advantageous in dealings with infidels whose submission is an obligation. Consider the legal guidance provided in the authoritative *Reliance of the Traveler*. In Book R, “Holding One’s Tongue,” one finds sections on “Lying” (r8.0) and “Permissible Lying,” (r8.2). These cite the iconic Islamic legal jurist Imam Abu Hamid Ghazali:

This is an explicit statement that lying is sometimes permissible for a given interest ... When it is possible to achieve such an aim by lying but not by telling the truth, it is permissible to lie if attaining the goal is permissible (N: i.e., when the purpose of lying is to circumvent someone who is preventing one from doing something permissible) and obligatory to lie if the goal is obligatory.¹⁵³

An example of the Quranic basis for the shariah standard on lying is: “Allah has already sanctioned for you the dissolution of your vows.”¹⁵⁴ Indeed, in some places, it is Allah himself who is

described approvingly as a capricious deceiver: “Say, ‘God leads whosoever He wills astray.’”¹⁵⁵

As noted above, Sahih Bukhari writes that Mohammed, too, authorized a permissive attitude toward telling the truth: “The Prophet said, ‘If I take an oath and later find something else better than that, then I do what is better and expiate my oath.’”¹⁵⁶

Besides lying, there is also guidance in *Reliance* about giving a misleading impression: “Scholars say that there is no harm in giving a misleading impression if required by an interest countenanced by Sacred Law.”¹⁵⁷

TAQIYYA

Closely associated with shariah doctrine on lying is the concept of *taqiyya*, which is generally described as lying for the sake of Islam. *Taqiyya* is a concept in Islamic law that translates as “deceit or dissimulation,” particularly towards infidels. It is based on Quran 3:28 and 16:106 as well as *hadiths*, *tafsir* literature, and judicial commentaries that permit and encourage precautionary dissimulation as a means for hiding true faith in times of persecution or deception when penetrating the enemy camp.

Take, for example, Quran 3:28: “Let not the believers take the disbelievers as friends instead of the believers, and whoever does that, will never be helped by Allah in any way, *unless you indeed fear a danger from them*. And Allah warns you against Himself, and to Allah is the final return.” (Emphasis added.)

The authoritative commentary on the Quran, *Tafsir Ibn Kathir*¹⁵⁸ notes the prohibition on “taking disbelievers as friends” then explains the Quranic phrase “unless you indeed fear a danger from them”:

The Prohibition of Supporting the Disbelievers. Allah prohibited His servants from becoming supporters of the disbelievers, or to take them as comrades with whom they develop friendships, rather than believers. Allah warned against such

behavior when He stated... “*unless you indeed fear a danger from them*” meaning, except those believers who in some areas or times fear for their safety from the disbelievers. In this case, such believers are allowed to show friendship to the disbelievers outwardly, but never inwardly... “We smile in the face of some people although our hearts curse them.”

Another authoritative Arabic text, *Al-Taqiyya fi Al-Islam*, states definitively the standing *taqiyya* enjoys in shariah:

Taqiyya [deception] is of fundamental importance in Islam. Practically every Islamic sect agrees to it and practices it. We can go so far as to say that the practice of *taqiyya* is mainstream in Islam, and that those few sects not practicing it diverge from the mainstream. ... *Taqiyya* is very prevalent in Islamic politics, especially in the modern era.¹⁵⁹

A respected modern-day authority on Islam, William Gawthrop, has observed in connection with the practice of *taqiyya*:

Concealing or disguising one's beliefs, convictions, ideas, feelings, opinions, and/or strategies at a time of eminent danger, whether now or later in time, [is permissible] to save oneself from physical and/or mental injury. *Taqiyya* has been used by Muslims since the 7th century to confuse and split ‘the enemy.’ One result is the ability to maintain two messages, one to the faithful while obfuscation and denial is sent – and accepted – to the non-Muslim audience.¹⁶⁰

It is worth noting how closely this language from Gawthrop’s “Islam’s Tools of Penetration” maps to the language used by Omar Ahmad, an unindicted co-conspirator¹⁶¹ in the 2008 Holy Land Foundation terrorism financing trial, when discussing separating the information role of CAIR from the operations role of the HLF. From the transcript of a secretly recorded meeting in Philadelphia which was identified as “Philly Meeting – 15,” and entered into evidence in the *U.S. v. HLF* trial,¹⁶² Ahmad had this to

say regarding an dual-message information campaign against the United States:

Omar Ahmad: I believe that our problem is that we stopped working underground. We will recognize the source of any message which comes out of us. I mean, if a message is publicized, we will know ... , the media person among us will recognize that you send two messages; *one to the Americans and one to the Muslims*. If they found out who said that – even four years later – it will cause a discredit to the Foundation as far as the Muslims are concerned as they say “Look, he used to tell us about Islam and that is a cause and stuff while he, at the same time, is shooting elsewhere.”

Raymond Ibrahim, another contemporary scholar on Islam, quoted one of the principal Quranic authorities to address this circumstance:

Al-Tabari’s (d. 923) famous tafsir (exegesis of the Koran) is a standard and authoritative reference work in the entire Muslim world. Regarding [the Quranic Sura] 3:28, he writes: “If you [Muslims] are under their [infidels’] authority, fearing for yourselves, behave loyally to them, *with your tongue*, while harboring inner animosity for them....Allah has forbidden believers from being friendly or on intimate terms with the infidels in place of believers – except when infidels are above them [in authority]. In such a scenario, let them *act* friendly towards them.”¹⁶³

* * *

Regarding 3:28, Ibn Kathir (d. 1373, second in authority only to Tabari) writes, “Whoever at any time or place fears their [infidels’] evil may protect himself through outward show.” As proof of this, he quotes Mohammed’s close companion, Abu Darda, who said, “Let us smile to the face of some people [non-Muslims] while our hearts curse them”; another companion, al-Hassan, said, “Doing *taqiyya* is acceptable till the Day of Judgment [i.e., in perpetuity].”¹⁶⁴

TAQIYYA IN PRACTICE

A classic example of the shariah practice of *taqiyya* can be found in the dual messaging of Yousuf al-Qaradawi, best known as the spiritual leader of the Muslim Brotherhood. For an intended Muslim audience, he wrote in the *Saudi Gazette* on June 11, 2010:

... The acceptance of secularism means abandonment of shariah, a denial of the divine guidance and a rejection of Allah's injunctions... For this reason, the call for secularism among Muslims is atheism and a rejection of Islam. Its acceptance as a basis for rule in place of shariah is downright apostasy...¹⁶⁵

At an earlier “Democracy and Political Reform” conference held in Qatar in June 2004, al-Qaradawi also declared: “There are those who maintain that democracy is the rule of the people, but we want the rule of Allah.”¹⁶⁶

In these two instances, al-Qaradawi’s rejection of Western-style liberal democracy could not have been more clearly stated. He was making these statements in his role as an Islamic jurist, providing legal opinions specifically sourced back to the Quran and shariah. This is not the message he gives to other audiences, however.

For instance, during a January 2010 interview in the Egyptian newspaper, *Al-Shorouk*, he saw advantage for the Muslim Brotherhood and shariah in extolling the virtues of democracy – as a means of ending the rule of President Hosni Mubarak (who mostly suppresses the Muslim Brotherhood) and bringing the Ikhwan to power: “Egypt will not regain its status, its wellbeing and its role unless it opens the windows of freedom. It must open the doors completely and make way for [new] figures and competition as real democracy is the solution, not fake [democracy].”¹⁶⁷

Similarly, in the Brotherhood’s online forum, IslamOnline.net, which is published in English and aimed at a Western audience, al-Qaradawi went so far as to suggest that shariah

actually *embraces* democracy: “Islam calls for democracy and grants people the right to choose their governor.”¹⁶⁸

In short, what Muslim audiences are required to know about Islam is not the same thing as what non-Muslim Western audiences are allowed to know – or encouraged to think – by Islamic authorities. *Taqiyya* provides the legal basis under shariah for this sort of deceptive dual messaging.

The practice of *taqiyya* is sometimes erroneously described as one in which only Shiites engage. While it is true that the Shiites, being the minority sect in Islam, have historically had reason to engage in deception (i.e., to conceal their religious identity from the majority Sunni population who would otherwise persecute them), Sunni Muslims living in the West are themselves in the minority among societies full of non-Muslims. Shariah is permissive of their lying in such conditions.

Such examples from shariah sources should suffice to alert national security professionals to the mainstream position of Islamic doctrine on the subject of lying. In view of the Prophet Mohammed’s statement that “War is deceit,” and cognizant of the requirement under shariah for Dar al-Islam to be in a constant state of animosity, hatred, and jihad with *Dar al-Harb* until “all religion belongs to Allah,” it is imperative that those whose duty it is to protect the United States. from shariah grasp the centrality of *taqiyya* in the arsenal of its adherents. This is critical because the consequences of *taqiyya* extend to real world issues related, for example, to Muslim overtures for interfaith dialogue, peace and mutual tolerance – all of which must be viewed in the light of Islamic doctrine on lying.

This is not an argument for trusting or mistrusting someone in any particular instance. It is, though, an argument for professionals to be aware of these facts, to realize that they are dealing with an enemy whose doctrine allows – and at times even *requires*

– them not to disclose fully all that they know and deliberately to misstate that which they know to be the truth.

As is discussed at greater length below, American officials charged with national and homeland security have a duty to understand that which is within the sphere of their professional competence. For anyone with such responsibilities, knowledge of these attributes of Shariah is a requirement.

SLANDER

Given the importance the enemy’s doctrine attaches to information dominance evident in the legitimacy shariah assigns to lying and *taqiyya*, it is hardly surprising that this threat doctrine also seeks through other means to keep the *harbi* (residents of *Dar al-Harb*) unaware of the true character and intentions of shariah’s adherents. In fact, Islamic law provides, in tandem with the right (described above) to deceive *harbi*, an enforceable requirement to make disclosure of those rules of Islam a punishable offense. This is among the purposes of the shariah concept of slander, which differs significantly from its Western counterpart.

Reliance of the Traveler has the following relevant passages (emphasis added throughout):

- “Slander (*ghiba*) means to mention anything concerning a person that he would dislike.”¹⁶⁹
- “As for talebearing (*namima*), it consists of quoting someone’s words to another in a way that worsens relations between them.”¹⁷⁰
- “The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
- (1) “The talebearer will not enter paradise.”
- (2) “Do you know what slander is?” They answered, “Allah and His Messenger know best.” He said, “It is to mention of your brother that which he would dislike.” Someone asked, “What if he is as I say?” And he replied,

“If he is as you say, you have slandered him, and if not, you have calumniated him.”

- (3) “The Muslim is the brother of the Muslim. He does not betray him, lie to him, or hang back from coming to his aid.”¹⁷¹
- “...In fact, talebearing is not limited to that, but rather consists of revealing anything whose disclosure is resented, whether presented by the person who originally said it, the person to whom it is disclosed, or by a third person. ... The reality of talebearing lies in divulging a secret, in revealing something confidential whose disclosure is resented. A person should not speak of anything he notices about people besides that which benefits a Muslim to relate or prevents disobedience.”¹⁷²

From such definitions, it is easy to see how a legally sanctioned code of silence could be imposed and enforced. Taken together with the rules on lying and *taqiyya*, it is easy to understand how self-identified “moderate” Muslims can insist that acts of terrorism undertaken by “extremists” had nothing to do with Islam – even in cases where the perpetrators and their supporters explicitly claim Islam as the motivation, often on television broadcasts receiving rapturous applause from other Muslims.

These attributes of shariah have two significant implications for U.S. security policymakers. In accordance with the definition of “talebearing” in *Reliance’s* chapter r2.6, the disclosure of any sensitive information to non-Muslims is forbidden, where sensitive means any information that puts Islam or a Muslim at a disadvantage. Hence, a shariah-adherent Muslim risks eternal damnation if he discloses to a non-believer information that would cause the non-believer to question either Islam or a Muslim.

In other words, law enforcement, military and intelligence services may be relying on individuals whose behavior is governed by shariah must subordinate national security collection require-

ments and practices to potentially restrictive and manipulative disclosure rules dictated by Islamic law. This is submission. It also turns all professional notions of competent analysis and information security on their heads.¹⁷³

BLASPHEMY

For non-believers, the corollary to the Islamic rule against disclosing anything disadvantageous to Islam is shariah's prohibition against blasphemy. This requires that infidels refrain from engaging in discussions about Islam that extend beyond what is permitted of them or would give offense to Muslims.

Such suppression of information is invaluable to the shariah enterprise because a straightforward reading of Islamic doctrine lends credence to claims by its adherents to be in the mainstream and orthodox. The current approach enshrined in U.S. national intelligence and security policy, which conforms to shariah blasphemy dictates, has the effect of removing these facts from discovery.

This submission to shariah is evident in the failure of U.S. government agencies accurately to describe the enemy and his threat doctrine described elsewhere in this report. It also is reflected in other, less obvious but highly insidious ways. These include gaps in the professional education of senior civilian and military personnel and in possible biases based on such failures inherent in the promotion process for federal employees across the governmental bureaucracy.

Such policies are systematically corroding the U.S. government's situational awareness by effectively imposing, via explicit or implicit gag orders, a system of self-censorship. The practical effect is that the truth about shariah and its adherents is suppressed, as is informed deliberation about appropriate responses to the threats it poses. This amounts to a collective act of submis-

sion to shariah by the national leadership of the U.S. that emboldens our enemies even as it disables our defenses against them.

By contrast to current U.S. government policy about the shariah threat that avoids facts as unwanted disclosures, an effective analytic process could be tailored *specifically* to answer questions concerning the enemy's doctrine by direct reference to those same facts. There can be no successful intelligence analysis – or appropriate national security strategy – where the underlying facts are barred.

Arguably, not since the days of the first Team B report – when unwelcome information about Soviet communism's agenda, doctrine and capabilities was discounted or suppressed – has there been a greater need for unconstrained analysis using all relevant facts to contribute to the development of an awareness of the self-identified enemy's stated doctrine. The "second opinion" on shariah offered by this Team B II analysis is intended to be a catalyst for such an all-source analysis, and for a national debate about the inadequacies of the present, official ("Team A") assessment of the threat.

4

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE THREAT DOCTRINE OPERATIONALIZED

As was shown in chapter three, shariah places great importance on its adherents' exercise of information dominance. Accordingly, the shariah campaign of civilization jihad against the United States prominently features propaganda, political and psychological warfare, influence operations and other techniques for neutralizing and, ultimately, subverting our American foundational institutions – political, military, law enforcement, educational, religious, financial and media – as integral parts of the campaign to secure this country's destruction and the triumph of shariah.

The information war in the West and the civilization jihad of which it is a central element is driven by an organization called the International Muslim Brotherhood (IMB), also known by its Arabic title "Ikhwan."¹⁷⁴ The Muslim Brotherhood (MB) is the "vanguard"¹⁷⁵ or tip-of-the-spear of the current Islamic Movement

in the world. While there are other transnational organizations that share the MB's goals (if not its tactics) – including al Qaeda, which was born out of the Brotherhood – the Ikhwan is by far the strongest and most organized.

The Muslim Brotherhood is now active in over 80 countries around the world.¹⁷⁶ Each nation in which the Brotherhood has a presence is structured with an Organizational Conference (planning group), a Shura Council (legal body), and a General Masul (Leader) or “General Guide.” The “Supreme Guide” is the individual leader of the International Muslim Brotherhood (IMB) and is based in Cairo, Egypt.¹⁷⁷

The MB's “civilization-jihadist process” (the Ikhwan's term which will be described in depth below) is primarily conducted by groups posing as peaceable, “moderate” and law-abiding Muslim community organizations. Yet, the Muslim Brotherhood's bylaws (viewable in English on the Ikhwan's website¹⁷⁸), MB doctrinal books published in English, and a series of Muslim Brotherhood strategic documents found in an FBI raid in Virginia in 2004 and entered uncontested into evidence in the largest terrorism-financing trial in American history, the 2008 Holy Land Foundation (HLF) trial in Dallas, Texas, make one thing plain: The Ikhwan's mission in the West is sedition in the furtherance of shariah's supremacist agenda, not peaceful assimilation and co-existence with non-Muslim populations.¹⁷⁹

Thanks to the HLF trial, it is now public knowledge that nearly every major Muslim organization in the United States is actually controlled by the MB or a derivative organization. Consequently, most of the Muslim-American groups of any prominence in America are now known to be, as a matter of fact, hostile to the United States and its Constitution.

This chapter will detail the history of the Muslim Brotherhood and its arrival in America, its key objectives and supporting

doctrine, the individuals and organizations working to achieve its objectives, and some examples of how they are achieving them.

WHAT IS THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD?

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in Egypt in 1928. Its express purpose was two-fold: (1) to implement shariah worldwide, and (2) to re-establish the imperial Islamic state (caliphate).¹⁸⁰ Therefore, Al Qaeda and the MB have the same objectives. They differ only in the timing and tactics involved in realizing them.

The Brotherhood's creed is: "God is our objective; the Koran is our law; the Prophet is our leader; jihad is our way; and death for the sake of Allah is the highest of our aspirations."¹⁸¹ It is evident from the creed, and from the Brotherhood's history (and current activities) detailed below, that violence is an inherent part of the MB's tactics. The MB is the root of the majority of Islamic terrorist groups in the world today.¹⁸²

The Ikhwan believes that its purposes in the West are, for the moment, better advanced by the use of non-violent, stealthy techniques. In that connection, the Muslim Brotherhood seeks to establish relations with, influence and, wherever possible, penetrate government circles in executive and legislative branches at the federal, state and local levels; the law enforcement community; intelligence agencies; the military; penal institutions; the media; think tanks and policy groups; academic institutions; non-Muslim religious communities; and other elites. The Brothers engage in all of these activities and more for one reason: to *subvert* the targeted communities in furtherance of the MB's primary objective – the triumph of shariah.¹⁸³

THE GENESIS OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

The defeat of the Ottoman Empire and its allies in World War I led to the Empire's dissolution as a unified entity in July

1923, and the establishment of the modern state of Turkey by Mustapha Kemal, who was given the title “Ataturk” or “Father of the Turks.”¹⁸⁴ Determined to tie his country firmly to the West, Ataturk sought to diminish its Islamic character, notably by abolishing the caliphate in favor of secular rule. Ataturk also banned the growing of beards by men and wearing of headscarves by women; banned the call to prayer by muezzins; abolished the Turkish language’s script and replaced it with the Latin alphabet; and made the Turkish military the custodian of secular tradition.

The dissolution of the caliphate and the transformation of Turkey from the center of the Islamic world to a secular nation did not sit well with some in the global Islamic community (*um-mah*). One of those determined to restore the caliphate was Hassan al Banna, the son of a Muslim imam who lived outside of Cairo, Egypt. In 1928, he founded an organization known as the *al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin*, the Society of Muslim Brothers or the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), for the purpose of unifying the Islamic States under a new caliphate and subordinating all lands to the Caliph’s rule pursuant to shariah.¹⁸⁵

The Muslim Brotherhood’s bylaws make clear the Ikhwan’s objectives and means to achieve them:¹⁸⁶

“The Muslim Brotherhood is an International Muslim body which seeks to establish Allah’s law in the land by achieving the spiritual goals of Islam and the true religion which are namely the following:

... F) The need to work on establishing the Islamic State;

G) The sincere support for a global cooperation in accordance with the provisions of the Islamic Sharia.

Chapter II, Article 3:

The Muslim Brotherhood in achieving these objectives depends on the following means:

...D) Make every effort for the establishment of educational, social, economic, and scientific institutions and the establishment of mosques, schools, clinics, shelters, clubs, as well as the formation of committees to regulate *zakat* affairs and alms;

E) The Islamic nation must be fully prepared to *fight* the tyrants and the enemies of Allah as a prelude to establishing the Islamic State.” (Emphasis added.)

By the early 1930's, the Brotherhood had developed a formal organizational structure around groups of men with special spiritual and physical training called “Battalions.” By 1940, the Brotherhood created the “secret apparatus” which was the military wing of the Society of Muslim Brothers, and in 1943 abandoned the Battalions. The MB's military wing continues to operate today, and is referred to as the “Special Section.” Its operations are known as “special work,” meaning military fighting or armed actions.¹⁸⁷

During World War II and the years that followed, the Brotherhood became increasingly aggressive and violent, and called for the removal of all British forces (“non-Muslim Forces”) from Egypt (“Muslim Lands”), as required by Islamic Law (shariah). During the late 1940's, the Brotherhood targeted Egyptian officials, British soldiers, and their families, and in December of 1948, a Muslim Brother assassinated Egyptian Prime Minister Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi.¹⁸⁸ In February 1949, the Egyptian security services killed Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan al Banna in Cairo.

The period following the assassination of al Banna was marked with significant MB violence against the Egyptian monarchy and the British. After a ban on Brotherhood activities was lifted in 1951, the MB coordinated actively with Gamal Abdel Nasser and the young officers who overthrew King Farouk in 1952. As soon as the Ikhwan felt powerful enough to confront the

government on their own, however, it turned against the new president Nasser. Nasser launched a crackdown against the Brotherhood in 1954 that accelerated an exodus of many top Brothers and the expansion of the organization around the world, including into the West.

MOVEMENT OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD INTO THE WEST

Among the most prominent members of the Ikhwan during this transitional period were: Youssef Nada, Said Ramadan, Ghaleb Himmat, Mohamed Akef, and Yousef Qaradawi, who is today known as the International Muslim Brotherhood's "spiritual guide" and is a leading Islamic legal scholar. Each of these men played an important role in transforming the Ikhwan into the international Muslim mafia it is today. The history of their penetration of Western societies in Europe is instructive for those seeking to understand how and the extent to which similar influence operations are being run against the United States.

Of these men, Said Ramadan is particularly noteworthy as he was al Banna's assistant for years, married his daughter and became a driving force in the Brotherhood leadership after al Banna was killed by the Egyptian security services. His son, Tariq Ramadan, is a member of Brotherhood elite and one of today's most assiduous practitioners of the stealth jihad. In January 2010, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton reversed a six-year ban on the younger Ramadan's entry into the United States. He has used his renewed access to American audiences to advance the Brotherhood's civilization jihad.¹⁸⁹

Post-war Germany offered the Brotherhood a valuable safe haven in the heart of Europe, primarily because the Brothers had established a relationship with the Nazis during World War II and maintained ties to powerful Germans after the war. Additionally, the West Germans were especially welcoming of Syrians and

Egyptians because of a state policy that offered assistance to any “refugees” from nations that formally recognized Bonn’s rival, East Germany – something both Egypt and Syria did.

The Brotherhood leadership, which insinuated itself into the societies of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other European countries, established numerous front organizations for the Ikhwan – a pattern the organization follows aggressively around the world and especially in the West to this day. For example, Said Ramadan moved to Cologne, where he received a law degree, and founded the Islamic Society of Germany. He presided over it from 1958-1968. In 1962, Ramadan founded the Muslim World League in Saudi Arabia.

Ghaleb Himmat was a Syrian who was a citizen of Italy, who directed the Islamic Society of Germany from 1973-2002.¹⁹⁰ He established the Al-Taqwa Bank, which Italian intelligence dubbed “the bank of the Muslim Brotherhood.” Himmat ran Al-Taqwa and a group of front companies in Switzerland, Liechtenstein, and the Bahamas with Youssef Nada. Before it was shut down in 2002, Al-Taqwa became known for its funding of: al Qaeda; the Brotherhood’s Palestinian arm, known as Hamas; Iran’s Ayatollah Khomeini and his supporters; and other terrorist movements and organizations.

In the 1960’s, these senior Muslim Brotherhood leaders planned and built a huge complex known as the Islamic Center of Munich which became an important staging point for the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe. A new book by Ian Johnson entitled *A Mosque in Munich* describes the powerful force-multiplier this facility became for Ikhwan operations in Europe and beyond. The book also reveals longstanding U.S. government ties to the Brothers, including Said Ramadan who contributed to the construction of this mosque.¹⁹¹

In 1973, several dozen Muslim Brothers attended a meeting of the Islamic Cultural Centres and Bodies in Europe in Lon-

don, England in order to organize the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in Europe. Ghaleb Himmat was present as the head of the Islamic Community of Southern Germany. While no agreement on strategy to develop a European Islamic network was reached, this meeting laid the foundation for such a plan.¹⁹²

Four years later, the senior Muslim Brotherhood leaders met in Lugano, Switzerland, near the homes of Ghaleb Himmat and Youssef Nada to discuss the strategy for moving the Brotherhood forward.¹⁹³ Youssef al-Qaradawi was among those present at this meeting. One of the first actions taken afterwards was the establishment of the MB front known as the International Institute for Islamic Thought (IIIT). IIIT's role was to maintain the ideological purity and consistency of the Brotherhood's expanding operations. During a subsequent meeting in Saudi Arabia in 1978, the Ikhwan decided to set up IIIT near Temple University in Philadelphia, an institution where leading Islamic thinker and Muslim Brother Ismail Faruqi was teaching at the time.¹⁹⁴ Later, the IIIT moved its headquarters to Herndon, Virginia.

In the 1980s, Mohammed Akef (the MB's Supreme Guide for several years until early 2010), who was then serving as the imam at the Munich mosque, moved the MB's European headquarters into the Markfield Conference Centre, a small community near Leicester in the United Kingdom.¹⁹⁵ The Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE) is housed there and led by an Iraqi named Ahmed al-Rawi. FIOE has become one of Europe's largest MB organizations.¹⁹⁶ The Markfield Conference Centre is owned by the Islamic Foundation which is an affiliate of the Muslim Council of Britain – both Muslim Brotherhood front groups. Youssef al-Qaradawi is heavily involved with this network.

The Federation has become the starting point for a number of other Muslim Brotherhood entities, including the Institute for the Study of Human Sciences and the European Council for Fatwa and Research. The latter is headed by al-Qaradawi.¹⁹⁷

In France, the Brotherhood has the Union of Islamic Organizations in France,¹⁹⁸ and its partner organization in Italy is the Union of the Islamic Communities and Organizations in Italy.¹⁹⁹ Those groups work, respectively, with the French and Italian governments in order to advance the Muslim Brotherhood agenda and subvert their respective nations, while using claims of victimhood and demands for equality and tolerance to mask their true intentions and marginalize or silence critics.

In the United Kingdom, the Muslim Council of Britain and Muslim Association of Britain are two of the most prominent MB organizations.²⁰⁰ Like their counterparts on the continent, the MCB and MAB work with the British government at the highest levels toward the same end: subverting Her Majesty's Government and nation from within.

The late 1990s saw the MB launching the Forum for European Muslim Youth and Student Organizations (FEMYSO), which is headquartered in Brussels. FEMYSO describes itself in its own literature as “a network of 42 national and international organizations bringing together youth from over 26 different countries,”²⁰¹ and credibly claims to be the primary organization in Europe for Muslim youth. This Muslim Brotherhood organization – like most of the Ikhwan's other fronts – has significant influence and appears to have encountered little resistance from European security services.

In short, Muslim Brotherhood organizations exist across Europe today. As we shall see with respect to the MB footprint in the United States, virtually without exception, the leading Muslim organizations across the continent are fronts for the Muslim Brotherhood. Even though the affiliation with the Brotherhood for most of these organizations is easily established, and the true, seditious objectives of these organizations are readily discernable, most European governments are unwilling to face reality – let

alone deal effectively with the threats posed by MB penetration of the highest levels of their societies.

As illustrations of the problem, two of the most prominent Muslim Brothers in Europe, Ghaleb Himmat and Yousef Nada, were designated as terrorism financiers by the U.S. Treasury Department in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. Treasury also deemed their bank, Al-Taqwa, as an entity that funds terrorism.²⁰² For his part, the Muslim Brotherhood's spiritual leader, Yousef al-Qaradawi, was named in the HLF trial as an unindicted co-conspirator for his involvement with that Hamas front.

All three of these individuals have, nonetheless, been allowed to continue doing business with and, in some cases, actually *in* Europe.²⁰³

One reason for Europe's unwillingness to confront and counter the danger posed by the Muslim Brotherhood and its operatives is that in parliamentary politics of some nations, Muslim communities are increasingly seen as critical voting blocs.²⁰⁴ To the extent that the Ikhwan is able to capitalize on such perceptions long before Muslims achieve majority status in the demographics of a number of European nations, it has greatly facilitated the MB's efforts to insinuate shariah into and otherwise exercise influence over these states.

Growing unease about the success of the Islamization of Europe has begun translating into push-back, however – most notably in the Netherlands, where Geert Wilders' party rooted in opposition to shariah has garnered unprecedented support. The question is: Will it amount to much and, if so, will it happen in time?

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN AMERICA

In 1953, Princeton University hosted a group of "prominent Muslims" for an "Islamic Colloquium." Ikhwan delegates asked for and were granted a meeting with President Dwight D.

Eisenhower, who agreed to the meeting on advice from his defense and intelligence advisors, who saw it as an opportunity for the U.S. to influence the Muslim world and use them against the communists.

One of the delegates at the meeting was the “Honorable Saeed Ramahdan, Delegate of the Muslim Brothers,” as described in the official White House documents. A now-declassified CIA documents recording the events of this meeting described Ramadan as follows: “Ramadan seems to be a Fascist, interested in the grouping of individuals for power. He did not display many ideas except for those of the Brotherhood.”²⁰⁵

It is critical to recall the MB’s aforementioned bylaws, and specifically that the approved “means” to achieve the Ikhwan’s objectives in America includes this mandate: *“Make every effort for the establishment of educational, social, economic, and scientific institutions and the establishment of mosques, schools, clinics, shelters, clubs.”* (Emphasis added.)

As the Muslim Brothers “settled” in North America, they did so according to their stated bylaws. At the University of Illinois in Urbana, the Ikhwan created its first front organization in North America, the Muslim Students Association (MSA) in 1963. Today, MSA chapters are present on many college campuses across the country, serving as recruiting nodes for the MB and, in some cases for violent jihadist organizations (some of which are described in chapter five). As will be explained, out of the MSA came nearly every Muslim organization in America today. Initially, as MSA chapters sprang up on American campuses, they presented Islam in public as an acceptable alternative to other religions, never mentioning its revolutionary aspects. In recent years, MSA members have become ever more aggressive in their demands for accommodations and silencing those who oppose them.²⁰⁶

In the 1970s, the Brotherhood formed a number of trade organizations for the purpose of insinuating its members more deeply into American society. These included the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS), the Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers (AMSE), the Islamic Medical Association (IMA), the Muslim Communities Association (MCA), and others. The Brothers also formed other student groups in the 1970s, including the Muslim Arab Youth Assembly (MAYA) and Muslim Youth of North America (MYNA).²⁰⁷

In 1973, the Saudis created an important new enabler of Brotherhood operations in the United States and domination of American Muslim communities: the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT). NAIT “controls” approximately 80 percent of the titles/deeds to the mosques, Islamic organizations and Islamic schools in this country.²⁰⁸ Typically, along with such ownership comes Saudi-trained and appointed imams, textbooks for the madrasahs, jihadist literature and videos for the bookstore, paid hajj pilgrimages (the obligatory trip to Mecca) and, in some cases, training for jihad.

In 1980, the Brotherhood created a new organization to extend the footprint made possible by the swelling ranks of Muslim Students Association alumni. It brought together most of its groups under the authority of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), which is today the largest Muslim Brotherhood front in North America.

The creation of ISNA ushered in an era of massive growth of the movement in North America. Through the 1980s and 1990s, the Brotherhood created hundreds of new organizations and built hundreds of mosques and Islamic schools across the U.S. and Canada. It did so primarily with funding from Saudi Arabia.²⁰⁹

BREAKING THE CODE

In August of 2004, an alert Maryland Transportation Authority Police officer observed a woman wearing traditional Islamic garb videotaping the support structures of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge, and conducted a traffic stop. The driver of the vehicle was identified as Ismail Elbarasse and detained on an outstanding material witness warrant issued in Chicago, Illinois, in a Hamas case.

The FBI's Washington Field Office raided Elbarasse's residence in Annandale, Virginia, and in the basement of his home, a hidden sub-basement was found. In the sub-basement, the FBI discovered the archives of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America. The documents *confirmed* what investigators and counterterrorism experts had previously suspected and contended about the myriad Muslim-American groups in the United States – namely, that nearly all of them are controlled by the MB and, therefore, as shariah dictates, are hostile to this country, its Constitution and freedoms. The documents make clear the groups' sole objectives are to implement Islamic law in America in furtherance of re-establishing the global caliphate.²¹⁰

THE HOLY LAND FOUNDATION TRIAL²¹¹

Between July and September 2007, prosecutors from the U.S. Attorney's Office in Dallas, Texas, along with attorneys from the main Department of Justice (DOJ) in Washington, working with FBI case agents and analysts from the FBI Dallas Field Office, tried the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLFRD or simply HLF) and its senior leadership in U.S. Federal Court, Northern District of Texas. At the time, HLF was the largest Muslim charity in North America, and funneled money and assistance to Hamas overseas in support of its terrorist operations. Hamas had been designated a Foreign Terrorist Organization

(FTO) by the U.S. government in 1995, and is a Palestinian wing of the Muslim Brotherhood.

In the course of the HLF trial, scores of exhibits and testimony were introduced into evidence uncontested by the defense. Taken together, the evidence provided unprecedented insights into the web of connections among a handful of alleged Hamas front groups that have operated on American soil throughout the 1990s to this day. This network serves as a central node in the Muslim Brotherhood's wider U.S. organizational infrastructure. HLF was the largest Hamas front organization ever prosecuted by the U.S. government; its trial was the largest in the history of official efforts to counter terrorism financing in America.

On October 22, 2007, after 19 days of deliberation, a jury was unable to reach a unanimous verdict on any of the charges against the defendants. U.S. District Judge Joe A. Fish declared a mistrial after a decision could not be reached.

In September 2008, the second Holy Land Foundation trial began. On November 24, 2008, after six weeks of testimony and seven days of deliberation, the jury convicted HLF and five of its leaders on charges of providing material support to Hamas. As the Department of Justice stated at the time:

The government presented evidence at trial that, as the U.S. began to scrutinize individuals and entities in the United States who were raising funds for terrorist groups in the mid-1990s, the HLF intentionally hid its financial support for Hamas behind the guise of charitable donations. HLF and these five defendants provided approximately \$12.4 million in support to Hamas and its goal of creating an Islamic Palestinian state by eliminating the State of Israel through violent jihad.

Commenting on the verdicts, Patrick Rowan, Assistant Attorney General for National Security, observed:

Today's verdicts are important milestones in America's efforts against financiers of terrorism. For many years, the Holy Land Foundation used the guise of charity to raise and funnel millions of dollars to the infrastructure of the Hamas terror organization. This prosecution demonstrates our resolve to ensure that humanitarian relief efforts are not used as a mechanism to disguise and enable support for terrorist groups."

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The following sentences were handed down for the defendants:

- Shukri Abu Baker, 50, of Garland, Texas, was sentenced to a total of 65 years in prison. He was convicted of 10 counts of conspiracy to provide, and the provision of, material support to a designated foreign terrorist organization; 11 counts of conspiracy to provide, and the provision of, funds, goods and services to a Specially Designated Terrorist; 10 counts of conspiracy to commit, and the commission of, money laundering; one count of conspiracy to impede and impair the Internal Revenue Service (IRS); and one count of filing a false tax return.
- Mohammad El-Mezain, 55, of San Diego, California, was sentenced to the statutory maximum of 15 years in prison. He was convicted on one count of conspiracy to provide material support to a designated foreign terrorist organization.
- Ghassan Elashi, 55, of Richardson, Texas, was sentenced to a total of 65 years in prison. He was convicted on the same counts as Abu Baker, and one additional count of filing a false tax return.
- Mufid Abdulqader, 49, of Richardson, Texas, was sentenced to a total of 20 years in prison. He was convicted on one count of conspiracy to provide material support to a designated foreign terrorist organization, one count

of conspiracy to provide goods, funds, and services to a specially designated terrorist, and one count of conspiracy to commit money laundering.

- Abdulrahman Odeh, 49, of Patterson, New Jersey, was sentenced to 15 years in prison. He was convicted on the same counts as Abdulqader.
- HLF, now defunct, was convicted on 10 counts of conspiracy to provide, and the provision of, material support to a designated foreign terrorist organization; 11 counts of conspiracy to provide, and the provision of, funds, goods and services to a Specially Designated Terrorist; and 10 counts of conspiracy to commit, and the commission of, money laundering.

It should be emphasized that all these defendants were proven to be leaders of Hamas in the United States and, therefore, Muslim Brothers.

The North American Islamic Trust (and perhaps other unindicted co-conspirators) has appealed the court's ruling on their listing.²¹³ According to press reports, a panel of the 5th Circuit held a closed-door hearing on the matter in 2010. As of this writing, neither the government's position nor the judgment of the court of appeals is known.

'AN EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM'

One of the most critical documents found at the FBI raid in Annandale, Virginia, in 2004 entered into evidence during the HLF trial was the Muslim Brotherhood's Strategic Plan for North America entitled, *An Explanatory Memorandum: On the General Strategic Goal for the Group.*" It was written by a member of the Board of Directors for the Muslim Brother in North America and senior Hamas leader named Mohammed Akram. This document was approved by the Brotherhood's Shura Council and Organizational Conference in 1987, and it establishes the mission of the Muslim Brother in North America in this following passage:

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.²¹⁴

In other words, the Ikhwan’s strategy for destroying the United States is to get us, specifically our leadership, to do the MB’s bidding. The Ikhwan intends to conduct civilization jihad by co-opting our leadership into believing a counterfactual understanding of Islam and the nature of the Muslim Brotherhood, thereby manipulating or coercing these leaders to enforce the MB narrative on their subordinates.

At the ground level, this means that when police officers, federal agents, military personnel, or any another Americans who have sworn an oath to protect and defend the Constitution challenge their leadership with facts, the latter is faced with a hard choice: admit a lack of understanding of the threat and that he or she has been duped, or the leader must suppress the facts and his subordinates in the interest of protecting his or her professional reputation.

Copious anecdotal evidence obtained from law enforcement professionals, federal agents, and military service members suggests that there is considerable suppression of the facts about shariah and efforts by the Muslim Brotherhood and its allies to bring it to America. This behavior frequently impedes ongoing investigations and countervailing efforts.

For instance, police officers in a number of communities around the country have been pushed out of their Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) or counterterrorism positions by their chiefs or deputy chiefs for factually articulating that certain MB operatives working with their police leadership are, in fact, hostile to the

United States and the police department in question.²¹⁵ A similar phenomenon has also been evidenced within the FBI, the Department of Homeland Security and other federal, as well as state and local, entities.²¹⁶ That is what is meant by “‘sabotaging’ Western civilization by ‘their hands.’”

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD’S ‘PHASED PLAN’

We know from, among other things, the Elbarasse trove of MB documents, that the goal of destroying Western civilization from within is to be achieved by the Brotherhood in accordance with a “phased plan.” The plan is a stepped process modeled directly after Sayyid Qutb’s *Milestones* and the shariah doctrine of progressive revelation.

One such document is an undated paper entitled, “Phases of the World Underground Movement Plan.”²¹⁷ It specifies the five phases of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in North America. They are described, together with comments about the Ikhwan’s progress in realizing each goal as follows:

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

Phase Two: Phase of gradual appearance on the public scene and exercising and utilizing various public activities (It greatly succeeded in implementing this stage). It also succeeded in achieving a great deal of its important goals, such as infiltrating various sectors of the Government. Gaining religious institutions and embracing senior scholars. Gaining public support and sympathy. Establishing a shadow government (secret) within the Government.

Phase Three: Escalation phase, prior to conflict and confrontation with the rulers, through utilizing mass media. Currently in progress.

Phase Four: Open public confrontation with the Government through exercising the political pressure approach. It is aggressively implementing the above-mentioned approach. Training on the use of weapons domestically and overseas in anticipation of zero-hour. It has noticeable activities in this regard.

Phase Five: Seizing power to establish their Islamic Nation under which all parties and Islamic groups are united.²¹⁸

This document offers a chilling operational insight into the mindset, planning, and vision of the Islamic Movement in North America.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SHARIAH BY THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

The Elbarasse archives and close observation of the Brotherhood's operations reveal the following as the most important of the techniques employed by the Ikhwan in America to achieve the seditious goals of its civilization jihad:

- Expanding the Muslim presence by birth rate, immigration, and refusal to assimilate;
- Occupying and expanding domination of physical spaces;
- Ensuring the "Muslim community" knows and follows MB doctrine;
- Controlling the language we use in describing the enemy;
- Ensuring we do not study their doctrine (shariah);
- Co-opting key leadership;
- Forcing compliance with shariah at local levels;
- Fighting all counterterrorism efforts;
- Subverting religious organizations;

- Employing lawfare - the offensive use of lawsuits and threats of lawsuits;
- Claiming victimization/demanding accommodations;
- Condemning “slander” against Islam;
- Subverting the U.S. education system, in particular, infiltrating and dominating U.S. Middle East and religious studies programs;
- Demanding the right to practice shariah in segregated Muslim enclaves;
- Demanding recognition of shariah in non-Muslim spheres;
- Confronting and denouncing Western society, laws, and traditions; and
- Demanding that shariah replace Western law.

Note that many of the foregoing techniques entail, in one way or another, influencing and neutralizing the American government at all levels.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD PENETRATION OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT: A CASE STUDY

In that connection, one of the most successful Brotherhood influence operations in support of this phased plan that has been uncovered to date involved arguably the Ikhwan’s preeminent figure in America during the 1990s: Abdurahman Alamoudi. His is a tale of a sustained effort to penetrate and compromise both Democratic and Republican administrations and their partisan organizations.

Alamoudi immigrated from Eritrea in 1979 and became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1996.²¹⁹ During the 1990s, he parlayed his role as founder and executive director of the American Muslim

Council and his involvement with nearly two-dozen other Muslim organizations in this country into entrée to the White House itself.

This access afforded Alamoudi various opportunities for mounting influence operations against the Clinton administration. According to multiple sources:

In 1995, Alamoudi helped President Clinton and the ACLU develop a presidential guideline entitled “Religious Expression in Public School.”²²⁰ In November of that year, Alamoudi and 23 other Muslim leaders met with President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore. On December 8, Clinton’s National Security Adviser, Anthony Lake, met with Alamoudi and several other AMC Board members. On February 8, 1996, Hillary Clinton penned a newspaper column based on talking points provided by Alamoudi. Later that month, Mrs. Clinton asked AMC to draw up a guest list for a reception marking the end of Ramadan that was to be held at the White House.²²¹

Alamoudi also parlayed his access at the highest levels of the U.S. government into the lead role in establishing the Muslim Chaplain Program for the Department of Defense, and then serving as the certifying authority for Muslim chaplains serving U.S. servicemen and women. He was also the founder and leader of the American Muslim Armed Forces and Veterans Affairs Council (AMAFVAC).²²²

In 1993, the Defense Department certified AMAFVAC as one of two organizations (the other was the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences) authorized to approve and endorse Muslim chaplains. From about 1993 to 1998, the Pentagon would retain Alamoudi on an unpaid basis to nominate and approve Muslim chaplain candidates for the U.S. military. Among the chaplains Alamoudi hired was James Yee, who was arrested in 2003 by the U.S. government on charges he was supporting the jihadis detained at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.²²³

The Muslim men working with Yee at Guantanamo, uniformed and contract employees (linguists), were all convicted on charges including mishandling classified information and espionage.

In 1998, Alamoudi provided at least \$20,000 in checks enabling Republican activist Grover Norquist to establish what would become a Muslim Brotherhood front organization targeted at penetrating GOP circles and the presidential campaign of then-Governor George W. Bush.²²⁴ The new entity was called the Islamic Free Market Institute (better known as the Islamic Institute, or II). Alamoudi also detailed his long-time deputy, Khaled Saffuri, to serve as II's first executive director, with Norquist as the Chairman of the Board.²²⁵

As a result of these connections, Alamoudi was among a group of Muslim Brotherhood operatives who were invited on May 1, 2000, to meet with Bush in the Texas governor's mansion. Saffuri was designated the Bush campaign's Muslim outreach coordinator and Norquist assisted another prominent Ikhwan operative, Sami al-Arian, to obtain a commitment from candidate Bush that, if elected, he would prohibit the use of classified intelligence evidence in deportation proceedings against foreigners suspected of terrorist ties. This was a priority for al-Arian since his brother-in-law was being held at the time by federal immigration authorities on the basis of such evidence.²²⁶

After the election, a member of the Islamic Institute's board of directors with myriad and longstanding connections to other Muslim Brotherhood organizations, Suhail Khan, was appointed to be the gatekeeper for the Muslim community in the White House Office of Public Liaison. Such relationships and placements afforded the Ikhwan unprecedented opportunities for influence operations against the U.S. government, especially after 9/11.²²⁷

Unfortunately for Alamoudi, his own ability directly to exploit such opportunities had by that time been irreparably damaged by his appearance at an anti-Israel rally outside the White House in October 2000. On that occasion, he carelessly gave the game away, when he declared on video: "I have been labeled... as being a supporter of Hamas. Anybody supporters of Hamas here? [Roars of approval from the crowd.] We are all supporters of Hamas. [More roars.] I wish they added that I am also a supporter of Hezbollah. [More roars.]"²²⁸

Then, in 2003, Alamoudi was arrested at Heathrow Airport (UK) on his way back from Libya with \$340,000 in cash given to him by Libyan President Muammar Qaddafi for jihad. The money was to be used to underwrite a plot involving two U.K.-based al Qaeda operatives intending to kill Crown Prince (now King) Abdullah of Saudi Arabia.²²⁹

Alamoudi was extradited to the United States where, in the Eastern District of Virginia, he pled guilty to and was convicted of terrorism-related charges. He was proven to be a senior al Qaeda financier, who moved at least \$1 million dollars to the terrorist organization. Alamoudi had also been caught on recorded conversations supporting acts of terrorism, terrorist organizations like Hamas and Hezbollah, and clearly stated his objective of making America a Muslim nation. Alamoudi is now serving a 23-year sentence in federal prison.²³⁰

Before his fall, Abdurrahman Alamoudi was one of the leaders of the global Islamic Movement and one of its most successful influence operatives. His arrest and conviction should have sent shock waves through the U.S. intelligence community, particularly its counterintelligence units, since Alamoudi's blown cover provided a reality check on the extent of shariah's stealth jihad in this country, and how badly we have been penetrated.

Here was, after all, proof that an al Qaeda financier, Hamas operative and Muslim Brotherhood agent had enjoyed access

to the most senior levels of the American government. Thanks to that access, he was allowed – among other things – to create and run the program for selecting and placing members of his team to proselytize as Muslim chaplains in what can be the two most lucrative target populations for jihadist recruiters: the U.S. military and imprisoned felons.

Far from regarding the Alamoudi revelations as a wake-up call, however, administrations of both parties transferred his responsibilities for the chaplains to the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), the largest Muslim Brotherhood front in this country.

In the absence of a serious effort to understand the true nature of shariah and the determined campaign being mounted to insinuate it into this country, together with an aggressive counter-intelligence operation aimed at defeating such influence and penetration operations, it is predictable that the next Alamoudi will be able to do vastly more damage than did the original.

MAPPING THE BROTHERHOOD

The “process of settlement” outlined in the *Explanatory Memorandum* and in published Muslim Brotherhood doctrine, such as *Toward a Worldwide Strategy for Islamic Policy*²³¹ and *Methodology of Dawah Ilallah in American Perspective*,²³² has been operationalized in the United States by one MB-related front group after another, starting with the very first, the Muslim Student Association (MSA), and continuing to the present day. As noted above, through this process, the Muslim Brotherhood has, as a matter of historical fact, established, built and maintained control over most of the prominent Muslim organizations in America. [For the complete text of the Memorandum, see Appendix II.]

The identified MB fronts and the other, as-yet-unknown groups share an inherent enmity for the United States and the West. It follows that when any friendly entity – to include federal,

state and local law enforcement or intelligence units in the United States, other public officials, media organizations and religious institutions – works with individuals representing a self-described “Muslim” group, there is the probability that those with whom such outreach is being conducted and the group with whom it is being undertaken, are actually *hostile* to the United States.

The Muslim Brotherhood’s own *Explanatory Memorandum* (reprinted in full as Appendix II of this book) identifies the following groups under the heading “a list of our organizations and the organizations of our friends”²³³ :

- Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)
- Muslim Student Association (MSA)
- Muslim Communities Association (MCA)
- Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS)
- Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers (AMSE)
- Islamic Medical Association (IMA)
- Islamic Teaching Center (ITC)
- North American Islamic Trust (NAIT)
- Foundation for International Development (FID)
- Islamic Housing Cooperative (IHC)
- Islamic Centers Division (ICD)
- American Trust Publications (ATP)
- Audio-Visual Center (AVC)
- Islamic Book Service (IBS)
- Muslim Businessmen Association (MBA)
- Muslim Youth of North America (MYNA)
- ISNA Fiqh Committee (IFC)
- ISNA Political Awareness Committee (IPAC)
- Islamic Education Department (IED)

- Muslim Arab Youth Association (MAYA)
- Malaysian [sic] Islamic Study Group (MISG)
- Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP)
- United Association for Studies and Research (UASR)
- Occupied Land Fund (OLF)
- Mercy International Association (MIA)
- Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA)
- Baitul Mal Inc (BMI)
- International Institute for Islamic Thought (IIIT)
- Islamic Information Center (IIC)

Several of the preeminent Muslim-American organizations in the United States today (notably, the Council on American Islamic Relations, the Muslim Public Affairs Council and the Islamic Free Market Institute) had not been established at the time in 1991 when this document was adopted by the Muslim Brotherhood. As will be discussed below, the ties of such groups to the Muslim Brotherhood can nonetheless be readily established by the involvement in their founding and/or operations of individuals associated with other Ikhwan fronts.

In order to be considered by the Muslim Brotherhood to be one of “our organizations” or an “organization of our friends,” *all* of these entities had to have embraced the aforementioned Ikhwan creed: “Allah is our goal; the Messenger is our guide; the Koran is our law; Jihad is our means; and martyrdom in the way of Allah is our inspiration.”

As we have seen, the actualization of the Muslim Brotherhood creed demands the triumph of shariah globally and the re-establishing the caliphate on a global basis. This end-state will entail subordinating to shariah the governing system of non-Islamic nations like ours (and Muslim nations not currently ad-

hering to Islamic law) and, in due course, the destruction of such alternatives.

The inherently seditious nature of the Muslim Brotherhood's agenda and its incompatibility with Western civilization and governments is typically obscured in the free world by the assertion that the Ikhwan only seeks to achieve its objectives through non-violent means. As a result, the Brothers, their allies and proxies are all-too-often considered to be acceptable and reliable "moderate" partners for governments seeking to counter violent jihad.

Such openness to the Ikhwan is astounding not only because of the toxic nature of the MB's ambitions. The act of openness also ignores the fact that *Brotherhood doctrine recognizes that violence must be used when needed to achieve shariah's supremacist objectives*. For example, the Brotherhood bylaws call for Muslims to "fight the tyrants" when necessary to establish the Islamic state, indicating violence is approved when the time is appropriate.

Even more dispositive is the fact that the U.S. State Department-designated Foreign Terrorist Organization, Hamas, was formed out of the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood. In addition, jihadi organizations such as al Qaeda sprang out of the Muslim Brotherhood and have among their leaders senior Muslim Brothers.

These realities underscore the inadvisability of any "out-reach" to American Muslim organizations that espouse shariah, whether or not they acknowledge a tie to the Muslim Brotherhood.

UNDERSTANDING THE DEPTH OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD CONTROL

To reiterate, most Muslim organizations in North America are controlled by the Muslim Brotherhood or a derivative group (Hizb ut-Tahrir, Tablighi Jamaat, Jamaat-e-Islami, etc.). If

an individual is the president, vice president, executive director, general secretary, board member or otherwise carries a significant leadership title within a Muslim organization controlled by the Muslim Brotherhood in America – particularly if he is responsible for the group’s financial affairs, or sits on the Fiqh Council of North America – he is a Muslim Brother. The Ikhwan simply will not entrust such stature and responsibility to anyone unless he enjoys the trust that derives from being a member in good standing of the Muslim Brotherhood.

There are seemingly a few exceptions to this rule. Females have been utilized more often of late as “leaders” in several of these organizations (notably, the Muslim Students Association and the Islamic Society of North America) in order to project a softer image for these hostile organizations. This is particularly useful in confusing non-Muslims insofar as it would appear that such groups could not adhere to shariah’s misogynistic practices and yet confer upon women positions of true responsibility.

Even a cursory examination, however, of the views of the current ISNA president, Ingrid Mattson, and former MSA President Hadia Mubarak reveals their philosophies are right in line with Muslim Brotherhood doctrine. And, in both organizations, the male leadership within the Brotherhood continues to make operational decisions, despite the title conferred upon such women.

A second exception to this rule involves some of the more recently established Muslim American organizations, especially where younger men and women are at the helm.

While they are not technically Brotherhood fronts, the message is nonetheless communicated in fairly explicit terms to these newer groups at major MB conferences (such as the annual ISNA conclaves): So long as these organizations observe the policy and doctrinal parameters set by the Brotherhood, they will be

afforded access to the Brotherhood's infrastructure and financial support.²³⁴

On the other hand, historically any Muslim individual or organization that does *not* embrace shariah and the MB line has not been able to gain broad recognition as a Muslim-American force in America. Instead, they are systematically ostracized, delegitimized and, in some cases, directly threatened. We saw this in the Alamoudi network's bid to marginalize the Islamic Supreme Council of America, a Sufi organization led by Sheikh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani who warned early and often about Muslim Brotherhood operations against the United States as they were being put into place. The Brotherhood's strong-arm tactics are made all the more effective by the Ikhwan's ability to demonstrate that its doctrine is in line with Islamic law and backed by the threat of declaring the deviating Muslim an "apostate" (or, to non-Muslim audiences, simply dismissing the deviator as unrepresentative or irrelevant, with no real following), undercutting the authority and any opportunities for leadership among Muslims of those working against the MB.²³⁵

As a result of this *modus operandi*, the Muslim Brotherhood is not only able to prevent any appreciable challenge to its efforts to dominate the Muslim-American community. It is also able to exercise effective control over nearly all the Muslim organizational infrastructure in the United States, including most of those Muslim-American groups that are nominally outside its network. In any event, the latter pale by comparison in terms of their influence to those U.S.-based Islamic groups that are Ikhwan operations.

WHO'S WHO IN THE AMERICAN IKHWAN

The following are among the most worrisome of the Muslim Brotherhood front groups operating in the United States:

THE MUSLIM STUDENT ASSOCIATION

As we have seen, the Muslim Student Association was the first Muslim Brotherhood entity formed in the United States at the University of Illinois, Urbana campus in 1962-63. The MSA has chapters at nearly every major college and university campus in the United States, making it the most visible and influential of all Islamic student organizations in North America. The MSA is a point of recruitment for the Muslim Brotherhood and for jihadis.

The MSA's own website previously noted that all major Muslim organizations in America grew out of the MSA.²³⁶ These references have been removed from the MSA website, however. It is nonetheless indisputable that among the MSA's offshoots are: the Islamic Medical Association (IMA), the Muslim Arab Youth Association (MAYA), the Association of Muslim Social Scientists, the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), and the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA).²³⁷

While presenting itself as just another moderate Muslim group working on college campuses, MSA in fact promotes a shariah-based Islamic agenda dedicated to spreading Islam among North American youth by way of an aggressive *dawa* program. The ideology that underpins the MSA mission is the same ideology as defines the Muslim Brotherhood and al Qaeda. The MSA perspective is global and its aspirations are closely linked to those of the "global Islamic Movement."²³⁸

MSA leaders have made statements condemning the United States and calling for the killing of all Jews.²³⁹ Several MSA presidents have publicly supported jihad, and in the case of at least one, Omar Hammami from Alabama, have actually participated in violent jihad overseas.²⁴⁰ MSA members routinely express admiration and support for terror organizations such as Hamas and Hezbollah and for the foundational leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood such as Hasan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb.²⁴¹

In addition to promoting aggressive political influence and intimidation operations like “Israel Apartheid Week” on many campuses, MSA chapters are also focal points for efforts to impose shariah blasphemy rules or otherwise control speech. To this end, members frequently engage in disruptive actions aimed at preventing speakers from exposing students to information about shariah Islam, jihad and their targets – notably, the United States and Israel – that would be deemed “offensive” or otherwise contrary to the ambitions of the Ikhwan.

THE ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA

In 1980, the Muslim Brotherhood created the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) “to be a nucleus for the Islamic Movement in North America.”²⁴² From the time of its founding in Plainfield, Indiana, ISNA has been run by the senior leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood’s Movement in the United States and Canada, and has emerged as the largest of the MB fronts in North America.

ISNA’s prominent role in the Ikhwan operations in America is suggested by its listing at the top of the Explanatory Memorandum’s roster of its front groups. The subheading on that list is: “Imagine if they all march according to one plan.” ISNA was established as an umbrella organization to help foster such a plan, and ensure that all MB organizations “march” according to it.

Over the past three decades, thanks largely to its numerous chapters, its “over 300 community and professional organizations in North America,”²⁴³ its substantial resources and aggressive influence operations, the U.S. government has accorded ISNA considerable stature as its leading “educational” and “outreach” partner in the Muslim-American community. For agencies with national and homeland security responsibilities like the White House, the FBI, the Departments of State, Defense and Homeland Security, and the intelligence community to confer

such legitimacy on ISNA is all the more astounding given the results of the successful prosecution of the Holy Land Foundation in 2008.

ISNA and the HLF Trial: As this report discusses elsewhere, this trial was the largest involving Hamas and terrorism financing in U.S. history. In the course of its proceedings, the Justice Department established ISNA's role as a leading Muslim Brotherhood organization and its hostility to U.S. interests. In particular, thanks to evidence of financial transactions between ISNA and Hamas that the government introduced, along with scores of MB documents, it became clear that the Islamic Society of North America directly supports Hamas and its operations.

On the basis of such evidence, ISNA was named an unindicted co-conspirator in the HLF trial. ISNA, along with the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT), filed a motion with the court to be removed from the unindicted co-conspirator list. On July 10, 2008, the government filed a response to ISNA/NAIT's request. It is worth citing relevant parts of that response at some length:

Although the indictment in this case charges the seven named individual defendants and the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, it will be obvious that the defendants were not acting alone....The defendants were operating in concert with a host of individuals and organizations dedicated to sustaining and furthering the Hamas movement. Several of the individuals who hold leading roles in the operation of Hamas are referenced by name in the indictment. A list of unindicted coconspirators is attached to this trial brief. (Attachment A).

The object of the conspiracy was to support Hamas. The support will be shown to have taken several forms, including raising money, propaganda, proselytizing, recruiting, as well as many other types of actions intended to continue to promote and move forward Hamas's agenda of the destruction

of the State of Israel and establishment of an Islamic State in its place.” (p. 5)

Attachment A to the Trial Brief listed 246 different individuals and organizations as either unindicted co-conspirators and/or joint venture partners under one or more headings:

- (1) individuals/entities who are and/or were part of the Hamas social infrastructure in Israel and the Palestinian territories;
- (2) individuals who participated in fundraising activities on behalf of HLF;
- (3) individuals/entities who are and/or were members of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood’s Palestine Committee and/or its organizations;
- (4) individuals/entities who are and/or were members of the Palestine Chapter of the International Muslim Brotherhood;
- (5) individuals who are and/or were leaders of Hamas inside the Palestinian territories;
- (6) 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;
- (7) individuals/entities who are and/or were members of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood;
- (8) individuals/entities that are and/or were part of the Global Hamas financing mechanism;
- (9) individuals/entities that [Hamas official Musa Abu] Marzook utilized as a financial conduit on behalf and/or for the benefit of Hamas;
- (10) individuals who were HLF employees, directors, officers and/or representatives; and

(11) Hamas members whose families received support from the HLF through the Hamas social infrastructure.” (p. 5)

ISNA and NAIT are listed in the attachment under the seventh heading, individuals/entities who are and/or were members of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood.” (p. 6)

During the trial, the Court entered into evidence a wide array of testimonial and documentary evidence expressly linking ISNA and NAIT to the HLF and its principals; the Islamic Association for Palestine and its principals; the Muslim Brotherhood in the United States and its Palestine Committee, headed by Hamas official Musa Abu Marzook; and the greater Hamas-affiliated conspiracy described in the Government’s case-in-chief.” (p. 7)

The evidence introduced at trial, for example, established that ISNA and NAIT were among those organizations created by the U.S.-Muslim Brotherhood.” (p. 12)

ISNA and NAIT, in fact, shared more with HLF than just a parent organization. They were intimately connected with the HLF and its assigned task of providing financial support to Hamas.” (p 13)²⁴⁴

The judge ruled against ISNA and NAIT, left them on the list of Unindicted Co-conspirators in the HLF trial and permitted the public release of the list.

Based on the facts presented herein, several questions demand answers: Why are ISNA and its leadership still given access to the U.S. government at the highest levels, to include the White House, the intelligence community, the military, and other obvious targets for Muslim Brotherhood influence operations? For example, ISNA President Ingrid Mattson was invited to attend President Obama’s 2010 Iftar dinner where he announced his support for the Ground Zero mega-mosque.

Why are ISNA subsidiaries still the certifying authority for all Muslim Chaplains at the Department of Defense and within the U.S. Bureau of Prisons? Why was ISNA selected to provide training for U.S. Army senior enlisted men and officers to orient them about Islam prior to their deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan? Why has ISNA become the U.S. government's leading partner for "outreach" to the Muslims of America – including for the FBI and DHS, the very organizations mandated by law to protect and defend us from domestic enemies?

NORTH AMERICAN ISLAMIC TRUST

The North American Islamic Trust was created by the Saudis in 1973 and is often called "the bank" for the Muslim Brotherhood in North America. The following description of NAIT and its function was found on the website of its parent organization, ISNA:

The North American Islamic Trust (NAIT) is a *waqf*, the historical Islamic equivalent of an American trust or endowment, serving Muslims in the United States and their institutions since 1973. NAIT is a not-for-profit entity, a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. NAIT supports and provides services to ISNA, MSA, their affiliates, and other Islamic centers and institutions.

NAIT holds titles to mosques, Islamic centers, schools and other real estate to safeguard and pool the assets of the American Muslim community, develops financial vehicles and products that are compatible with both the shariah and the American law, publishes and distributes credible Islamic literature, and facilitates and coordinates community projects.

Islamic Centers Division: Islamic Centers Division (ICD) manages Waqf program services of NAIT to Islamic centers, mosques and schools. NAIT's Waqf program for the properties of Islamic centers, mosques and schools is based on

NAIT holding titles to these assets. *NAIT holds titles of approximately 300 properties. NAIT safeguards these community assets, and ensures conformity to the Islamic purpose(s) for which their founders established them.* NAIT does not administer these institutions or interfere in their daily management, but is available to support and advise them regarding their operation in conformity with the shariah.” (Emphasis added.)²⁴⁵

As the foregoing makes plain, given the ties the Islamic Society of North America and the Muslim Students Association have to the Muslim Brotherhood, NAIT serves as the bank for the Ikhwan in the United States and Canada. The ISNA website goes on to say that NAIT “ensures conformity to the Islamic purpose(s) for which their founders established them.” Since the MB exists to further the Islamic Movement, in pursuit of bringing the world under shariah and with the end goal of re-establishing the global Islamic State (i.e., the caliphate), NAIT serves, as a practical matter, as both an enabler and, through its financial leverage, an *enforcer* of the collective pursuit of those objectives.

As noted in connection with the foregoing discussion of ISNA, NAIT was also an unindicted co-conspirator in the HLF trial. In the course of those proceedings, numerous checks and other documents were made a part of the public record detailing financial transactions between NAIT and known Hamas entities. NAIT joined ISNA in requesting its name be removed from the unindicted co-conspirator list in the HLF trial. The judge denied the motion due to the overwhelming evidence that NAIT, in fact, serves as a support structure for the terrorist group Hamas.

COUNCIL ON AMERICAN ISLAMIC RELATIONS

The Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) was created in 1994 by the leadership of Hamas following a meeting of its senior U.S. operatives in 1993 in Philadelphia. According to FBI Assistant Director for Counterterrorism Dale Watson, the

Bureau wiretapped the Pennsylvania conclave meeting because it was “a meeting...among senior leaders of Hamas, the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development and the Islamic Association for Palestine.”²⁴⁶

The CAIR Leadership: In an analysis of the meeting entered into evidence at the HLF trial, the FBI stated that “all attendees of this meeting are Hamas members.”²⁴⁷ Among those present were Omar Ahmad and Nihad Awad – the two founders of CAIR. Ahmad and Awad were both recorded in numerous intercepted conversations discussing Hamas’ plans for America. On the tapes, Omar Ahmad was described as a leader of the Islamic Movement in the United States and a proposal was made to create a new public relations arm for the organization not connected with the Brotherhood’s other entities, to include the HLF. Less than a year after this meeting, CAIR was formed with Omar Ahmad and Nihad Awad at the helm.

Ahmad and Awad were both senior leaders of the Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP), of which Ahmad was the President. The IAP’s chairman was designated terrorist and Hamas leader Musa Mohammed Abu Marzook, who was also the chairman of the United Association for Studies and Research (UASR) and the Occupied Land Fund (OLF). The latter subsequently became the Holy Land Foundation (HLF), not to be confused with a Christian charity with a similar name.

Marzook was at the time the leader of Hamas in the United States and one of the top three Hamas leaders in the world. The U.S. Treasury Department designated him as a terrorist (SDT-145769). IAP, UASR, and OLF are all listed in the *Explanatory Memorandum* as Muslim Brotherhood affiliated organizations, and all are Hamas entities.

The Action Plan for Palestine: Another MB document entered into evidence at the HLF trial entitled “Islamic Action for Palestine” was dated October 1992.²⁴⁸ It details the International

Muslim Brotherhood's creation of "Palestine Committees" to serve as leading Hamas elements in countries around the world for the purpose of raising money, recruiting jihadis and their supporters, and using propaganda to support the Palestinian cause:

With the growth of the blessed Intifada and the spread of the spirit of Jihad amidst the children of Palestine and the nation, it became incumbent upon the remainder of the Ikhwan to play a role in attributing this Intifada and this Islamic action to Palestine. Therefore, a resolution was issued by the Guidance Office and the Shura Council of the International Movement to form "Palestine Committees" in all the Arab, the Islamic and the Western nations whose job it is to make the Palestinian cause victorious and to support it with what it needs of media, money, men and all that."²⁴⁹

This "resolution" was issued by the senior ranks of the leadership of the International Muslim Brotherhood as part of a global strategic move to draw support to the Palestinian cause and the leadership of that cause, Hamas, officially known as the Islamic Resistance Movement:

The Islamic Resistance Movement: With the increase of the Intifada and the advance of the Islamic action inside and outside Palestine, the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), provided through its activities in resisting the Zionist occupation a lot of sacrifices from martyrs, detainees, wounded, injured, fugitives, and deportees and it was able to prove that it is an original and effective movement in leading the Palestinian people. This movement – which was bred in the bosom of the mother movement, "The Muslim Brotherhood" – restored hope and life to the Muslim nation and the notion that the flare of jihad has not died out and that the banner of Islamic Jihad is still raised."²⁵⁰

Under chapter five of the "Islamic Action for Palestine" document is the title "Islamic Action for Palestine Cause for North America." This chapter then details the creation of three

entities: IAP, UASR, and OLF to be the front organizations for Hamas in North America.

When work developed, the Intifada started and the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) was formed and the general apparatus for Palestine developed, and in light of the resolutions of the Guidance Office and the Shura Council of the International Movement to form Palestine committees in all the countries, the General Director of the apparatus came and met with the leadership of the Movement in America in 1988. After discussions and agreement, a "Palestine Committee" was formed under the supervision of the executive office. The Committee was then tasked with supervising all the organizations which serve the plan of the Movement domestically and internationally in addition to the Palestinian cause. Among these organizations were "The Islamic Association," "The Occupied Land Fund" and "The United Association."²⁵¹

During the HLF trial, the prosecutors made it clear that the International Muslim Brotherhood created the Palestine Committee to oversee the work of the Palestine Sections in each country. These were the operational arms of Hamas, serving Hamas and its efforts. One key document entered into evidence is the list of the members of the Palestine Section in America.

Of the 35 names on the list of Hamas operatives in the United States, the first two names on the list are Musa Abu Marzook and Mohammed Akram, respectively. Name number 25 is "Omar Yeheya", an alias for Omar Ahmad, and name number 32 is "Nihad Awad".

CAIR is Hamas: In other words, according to a Muslim Brotherhood document entered into evidence by the prosecution – *and stipulated to by the defense attorneys as being true or at least what it purports to be* – the founders of CAIR have been officially identified as members of the Ikhwan's Palestinian franchise, the jihadist terror organization known as Hamas. In addition, another

piece of Holy Land Foundation trial evidence, the organizational charts for the Central (Palestine) Committee's Executive staff, includes Omar Ahmad as the President of the IAP.

In light of the massive amount of evidence that CAIR is a Hamas entity operating in the United States on behalf of Hamas, CAIR and its president, Omar Ahmad, were both named as unindicted co-conspirators in the HLF trial. Like ISNA and NAIT, CAIR petitioned the court to have its name removed from the Unindicted Co-conspirator List. In the government's Memorandum in Opposition to CAIR's Request dated September 4, 2007, prosecutors stated:

As of the date of this response, the Court has entered into evidence a wide array of testimonial and documentary evidence expressly linking CAIR and its founders to the HLF and its principals; the Islamic Association of Palestine and its principals; the Palestine Committee in the United States, headed by Hamas official Musa Abu Marzook; and the greater Hamas-affiliated conspiracy described in the Government's case-in-chief."²⁵²

The aforementioned Prosecutorial response to the ISNA/NAIT petition for removal of their names from the Unindicted Co-conspirator List also noted:

Shortly after Hamas was founded in 1987, as an outgrowth of the Muslim Brotherhood, Govt. Exhibit 21-61, the International Muslim Brotherhood ordered the Muslim Brotherhood chapters throughout the world to create Palestine Committees, whose job it was to support Hamas with "media, money, and men." Govt. Exhibit 3-15. The U.S. Muslim Brotherhood created the U.S. Palestine Committee, which documents reflect was initially comprised of three organizations: the OLF (HLF), the IAP, and the UASR. *CAIR was later added to these organizations.*"²⁵³ (Emphasis added.)

As with ISNA and NAIT, the presiding judge ruled against CAIR and left it on the list of Unindicted Co-conspirators in the HLF trial and permitted the list's publication.

It was not until June 2008 that the FBI formally cut off all official relations with CAIR, ending, at last, its bizarre practice of having Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood conducting "sensitivity training" for Bureau personnel. Unfortunately, the FBI's leadership at the Bureau's headquarters and some Special Agents in Charge at field offices around the nation continue to work with CAIR and other hostile entities over the objections of subordinates and evidence demonstrating why these entities are hostile.

The putative benefits of official outreach to Muslim Brotherhood fronts remain to be officially documented. Details are lacking, at least in the open source world, about tangible leads provided by any of the prominent Muslim organizations mentioned in this report that have resulted in the arrest of a terrorist or prevented a significant terrorist-related event. To the contrary, CAIR, for instance, issued a notice to its members as recently in May 2010 that advised them against cooperating with the FBI.²⁵⁴

CAIR and *The Muslim Mafia*: In October 2009, a book titled *Muslim Mafia: Inside the Secret Underworld That's Conspiring to Islamize America*²⁵⁵ was published. It was authored by Paul Sperry, a best-selling author and investigative reporter, and David Gaubatz, a former Air Force investigator.

As it happens, the latter's son, Chris Gaubatz, had assumed the guise of a newly-converted Muslim and volunteered as an intern for CAIR. He was initially assigned to the organization's branch office in Herndon, Virginia. Herndon has long been known as a center of what Sperry has dubbed "the Wahhabi Corridor" – a concentration of shariah-adherent mosques (notably, the terrorist-tied Dar al Hijra mosque in Falls Church, Virginia) and Ikhwan fronts stretching from Washington's bedroom communities all the way to Richmond. When the Herndon office was

closed, the younger Gaubatz was asked to work at CAIR's headquarters in Washington, D.C.

At the latter location, Chris Gaubatz was tasked with shredding large quantities of CAIR documents. Concerned that among these materials might be evidence of criminal activity, he removed over what was reported to be over 12,000 documents for more careful review. Drawing upon this data, along with the evidence from the Holy Land Foundation trial and considerable research previously done by Sperry on the Muslim Brotherhood in the United States (some of it detailed in an earlier book entitled *Infiltration: How Muslim Spies and Subversives Have Penetrated Washington*²⁵⁶), the authors produced *Muslim Mafia*.

Muslim Mafia explores the relationships between CAIR, Hamas, al Qaeda, and other entities. It documents how CAIR goes about manipulating information and conducting political influence operations, intelligence collection and counterintelligence activities. The book provided a call for action against not just "terrorism," but the sort of civilization jihad that CAIR and other MB fronts mount to insinuate shariah into the United States.

Some Members of Congress have begun to express concern about the efforts of the Muslim Brotherhood to penetrate our government and destroy us from within. On October 15, 2009, four Representatives, led by U.S. Congresswoman Sue Myrick of North Carolina, held a press conference on Capitol Hill asking, based on the primary source evidence presented in *Muslim Mafia*, that the Department of Justice investigate revelations in the book that CAIR/Hamas had, among other things, systematically tried to place interns on key national security committees in Congress. The targeted panels include the Armed Services, Homeland Security, and Intelligence Committees. Rep. Myrick also called on the Justice Department to brief all members of the U.S.

Congress on the evidence provided through the Holy Land Foundation trial and its implications.

In a written response dated February 12, 2010, Assistant Attorney General Ronald Weich stated:

Enclosed are four copies of the trial transcripts on CD-ROM that contain testimony and other evidence that was introduced in that trial which demonstrated a relationship between CAIR, individual CAIR founders, and the Palestine Committee. Evidence was also introduced that demonstrated a relationship between the Palestine Committee and Hamas, which was designated as a terrorist organization in 1995.²⁵⁷

In short, an official communication between a senior Justice Department official and a sitting Member of Congress confirms what has been documented in this report: The Council on American Islamic Relations is a Hamas front. CAIR is Hamas.

CAIR Observatory: In addition, materials available at CAIRObservatory.org, a website sponsored by the Center for Security Policy,²⁵⁸ suggest that the Council on American Islamic Relations is functioning as *an unregistered foreign agent* – an apparent violation of the Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA). Enforcement of the act gained considerable publicity in 2010 when prosecutors used it to compel the forced deportation from the United States of ten Russian agents. The CAIR Observatory documents how the organization has received millions in contributions and financial pledges from abroad, including from foreign governments, organizations and individuals to conduct influence operations on their behalf.

The Center has conveyed information about CAIR's violation of federal law to targets of the latter's influence operations and to the relevant division in the Department of Justice, which is also responsible for counterintelligence. A federal grand jury re-

portedly was asked to review evidence of CAIR's apparent criminal wrongdoing.²⁵⁹

MUSLIM AMERICAN SOCIETY

The Muslim American Society's articles of incorporation are dated June 11, 1993, and provide as its address 77 West Washington Street in Chicago, Illinois.²⁶⁰ The founding directors, Omar Soubani, Jamal Badawi, and Ahmad Elkadi, are three of the most prominent Muslim Brothers in the world.

- Omar Soubani was listed as a "Member of the Board of Directors" of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America in evidence entered at the HLF trial.²⁶¹ His name appears as well on the list of members of the Palestine Section in America, making him a member of the Designated Terrorist Organization, Hamas.
- Jamal Badawi is today one of the world's senior Muslim Brothers. He is a member of the Fiqh Council of North America, one of the most influential and prominent Muslim Brotherhood organizations in the country. He was also a named unindicted co-conspirator in the HLF trial.
- Ahmad Elkadi was the General Masul, or General Guide, of the Muslim Brotherhood in America from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. In that capacity, he was the leader of the Ikhwan in America for nearly 10 years.

The fact that these three men founded the Muslim American Society makes MAS a significant Muslim Brotherhood operation. The MAS merged with the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), in 2000. ICNA is listed in the Ikhwan's *Explanatory Memorandum* as an MB-affiliated organization.

A further indication of the MAS' real role was provided in the course of a terrorism trial against a jihadist named Sabri Benkahla. When the case was heard before the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, the prosecution noted: "MAS was founded as the

overt arm of the Muslim Brotherhood in America.” (Emphasis added.)

As such, the Muslim American Society has been more directly politically active than ISNA. Today, MAS is a national organization with nearly 50 chapters and is known for its alliances with such far-left groups as the North Korea-affiliated organization called International ANSWER. Through its 501(c)(4), the MAS Freedom Foundation, the Muslim Brotherhood has a vehicle for engaging directly in lobbying activities and trying to influence elections.

A prominent fixture in Brotherhood influence operations is Mahdi Bray, the executive director of the Muslim American Society Freedom Foundation. Bray is a Muslim convert who has been exposed²⁶² as a convicted felon on myriad counts, ranging from drug use to grand larceny. He has been a vocal exponent of such other Muslim criminals as Abdurrahman Alamoudi, the MB operative now serving 23 years on terrorist-related convictions; Sami al-Arian, the senior Palestinian Islamic Jihad official who served federal prison time; and Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin (better known as H. Rap Brown), in prison for the murder of a law enforcement officer.²⁶³ Bray has also been a visible critic of U.S.-led wars against the Taliban and al Qaeda, and a proponent of the Ground Zero mega-mosque.²⁶⁴ (On the basis of serious concerns about the Muslim American Society, MAS was rebuffed despite a concerted charm offensive²⁶⁵ when the Catholic church that owned a former convent in Staten Island and the community opposed an MAS bid to turn the property into its own mosque and Islamic center complex.²⁶⁶)

Bray has been associated with a number of other Ikhwan front groups, serving on the advisory boards of Alamoudi’s American Muslim Council and the Muslim Public Affairs Council.²⁶⁷ He also served as president of the Coordinating Council of Muslim Organizations, a Brotherhood-dominated operation with

which the Obama administration has been meeting for the purpose of providing government grants to its members and their projects.²⁶⁸

FIQH COUNCIL OF NORTH AMERICA

The Fiqh Council of North America, previously called the ISNA Fiqh Committee, is a known member of the Muslim Brotherhood movement and is listed in the *Explanatory Memorandum's* roster as such.²⁶⁹ The purpose of the Fiqh Council is to ensure the activities of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America are in compliance with shariah.

The Arabic term “fiqh” means “comprehension” or “understanding” and is related to Islamic legal scholars’ comprehension of Islamic jurisprudence. Ensuring their activities are compliant with shariah is of the utmost importance to the Brotherhood, hence the North American Council.

The founding trustees of the Fiqh Council were Jamal Barzinji, Taha al-Awani, and Abdurahman Alamoudi.

Jamal Barzinji was one of the first Muslim Brothers to come to the United States in the late 1950’s. Of Iraqi origin, Barzinji helped establish the entire first generation of Muslim organizations in America. He was present at significant international Muslim Brotherhood meetings and his home and offices were raided by the U.S. government after the attack on September 11, 2001.

Taha al-Awani has been the leader of several significant Muslim Brotherhood entities, to include the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT). He is also a significant leader in the international MB Movement.

Abdurrahman Alamoudi is the Muslim Brother whose exploits as an al Qaeda financier and Hamas operative have been previously detailed. Alamoudi admitted to his role in a plot with two UK-based al Qaeda operatives to kill then-Saudi Crown

Prince, now King, Abdullah. He is currently serving a 23-year sentence on terrorism-related charges at Colorado's Supermax prison.

The Fiqh Council works closely with ISNA whose charter includes requirements for shariah adherence and for arbitration panels for the community. *These represent a ready-made infrastructure for insinuating shariah into America as a parallel legal code, notwithstanding the U.S. Constitution's Article VI, which establishes it as "the supreme law of the land."*

MUSLIM PUBLIC AFFAIRS COUNCIL

The Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) was formed in 1986 as the Political Action Committee for the Islamic Center for Southern California, one of the largest Wahhabi mosques in America.²⁷⁰ In 1988, the Political Action Committee separated from the Islamic Center of Southern California and became the Muslim Public Affairs Council. The founders of the Islamic Center for Southern California are Hassan Hathout and his brother Maher Hathout. The late Hassan Hathout was a senior member of the Muslim Brotherhood movement. The two brothers spent time in an Egyptian prison during the early days of the Muslim Brotherhood's activities there, led by the Brotherhood's founder Hassan Al Banna. MPAC's own publication, *The Minaret*, has proudly called Hassan a "companion of" and Maher "a close disciple of" the Brotherhood founder.

Maher Hathout was also one of the founders of MPAC. He currently serves as a senior advisor for MPAC and, along with other members of the organization, works for and maintains a close relationship with the Islamic Center of Southern California. Hathout was on the board of directors and a member of the American Muslim Council (AMC) from 1993 to 1997. As previously discussed, the AMC was founded by al Qaeda financier and Hamas operative Abdurrahman Alamoudi, who served as its ex-

ecutive director during the period Maher Hathout served on the AMC board of directors.

Maher Hathout has publicly voiced his approval of Designated Terrorist Organizations such as Hezbollah; decried many U.S. counterterrorism efforts; called for the destruction of Israel; and, openly supported known terrorists such as Hasan al Turabi, the leader of the National Islamic Front of Sudan. Yet, the organization he founded, MPAC, enjoys a reputation in official U.S. circles as a “moderate” Muslim organization. Salam al-Marayati is the current president of MPAC. Al-Marayati was denied a leadership position on the National Commission on Terrorism by then-House Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt when it came to light that Al-Marayati claimed that Hezbollah was a legitimate organization and had the right to attack the Israeli Army. Marayati’s wife, Dr. Laila al-Marayati, was the White House appointee to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom.

Edina Lekovic is MPAC’s communications director. Previously, Lekovic was editor of the magazine *Al-Talib* when it editorialized that Osama bin Laden was a freedom fighter and warrior for Allah, who should be defended by Muslims. *Al-Talib* is the magazine published by the UCLA chapter of the Muslim Students Association. As discussed above, the MSA was the first Muslim Brotherhood organization established in the United States.

MPAC’s role in the Muslim Brotherhood movement is significant. MPAC is an aggressive propaganda arm for the Ikhwan, contributing through taqiyya and disinformation to the MB’s efforts at information dominance in the United States. For example, MPAC attacked the language used to describe the events of September 11, 2001 detailed in the 9/11 Commission Report. MPAC demanded an end to the use of words such as jihad, *ummah*, caliphate, shariah and others in relation to terrorist doctrine.

In subsequent years, the National Counterterrorism Center, the Department of Homeland Security and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have all issued strategic counterterrorism documents devoid of these terms. As described in chapter seven, such conformity to shariah by U.S. government entities such as the FBI and DHS is an extraordinary strategic victory for the enemy in the information and psychological battlespace.

THE DISAPPEARING LANGUAGE OF TERROR

	9/11 Commission Report ¹ (2004)	FBI Counter-terrorism Analytical Lexicon ² (2008)	National Intelligence Strategy ³ (2009)
Violent Extremism	3	29	9
Enemy	39	0	0
Jihad	126	0	0
Muslim	145	0	0
Islam	322	0	0
Muslim Brotherhood	5	0	0
Religious	65	3	1
Hamas	4	0	0
Hezbollah	2	0	0
al Qaeda	36	0	1
Caliph/Kalif	7	0	0
Shariah	2	0	0

SOURCES:

- 1 9/11 Commission Report, 2004, <http://www.9-11commission.gov/>
- 2 FBI Counter-Terrorism Lexicon, 2008, <http://cryptome.org/fbi-ct-lexicon.pdf>
- 3 National Intelligence Strategy, 2009, http://www.dni.gov/reports/2009_NIS.pdf

Most recently, Salam al-Marayati has been a prominent champion of the Ground Zero mosque, using the occasion of his advocacy to mislead American audiences about the nature of shariah and its compatibility with the U.S. Constitution. For example, in an interview published by the *Huffington Post* on August 22, 2010, the MPAC president engaged in world-class *taqiyya* when he made this declaration in response to the question “What about shariah (Islamic law) in the U.S.?”:

If what you mean by shariah is what is practiced in the Muslim world – No! Many Muslims fled the Muslim world because of corrupt regimes, injustice, misogyny, and downright discourtesy. I love the Muslim peoples throughout the world, and to borrow from Thomas Jefferson, my heart trembles for the Muslim world when I reflect that God is just. Shariah, to me, means living up to God's will of establishing justice. It is driven by five noble goals (as agreed upon uniformly by Muslim scholars throughout the ages), namely to secure and promote individuals' rights to life, expression, faith, property and family. When we see stoning of women in Afghanistan or Nigeria, or child marriages in the Arabian Peninsula, *that is not shariah*. It is an exploitation of Islam to oppress people, especially women.

In reality, *the U.S. Constitution fulfills my obligation as a Muslim to achieve the five principles of shariah*. When I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, I make a pledge with God to uphold liberty and justice for all. Among our vast challenges today as Muslim Americans is the urgent need to develop a corpus of thinking and action that promotes a progressive approach to applying Islam in the modern era. We must find a way to keep the principles but do away with customs, cultural biases, and archaic traditions.²⁷¹ (Emphasis added throughout.)

Chapter six addresses in detail the untenability of claims like al-Marayati's about the compatibility of shariah with the U.S. Constitution.

AMERICAN MUSLIM TASK FORCE

The American Muslim Task Force (AMTF) used to have an enormously revealing description of itself on its website:

The American Muslim Task Force on Civil Rights and Elections (AMT), an umbrella organization representing American Muslim Alliance (AMA), American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR), Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), Muslim Alliance in North America (MANA), Muslim American Society (MAS), Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), Muslim Students Association – National (MSA), Project Islamic Hope (PIH), and United Muslims of America (UMA).²⁷²

At this writing, the “About Us” tab on the AMTF website is not functioning; likewise, its “Search” capability is “broken.” The “Links” tab, however, takes the visitor to a page full of the names of the most prominent Muslim Brotherhood organizations and affiliates in the U.S., including: the AMA, CAIR, ICNA, ISNA, MAS, MPAC and MSA. Plentiful advice elsewhere on the website provides tips to motivate this group’s membership to activism in the political arena. These kinds of efforts by a major Islamic organization with openly-advertised affiliations to Muslim Brotherhood-linked organizations and to focus on lawmakers and election campaigns at national and state levels must be cause for concern, and are key parts of the enemy’s civilization jihad, being conducted pursuant to its “phased plan.”

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE

The Muslim Brotherhood’s goal of promoting civilizational jihad is strongly supported by the activities of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). The OIC is the second-largest supranational body in the world. It is an umbrella organization of fifty-six Muslim countries plus “Palestine”; only the United

Nations includes more member states²⁷³. Its members are represented annually at the heads of state level.

The OIC purports to represent the entire Islamic world, and styles itself as the Ummah – the collective of all those who worship Allah, follow Mohammed, and revere the Quran. Like the Ikhwan, the OIC has laid out explicitly how it intends to subjugate the *Dar al-Harb* to Islam.

So what is the OIC? Here is an excerpt from a speech given by the Conference's Secretary General, Professor Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, at the 35th session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the OIC in June, 2008. Notice in particular how the Secretary General's words bear on freedom of speech issues²⁷⁴:

In confronting the Danish cartoons and the Dutch film "Fitna," we sent a clear message to the West regarding the red lines that should not be crossed. As we speak, the official West and its public opinion are all now well-aware of the sensitivities of these issues. They have also started to look seriously into the question of freedom of expression from the perspective of its inherent responsibility, which should not be overlooked.

To whom precisely does that "we" refer in the context of the OIC? A visit to the OIC homepage is very informative, where a little drop-down lists its charter, its rules of procedure, and its organizational structure²⁷⁵.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) is the second largest inter-governmental organization after the United Nations which has membership of 57 states [*sic.*] spread over four continents. *The Organization is the collective voice of the Muslim world* and ensuring to safeguard and protect the interests of the Muslim world in the spirit of promoting international peace and harmony among various people of the world. [Emphasis added.]

Given the many rivalries and divisions between the OIC's member states, such assertions of a monolithic position on anything – let alone claims to be an institutionalized “collective voice” – sounds presumptuous, if not utterly fatuous. Yet, when it comes to promoting Shariah via *dawa* backed by the threat of violence, it would be a grave mistake to discount the increasing potential for malevolence of an organization made of up of many of the richest and certainly some of the most dangerous countries in the world (notably, Iran, Libya, Sudan, Somalia, Saudi Arabia and Persian Gulf emirates).

A case in point is the present OIC Charter adopted by the Eleventh Islamic Summit held in Dakar on 13-14 March 2008. It lays down the objectives and principles of the organization and fundamental purposes to strengthen the solidarity and cooperation among the member states and describes the mandate of its main bodies. Several are noteworthy.

The Islamic Summit, composed of Kings and Heads of State and Government of Member States, is the supreme authority of the Organization. It convenes once every three years to deliberate, take policy decisions and provide guidance on all issues pertaining to the realization of the objectives and consider other issues of concern to the Member States and the Ummah.

This statement underscores the fact that, when the OIC holds summits, the participants are *heads of state*, conferring on the organization a prominence it might not otherwise enjoy. It also suggests that, at the summits at least, participants are able to exercise considerable governmental authority, not merely represent their respective states.

The **Council of Foreign Ministers**, which meets once a year, considers the means for the implementation of the general policy of the Organization by, *inter alia*:

(a) Adopting decisions and resolutions on matters of common interest in the implementation of the objectives and the general policy of the Organization;

(b) Reviewing progress of the implementation of the decisions and resolutions adopted at the previous Summits and Councils of Foreign Ministers;

In short, the OIC is comprised of real state actors using real state power to undertake collective actions in furtherance of transnational objectives. As many of its members' treasuries have been infused with vast oil export-driven revenues, this Muslim "bloc" has taken on greater influence internationally, particularly within the United Nations.

The question occurs: Whom does the Organization of the Islamic Conference actually represent? The OIC asserts that the answer is all Muslims – the *Ummah*. Consider the following examples of such claims:

From the Charter of the Organization of the Islamic Conference:

Chapter IV "Islamic Summit," Article 7: The Islamic Summit shall deliberate, take policy decisions and provide guidance on all issues pertaining to the realization of the objectives as provided for in the Charter and consider other *issues of concern to the Member States and the Ummah*²⁷⁶. (Emphasis added.)

Article 9: Extraordinary Sessions will be held, whenever the interests of the Ummah warrant it, to consider *matters of vital importance to the Ummah* and coordinate the policy of the Organization accordingly²⁷⁷. (Emphasis added.)

Chapter V, "Council of Foreign Ministers," Article 10, Section 3: "The Council of Foreign Ministers may recommend convening other sectorial Ministerial meetings to deal with the *specific issues of concern to the Ummah*."²⁷⁸ (Emphasis added.)

The Secretary General of the OIC also routinely asserts that the OIC represents the Ummah. For example, in his speech in June, 2008 at the 35th session of the Council of Foreign Ministers, Prof. Ihsanoglu said²⁷⁹:

In one word, we have managed to affirm our presence and draw attention to the fact that the OIC is considered an international organisation worthy of representing the *collective will and concerns of the Ummah* on the global level. (Emphasis added.)

The most recent OIC Summit (conducted at the heads of state level) goes so far as to identify the session as being convocation of the “Muslim Ummah.” Here is the final communiqué of the meeting held in March, 2008 in Senegal²⁸⁰:

In response to the kind invitation of H.E. Maitre Abdoulaye WADE, President of the Republic of Senegal, the Eleventh Session of the Islamic Summit Conference, ***Session of the Muslim Ummah*** in the 21st Century, was convened in Dakar, capital of the Republic of Senegal, on 6-7 Rabiul Awwal 1429 H.(13-14 March 2008). (Emphasis added.)

What seems indisputable is that the OIC is trying to forge a political force that is not merely the unachievable utopian ideal of a monolithic Ummah, as many Westerners assume. At the very least, for the participating heads of state and their foreign ministers, the OIC’s claim to speak for the Muslim world is absolutely real, absolutely present in everyday life and a force behind their policy-making. To deny this is to ignore an obvious reality. Indeed, if the Caliphate is ever reestablished, it seems likely that it will grow directly out of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

This prospect takes on additional moment against in light of the *Ummah’s* goals as professed by the OIC. Particularly noteworthy is the arrogation to the OIC of a supranational, interventionist role “to defend,” “to support,” and “to assist” Muslims

achieve the stated objectives, even on behalf of those Muslims who live as citizens of discrete sovereign non-member states:

- To defend the universality of Islamic religion;
- To support the struggle of the Palestinian people, who are presently under foreign occupation, and to empower them to attain their inalienable rights;
- To assist Muslim minorities and communities outside the Member States to preserve their dignity, cultural and religious identity;
- To support the restoration of complete sovereignty and territorial integrity of any Member State under occupation, as a result of aggression, on the basis of international law and cooperation with the relevant international and regional organizations;
- To promote and defend unified position on issues of common interest in the international fora.

OIC ACTIONS TO ENFORCE SHARIAH

The OIC is a primary international institution designed systematically to enforce shariah in Muslim and most importantly, non-Muslim countries. The obligation to enforce shariah doctrine globally is central to the OIC mission, and to its concept of unifying the *ummah*. In the OIC's "Ten-Year Programme of Action To Meet the Challenges Facing the Muslim Ummah in the 21st Century" of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the Islamic Summit Conference²⁸¹, December 2005, Article VII calls for "deterrent punishments" to be imposed by all states – not just Muslim states – against critics of Islam:

VII. Combating Islamophobia

1. Emphasize the responsibility of the international community, including all governments, to ensure respect for all religions and combat their defamation.

2. Affirm the need to counter Islamophobia, through the establishment of an observatory at the OIC General Secretariat to monitor all forms of Islamophobia, issue an annual report thereon, and ensure cooperation with the relevant Governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in order to counter Islamophobia.

3 Endeavor to have the United Nations adopt an international resolution to counter Islamophobia, and call upon all States to enact laws to counter it, including deterrent punishments.

4. Initiate a structured and sustained dialogue in order to project the true values of Islam and empower Muslim countries to help in the war against extremism and terrorism.

The OIC is also dedicated to opposing western traditions of liberty, freedom and human rights, since those traditions assert the rights of the individual rather than the submission of the individual to shariah. In 1990, the OIC member states adopted The Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam²⁸² (CDHRI), a declaration which provides an overview on the Islamic perspective on human rights, and affirms Islamic shariah as its sole source. This declaration is usually seen as a shariah-adherent counter to the post-World War II United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948, as well as the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights. Among its many declarations in direct opposition to definitions either of civil liberties or human rights are the following:

The Islamic Sharia is the only source of reference for the explanation or clarification to any of the articles of this Declaration (Article 25)

All the rights and freedoms stipulated in this Declaration are subject to the Islamic Shari'ah. (Article 24)

Everyone shall have the right to express his opinion freely in such manner as would not be contrary to the principles of the Shari'ah (Article 22)

1. Everyone shall have the right to advocate what is right, and propagate what is good, and warn against what is wrong and evil according to the norms of Islamic Shari'ah.

2. Information is a vital necessity to society. It may not be exploited or misused in such a way as may violate sanctities and the dignity of Prophets, undermine moral and ethical Values or disintegrate, corrupt or harm society or weaken its faith.

3. It is not permitted to excite nationalistic or doctrinal hatred or to do anything that may be an incitement to any form or racial discrimination.

Since its inception, the OIC has attempted to enforce – in all countries, not just Muslim-majority ones -- the shariah doctrine that any speech or expression offensive to shariah authorities is criminally-sanctioned blasphemy or slander. Since 1998, the OIC has substituted the term “Islamophobia” for blasphemy to make the charge more acceptable to Western governments. Where a charge of “racism” can be criminally prosecuted, as in Europe, the OIC has also tried to assert “Islamophobia” as legally equivalent to “racism” and therefore subject to government legislation and prosecution. Since 1999, the OIC has submitted numerous resolutions to the UN to censor free speech as “defamation against religion,” with special emphasis on “Islamophobia.”²⁸³

The OIC and its affiliated institutions provide an intellectual justification for terrorism that exempts jihad outright, and a comprehensive list of endorsed acts of violence against anyone they decide is an enemy. In the publication *Journal Islam Today* published by the OIC-established “specialized institution”: “Is-

lamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,” in the article “Terrorism: Factors and Countermeasures,” the author defines terrorism with these terms²⁸⁴:

“The violent nature of an act is no longer a criterion in labeling it as a terrorist act...In light of this definition, we can identify the paradigms used to describe an act as terrorist. We can affirm that these attributes do not apply to:

A. National resistance operations conducted exclusively against occupiers and colonialists.

B. The resistance of peoples against forces imposed on them by force.

C. The rejection of dictatorship and any form of tyrannical rule.

D. Struggle against inhumane movements such as Nazism and racism.

E. Retaliation in the same fashion to aggression when no other options exist.

F. Legitimate jihad with its moral conditions and human objectives as defined and clarified by our scholars. (Emphasis added.)

These attributes do not apply either to any peaceful action (involving no terrorist act), even if the underlying purpose is not a humanitarian one, **nor do they cover individual destructive acts** with no effect on society. Such acts and similar ones, even if they are condemned on another level, cannot be considered as terrorist acts.

The OIC’s refusal to define “individual destructive acts” as terrorism (and indeed, endorsement of such acts as jihad) provided the policy framework for the U.S. Department of Defense’s refusal to define the murder of thirteen people by Major Nidal

Hasan as an act of either jihad or terrorism in the August 18, 2010, “Department of Defense Implementation of Recommendations from the Independent Review Related to Fort Hood.”²⁸⁵ Hasan’s act was instead treated as an individual destructive act – in compliance with OIC publications on terrorism.

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD’S U.S. OPERATIONS: EXEMPLARS

By the mid-1990s, thanks to the successful application of the techniques employed pursuant to the phased plan by the Muslim Brotherhood’s organizational footprint in the United States, the Ikhwan was in a position to target American society at all levels. With growing aggressiveness in recent years, its operatives have been mounting influence operations against this country’s government, educational institutions, media, churches and synagogues, and local communities from coast to coast.

Here are a few illustrative examples of the MB’s progress:

- Federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies and the intelligence community have been targeted in order to: blunt investigative efforts that might interfere with the Ikhwan’s activities; keep homeland defenders and military personnel from being educated on the true nature of shariah, jihad and the Muslim Brotherhood; and ensure the MB is the only Muslim entity from which the U.S. government seeks advice on Islamic matters.
- The Department of Education and school boards across America have been penetrated for the purpose of encouraging, subliminally at first, submission to shariah in textbooks and pedagogy. The object is to control and soften the history of Islam and how it is taught to American students. Middle East Studies and “interfaith” programs at several leading U.S. universities have received \$20 million

apiece from a prominent Saudi prince and enabler of the Brotherhood, Prince Alwaleed bin Talal, with predictable results regarding their curriculum.

- Many well-meaning leaders of other faiths and their churches and synagogues have been penetrated and compromised through MB influence operations under the guise of “interfaith dialogue.” Some have provided invaluable political cover for the Ikhwan by decrying objections to the establishment of mosques associated with it – for example, at Ground Zero in Lower Manhattan, in Roxbury, Massachusetts, in Murfreesboro, Tennessee and elsewhere – in the name of safeguarding religious tolerance.
- Prominent secular leadership figures in communities across the country have also been induced to provide what amounts to political cover for the Brotherhood. This is done when they lend their prestige and authority to MB *taqiyya* and publicly consort with Ikhwan operatives. Perhaps the most egregious example has been New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg’s repeated insistence that the Ground Zero mega-mosque must be built. Those who oppose the construction of the mosque near Ground Zero, or even seek to establish whether the \$100 million to construct it are coming from problematic sources (perhaps including Iran), according to Bloomberg, are “un-American.”²⁸⁶
- The financial community has been deeply penetrated via the promotion of shariah-compliant finance into Wall Street, with encouragement from the U.S. government. In fact, the American tax-

payer now owns the largest purveyor of shariah-compliant insurance products in the world: AIG. (For more on this subject and a federal lawsuit challenging its constitutionality, see Appendix I.)

In short, the enemy among us – organized and guided by the Muslim Brotherhood and disguised by deceit – poses a grave long-term threat to our Constitution, government, freedoms and way of life. When the Brotherhood's stealth jihad operates in conjunction with overtly or covertly violent jihadist organizations like those described in the following chapter, joining forces to operate as a sort of strategic pincer-movement, they become toxic to freedom-loving and open Western societies like ours.

5

OTHER SHARIAH-ADHERENT ORGANIZATIONS

The division of labor within the community of adherents to shariah that has the Muslim Brotherhood promoting their agenda, for the moment, mostly through non-violent means has counterpart efforts being made by other groups that seek the same goals – the triumph of Islam worldwide and the restoration of the caliphate – *through violence*. Since September 11, 2001, the best known of these is the perpetrator of the murderous attacks launched that day: al Qaeda. Its prominence has only grown with repeated declarations by U.S. government officials to the effect that Osama bin Laden’s group is *the* enemy we confront.

In fact, as the foregoing sections have demonstrated, al Qaeda is but *one* of the threats we confront, and not necessarily the most dangerous. The following pages discuss al Qaeda and a representative sample of other organizations in the world of adherents to shariah that are actively seeking to compel our submission and, ultimately, our destruction, through force and terror.

AL QAEDA

Contrary to popular opinion and stated U.S. national security policy, the real threat from al Qaeda is not its international network of jihadist training camps and cells, or even its trademark multiple, simultaneous suicide explosion attacks. Rather, the greatest danger arises from this group's singular ability to distract our leadership away from the stealth jihad aimed at insinuating shariah into our society and legal system.

Since the horrific 9/11 attacks, we have allowed ourselves to be sapped of blood and treasure, lured into faraway battlefields in Muslim lands, where the best and bravest American patriots have been asked to fight and die, too often with no clear strategy for victory and bereft of any understanding of shariah – even as they defend U.S. interests in shariah-dominated lands..

Such confusion at the top of U.S. national security ranks is inexcusable so many years after 9/11. That is especially so given that the enemy has explained his strategy clearly and repeatedly. Jihadist online postings from 2002 described in forthright terms the al Qaeda strategy to draw the American military machine into the Afghan maw to be bloodied and drained:

And it is known and transmitted amongst the pioneers in the fields of sacrifice that al Qaeda Organization adopted a new plan to lure [enemies] into Afghanistan; that is, attacking the Americans directly and in three different pillars of governance – politics, economy, and military power – in order to achieve a number of very important goals...[among which were]:

9 - To lure the American Forces into an Asymmetric battle, to liquidate the power of the enemy and have him bankrupt [himself], just like their Russian counterpart.

10 - To start a struggle between the American forces and the [Islamic] nation's men (not the armies of the rulers) in a long and unlimited battle that starts in America and expands from

Afghanistan to Mauritania, and with it the spirit of the Islamic resistance comes back and in it the Muslims youth will carry the weapons.²⁸⁷

As envisioned by al Qaeda strategists, years of grinding warfare in Afghanistan with no clear victory for Western forces not only have taken their toll on budgets and troops, but most importantly of all, have sowed doubts about America's military and political leadership in the hearts and minds of the American people.

Brigadier S.K. Malik wrote the Pakistani military doctrine in 1979 in a slim volume called *The Quranic Concept of War*. In it, he describes jihad as "a continuous and never-ending struggle, waged on all fronts including political, economic, social, psychological, domestic, moral and spiritual..."²⁸⁸ and says that "The whole philosophy [of the Quranic military strategy] revolves around the human heart, his soul, spirit and Faith." He went on to add, "In war, our main objective is the opponent's heart or soul..."²⁸⁹

Then, in July 2010, the *Washington Times* highlighted significant differences between the war-fighting doctrine of General David Petraeus, the new Afghan theater commander, and the Obama administration about the very nature of the jihadist enemy. Whereas the 2006 Petraeus counterinsurgency field manual refers explicitly to "Islamic insurgents," "Islamic extremists," and "Islamic subversives," current national leadership literally has banned the use of such terminology. The story only deepened the perception of an American leadership crisis in the jihad wars.²⁹⁰

From the perspective of the jihadist enemy, such developments contribute to the aforementioned pincer-movement against the West – in which violent terror demoralizes and intimidates even as it simultaneously distracts attention from and reinforces the Muslim Brotherhood's mission of "eliminating and de-

stroying the Western civilization from within and ‘sabotaging’ its miserable house by their hands.”²⁹¹

As U.S. civilian, intelligence and military leadership attention is consistently diverted to conflicts abroad, and new plots for terrorist attacks at home are uncovered at an alarming rate, the mantra of U.S. leadership remains narrowly focused on the threat of “violent extremism” – a euphemism often substituted for al Qaeda. At best, American attention, rhetoric and resources are as a result addressed to stopping al Qaeda, even though it is *just one of the many jihadist groups* (several of the most prominent of which are described below) that are using kinetic means to advance shariah – or preparing to do so.

Such a myopic characterization of the terror threat as the full extent of the jihadist enemy’s strategy to destroy our society and impose shariah has no basis in reality. It can only be considered a product of the enemy’s successful psychological offensive and information dominance. (For more on this strategy and its success, see chapter seven.)

If, in fact, the real threat is only *partly* about jihadist violence, then Western civilization must face up to the genuinely terrifying reality that the enemy we face is not al Qaeda per se or alone. We must instead come to grips with the jihadist imperative that derives from shariah doctrine itself – and the reality that all who know and actively follow that doctrine are dedicated to jihad for the purpose of imposing Islamic law on this country and all non-Islamic societies worldwide.

As will be discussed at greater length below, if the enemy at war with the United States is not just al Qaeda, but also a significant percentage of the hundreds of millions of Muslims who are dedicated to the imposition of shariah on us by violence or by stealth, and the U.S. leadership willfully is misconstruing the threat, then that leadership is failing in its constitutional responsibility to “support and defend the Constitution against all enemies

foreign and domestic.” This is the actual meaning of the Muslim Brotherhood Memorandum and mission in America: its stated purpose is to so blind U.S. strategic thinkers to the existence of doctrinal justification for Islamic terror that they themselves, “by their own hand,” will cripple America’s ability to respond effectively.

For all the horrific destruction of human life and endeavor thus far perpetrated by al Qaeda and its allies, both national (Iran) and sub-national (e.g., Hezbollah, Hamas and the Taliban), those atrocities have no power to threaten our way of life – unless we allow them to undermine our morale and erode our faith in ourselves, our abilities and our leadership. If America permits al Qaeda to instill the terror about which S.K. Malik (among many other shariah-adherents) have spoken, then we will have granted al Qaeda and its ilk the power to set the conditions for our acquiescence, appeasement and surrender.

Refusal to name the enemy or describe his ideology accurately is but the first step in the enemy’s program to divorce U.S. strategic thinking from confronting the real threat or having any hope of developing an effective strategy to defeat it. *It is imperative that we as Americans recognize and openly identify shariah as the font of Islamic terror.* The ultimate objective of al Qaeda and other perpetrators of that terror is not merely to inflict death and mayhem on infidels like us, but to advance our subjugation to shariah.

FORCES OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

The Islamic Republic of Iran is, according to its own constitution, dedicated to revolution and “the religious fight of Islam... inside and outside the country.” The duties of the vanguard in that fight, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), are likewise set out in Iran’s 1989 constitution:

“... The corps of Revolutionary Guards... have responsibility not only for the safeguarding of the frontiers, but also for a re-

ligious mission, which is jihad along the way of Allah, and the struggle to extend the supremacy of Allah's law in the world."²⁹²

In 1979, Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and his followers were the second group of jihadists, after the House of Saud earlier in the 20th Century, to seize control of a nation state with vast natural resources. While the Saudi population is predominantly Sunni and that of Iran predominantly Shiite, both regimes are completely committed to the supremacy of shariah and its realization across the globe via jihad – whether by the pen, the purse or the sword.

As noted in chapter two, Khomeini's ideology of *Velayat-e Faqih* (or Rule of the Jurisprudent) calls for theocratic governance under a senior Shiite cleric. It derives from Khomeini's own deeply hostile attitude towards modernization and secularization in an increasingly Western-dominated world.

Velayat-e Faqih mandates strict implementation of shariah along 7th Century lines. Even though a 1989 referendum by the Iranian people suggested popular support for this official ideology, it imposes draconian *hudud* punishments, the death penalty for homosexuals and an institutionalized misogyny that are deeply resented and increasingly opposed by Iran's youthful population. Especially in the wake of the massive nationwide popular protests following the fraudulent June 2009 presidential elections, demonstrators in the street and senior members of the Iranian Shiite clergy alike have demanded an end to the institution of the Supreme Leader and *Velayat-e Faqih* itself, correctly declaring both to be perversions of traditional Shia Islam.²⁹³

In the face of such opposition, the clerical clique in Tehran maintains power today by means of draconian repression domestically and the projection of its ideology and power abroad. The latter is accomplished through proxy and allied terrorist organizations – which include Sunni organizations like al Qaeda and

Hamas, as well as Shiite ones like Hezbollah and a variety of Iraqi militias.

The mullahs' drive for a deliverable nuclear weapons capability is the *sine qua non* of this regime and will not be denied it, absent a credible threat to regime survival – or, perhaps, by its destruction alone. Their implacable antisemitism and declarations of genocidal intent toward the State of Israel provide inspiration, guidance and material support to entities bent on preventing an Arab-Israeli peace process.

At the same time, Tehran's aggressive drive for expanded geo-strategic influence in the Persian Gulf and the broader Middle East, in conjunction with its bid to seize leadership of the international jihad, alarms neighboring Sunni regimes, compounded by fear of an imminent withdrawal of traditional American power projection in the region by the Obama administration.

The Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps, its Qods Force division, and the Ministry of Intelligence and Security (MOIS) are the lead Iranian organizations for jihadist terror projection. Each of these organizations requires urgent attention by U.S. security policymakers.

THE IRGC

The Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC), also known as the *Pasdaran* – derived from the more formal title *Se-pah-e Pasdaran-e Inqilab-e Islami*, which literally translates from Farsi as “Army of the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution”) was established by the Ayatollah Khomeini in March 1979 to augment the regular army in defense of the physical borders of the state. Its primary function, however, is maintaining the clerical regime in power. In the wake of the chaotic civil disturbances that followed the June 2009 presidential elections, widely seen as fraudulent, regime resources increasingly have flowed to the IRGC to augment its ability to suppress regime opposition. The growing pow-

er and influence of the *Pasdaran* is so notable that its evolution of late has been termed a “military coup.”²⁹⁴

Today, the IRGC numbers some 125,000 and includes the Qods Force, the regime’s international terror arm.²⁹⁵ The Commander of the Guard directs and organizes the arming, equipping, and training of the Iraqi Shiite “Special Groups,” and al Qaeda and other Sunni forces.²⁹⁶

As the direct commander of Hezbollah cells in Iran and Iraq, the IRGC oversees the training camps where Hezbollah explosives experts pass on the deadly skills that kill American and Coalition troops and Iraqi civilians alike.²⁹⁷ Increasingly, the IRGC-Qods Force is also providing funding, training, and weapons to Taliban forces in Afghanistan, activity that had diminished for a time after 9/11.²⁹⁸ Reporting out of West Africa, Europe, and North and Latin America suggests an expanding presence of IRGC-Qods Force, MOIS and Hezbollah elements in these regions, as well.²⁹⁹

The IRGC controls Iran’s biological and chemical weapons programs, as well as its nuclear weapons program since being assigned the duty of acquiring the bomb by the Ayatollah Khomeini in the 1980s. It is also responsible for Iran’s ballistic missile development program, which it manages in a kind of joint venture arrangement with North Korea.

The IRGC has been amassing control over a significant segment of the Iranian economy. It is estimated that the IRGC, its top commanders and affiliates now own outright 30 percent or more of the entire Iranian economy.³⁰⁰ This situation contributed directly to the decision by the wealthy Rafsanjani clan to launch its election challenge in a bid to defend against further IRGC encroachment on its financial empire.

THE QODS FORCE

The Qods Force is specifically charged with extraterritorial liaison with terrorist organizations and is Iran's tip of the spear for arming, funding, training, and other support to groups such as al Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah, the Iraqi Jaish al-Mahdi, Palestinian Jihad and the Taliban.³⁰¹ The Qods Force also handles Iranian relations with organized crime and narco-trafficking organizations, such as the Afghan opium drug lords.³⁰²

Numbering around 21,000 members, the Qods Force members deploy to the field and also operate undercover out of Iranian embassies worldwide. The organization has trained members of dozens of international terrorist groups in guerrilla, paramilitary and terror tactics. In the wake of the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, Qods Force commanders negotiated Iranian safe haven for hundreds of al Qaeda fighters, including at least two of bin Laden's sons, Saad and Hamza, and other bin Laden family members, plus al Qaeda's military operations chief, Saif al-Adl.³⁰³ It was Qods Force that maintained Iran's operational relationship with al Qaeda in Iraq's leader, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, until his elimination at the hands of U.S. forces in 2006.³⁰⁴

THE MINISTRY OF INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY

The Iranian intelligence service is a "ministry" in name only, as its chain of command actually bypasses the cabinet and reports directly to the Supreme Leader. With up to some 30,000 officers and support staff, MOIS is one of the largest intelligence services in the Middle East and has been termed by Magnus Ranstorp, the renowned Scottish defense and security expert, "a superpower in intelligence terms in the region," because of its global reach and sophistication.³⁰⁵

MOIS performs all the usual functions of a national intelligence agency, such as collection, analysis, and dissemination of reporting. It is also tasked with keeping the regime in power by

any and all means, including but not limited to: infiltrating and disclosing conspiracies that threaten the regime; suppressing internal dissent; arresting, assassinating, jailing, intimidating, kidnapping, torturing and forcibly repatriating regime opponents; and maintaining liaison relationships not only with foreign intelligence services, but with terror organizations worldwide with whom the MOIS actively collaborates.³⁰⁶

The Iranian intelligence service has been faulted for failing to keep control of the situation following the 2009 elections and reportedly has lost status, particularly vis-à-vis the IRGC, as a result. The MOIS director was replaced and resources are flowing to augment the Intelligence Unit of the IRGC, a small but increasingly favored rival to the MOIS.

THE 'IRAN LOBBY'

In addition to the formidable capabilities the IRGC, Qods Force, MOIS and their proxies represent for influencing and, where desirable, violently attacking the Tehran regime's enemies, the Islamic Republic of Iran also can rely upon a well-organized network of influential individuals and groups in this country that its own government-controlled media have dubbed "the Iran lobby in America."

That network generally operates from a common script to urge a U.S. foreign policy towards the Tehran regime that features accommodation, concessions and unconditional dialogue, while arguing strenuously against coercive measures – notably, the imposition of political and economic sanctions and most especially military action against Iran's nuclear weapons facilities.³⁰⁷

The preeminent figure in the "Iran lobby" is an Iranian-born agent of influence named Trita Parsi. Emulating the Sunni Muslim Brotherhood model of spawning front organizations, Parsi founded the National Iranian-American Council (NIAC) in 2002. Under his leadership, NIAC has, in turn, helped to found

and/or established relationships with a variety of sympathetic organizations, including: some MB fronts like the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR, founded as noted above by Hamas in 1994); the Campaign Against Sanctions and Military Intervention in Iran (CASMI, founded in December 2005); the Center for a New American Security (CNAS, founded in February 2007), the Campaign for a New American Policy on Iran (CNAPI, founded in June 2008), and the American Foreign Policy Project (AFPP, founded in December 2008).³⁰⁸

It is of considerable concern that individuals associated with the Iran Lobby network, often through one or more of these organizations, have found their way into influential posts in the Obama administration. Even as events in the Middle East move inexorably toward renewed conflict and Iran defiantly accelerates its nuclear weapons program, such “friends of Iran” as Dr. Vali Nasr (now the senior advisor to Ambassador Richard Holbrooke for Afghanistan/Pakistan issues), Dr. Susan Rice (U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations) and John Limbert (until July 2010 a top official at the State Department’s Iran desk) – have helped ensure that U.S. policy towards Iran remains incoherent and contrary to long-term U.S. national security interests.³⁰⁹

The magnitude of damage Iranian elements are capable of perpetrating in America in furtherance of their shariah agenda is greater if, as seems to be the case, senior U.S. national security policymaking circles have been penetrated by agents of influence and those influenced by them whose actions, intentional or otherwise, serve to support the objectives of a hostile foreign power. To date, there is no evidence that such a possibility has been seriously considered, let alone thwarted by American counterintelligence.

HEZBOLLAH

Hezbollah (literally, the Party of God) is a Shiite Lebanese terrorist organization founded in the early 1980s by the Iranian government's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps. Former Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage once said that Hezbollah may well be the "A team" and al Qaeda the "B team" of global terrorism. As such, the organization, its role and capabilities warrant close study.

Hezbollah's purpose is to advance Tehran's agenda of: promoting shariah; destroying Israel; dominating Lebanon; and the readying of a global strike force. Although the immediate justification for Hezbollah's emergence was in response to Israel's invasion of southern Lebanon in 1982, an influx of Shia scholars from Najaf fleeing the 1968 Baathist coup in Iraq had laid the groundwork for the Islamicization of Lebanon more than a decade earlier.³¹⁰

Iranian sponsorship of Hezbollah enabled it to become not only a regional organization fighting against the Israelis, but also a global terrorist network. Hezbollah today is a tightly disciplined, superbly trained, and fanatically dedicated cadre of shariah-adherent jihadis that effectively controls Lebanon on behalf of Iran. The Party of God's expansion into politics, with representatives in the Lebanese cabinet and parliament, demonstrates the totality of the stranglehold Iran and Hezbollah jointly exercise over Lebanon.

CURRENT MILITARY CAPABILITIES

Hezbollah fields up to 20,000 fighters, of whom perhaps one-third have undergone advanced combat training in Iran. Such training involves a rigorous three-year basic course, which emphasizes: advanced individual commando skills; small unit tactics; terror training (such as assassination, bomb-making, explosives,

kidnapping and suicide-bombing); and weapons expertise across a broad range of light infantry arms.

Hezbollah's vaunted rocket and missile arsenal and other armaments were massively resupplied by Iran and Syria after the 2006 Lebanese war with Israel. Its current inventory includes Fajr-3 and Fajr-5 surface-to-surface missiles, Zelzal-2 ballistic missiles, tens of thousands of Katyusha rockets, and Chinese-model cruise missiles. In April 2010, Defense Secretary Robert Gates said Hezbollah had "far more rockets and missiles than most governments in the world."³¹¹

In addition, Hezbollah has an array of unmanned aerial vehicles, Russian-made anti-tank guided missiles and anti-aircraft missiles, tanks, and armored personnel carriers. It also operates a state-of-the-art military-grade fiber optic communications network that is directly integrated with the Iranian IRGC network.³¹²

ROOTED IN SHARIAH

Hezbollah literally burst onto the world scene in 1983 when it killed 241 U.S. Marines in a suicide attack on their barracks in Lebanon. Operating in coordination with senior levels of Ayatollah Khomeini's revolutionary regime – which armed, funded, inspired and trained it, Hezbollah subsequently launched a campaign of global terror marked by bombings, hijackings, kidnappings, and incessant attacks against Israel.

These attacks included ones Hezbollah carried out (under Iranian direction), notably the 1992 and 1994 bombings in Buenos Aires against the Israeli Embassy and AMIA Jewish Cultural Center, respectively. As noted elsewhere in this report, at about the same time, Hezbollah joined its Shiite Iranian sponsors in an operational relationship with al Qaeda, under the aegis of the Sudanese government and the pan-Islamic Sunni cleric, Hassan al-Turabi. That partnership made possible the Khobar Towers sui-

cide attack of 1996, the East Africa Embassy bombings in 1998, the USS *Cole* attack in 2000 and, ultimately, 9/11 itself.

Hezbollah styles itself a violent movement in the service of shariah. Its official symbol is a globe and an upraised arm brandishing an AK-47 rifle. There is real meaning to the imagery of that symbol: It starkly shows that Hezbollah is an Islamic jihadist organization dedicated to the imposition of shariah across the world. Hezbollah's official name in Arabic, *Hizb Allah-Al-thawra Al-Islamiya fi Lubnan*, appears below the globe and means "The Islamic Revolution in Lebanon."

Visually, the positioning of the character "A" of "Allah" is linked above to the upraised arm with the AK-47, to signify divine sanction for the group. A Quran rests atop the letter "b" of the word "Hizb" (party), which is fashioned in the shape of a traditional lectern for the Muslim scriptures, conveying the message that Hezbollah is legitimate and based upon the Quran. Finally, emblazoned above the Hezbollah symbol is the Quranic verse, "*Fa-inna Hizb Allah hum alghalibun*," which means "Lo, the Party of God, they are the victorious ones."³¹³

Hezbollah was founded on and continues to follow the principles of not only traditional Shia Islam, but also the untraditional ideology of Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini. As discussed below, Khomeini's concept of *Velayat-e Faqih* puts a Shiite cleric in control of both political and theological power and claims supreme rule over all Shiites everywhere.

The Iranian constitution dedicates the regime to jihad to achieve the global spread of shariah. Hassan Nasrallah, the fourth and current Secretary General of Hezbollah, has publicly pledged fealty to the Iranian Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, as his *Marja* or spiritual leader. Like Iran, Hezbollah and Nasrallah proclaim their dedication to the destruction of Israel and "death to America."

HEZBOLLAH LEADERSHIP ORGANIZATION

Nasrallah is an iconic figure to millions of Lebanese Shia. His fiery speeches evoking shariah and jihad contribute to the cult of personality that surrounds him. He was born in southern Lebanon and wears the black turban that signifies bloodline descent from the Prophet Mohammed. Nasrallah was educated in the Iraqi holy city of Najaf.

The Hezbollah leader is viewed as a tough, charismatic leader whose own son, Hadi, was killed in action against the Israelis in 1997. He lives under multiple layers of security in the Hezbollah stronghold of southern Beirut and is seldom seen in public for fear of Israeli assassination operations and rose to Hezbollah leadership in 1992 after Israeli forces killed his predecessor, Sheikh Abbas Musawi. He earned the sobriquet of “the man who never lies,” because of his record of turning military success against the Israeli Defense Forces into political gains for Lebanese Shiites.

Hezbollah is run by the Executive Shura headed by Secretary General Nasrallah, who manages the group’s day-to-day activities and makes all decisions related to financial, judicial, military, political, and social issues. The Consultative Council is comprised of 12 key figures among the Hezbollah leadership and meets on a weekly basis to discuss current matters. There is also a Supervisory Committee, or Politburo, comprised of 15 select Shiite clergy members, that conveys Consultative Council dictates to Lebanon’s regional areas and coordinates propaganda and support services at the local level.

Thanks to an annual infusion of funding from Iran that amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars, Hezbollah operates civil defense centers, clinics, hospitals, and schools across Shiite areas of Lebanon otherwise underserved by the central government. Hezbollah has been exceptionally adept at developing a grassroots network and insinuating itself into Lebanese society.

Hezbollah runs youth groups, scout troops, and summer camps that inculcate hatred of Jews, infidels and Americans from the earliest ages. In addition, it also provides physical and weapons training to children in preparation for later military service. The legendary loyalty of Hezbollah's fighters is inspired in part through absolute guarantees to care for its injured members and the families of the fallen, to educate their children, and to provide lifelong pensions to their widows.

Hezbollah's "social" and "charitable" activities do nothing to diminish its jihadist agenda and terrorist operations. They not only serve to promote *dawa* and recruit new adherents to shariah; they serve as a visible form of *taqiyya* as well. Specifically, these activities are calculated – and shrewdly used – to blur the hard edges of its identity in the eyes of a poorly informed and credulous international community.

One indication of the success of such deflections is, as noted below,³¹⁴ that even the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) issued – albeit under the guise of a *plausibly deniable* "Red Team" study – a paean to Hezbollah in May 2010. The paper suggested that because, among other considerations, Hezbollah has been so successful in translating its social services into a popular following, a change in U.S. government policy towards the organization is now warranted, with a view to expressing American support for the Party of God's integration into the Lebanese political mainstream.

HEZBOLLAH'S INTELLIGENCE OPERATION

The organization has developed and fielded an intelligence apparatus that is highly capable, tightly organized and exceedingly difficult to penetrate. In part, its effectiveness derives from the fact that it functions along the lines of, and benefits from, Lebanese Shia clan loyalties. That reality is also a function of the organization's professional training under the formidable Iranian

services. Indeed, the Iranian IRGC and MOIS provide Hezbollah with secure training facilities on Iranian territory where Hezbollah cadres develop advanced intelligence and counterintelligence capabilities.

Hezbollah brings to bear double-agents, information and psychological operations and intelligence-gathering and penetration operations against both the Israelis and the United States. Busted cigarette-smuggling operations from North Carolina to Michigan suggest the presence of active Hezbollah cells in the United States.³¹⁵ The 2007 case of Hezbollah agent Nada N. Prouty, who obtained U.S. citizenship through a sham marriage, and then succeeded in infiltrating both the FBI and the CIA, provides an indication of the sophistication of Hezbollah's operations.³¹⁶

HEZBOLLAH'S INFORMATION OPERATIONS

Al-Manar (The Beacon) is the Hezbollah official television station that reaches across the Middle East and, via satellite, around the world. Al-Manar amounts to a powerful propaganda, indoctrination and recruitment vehicle, although it masquerades as a full schedule of news, commentary and educational programming.

In addition, Al-Manar pumps out a steady stream of dramatic music videos about Hezbollah suicide bombers and military operations. The cumulative effect of this diet of violent content in shaping public understanding of and support for shariah and jihad – including by inciting hatred against Israel and the West – among millions of Arabs and Muslims cannot be overstated.

HEZBOLLAH'S TERROR OPERATIONS

Hezbollah's worldwide terrorist operations are directed by the Special Security Apparatus (SSA), which is also responsible for intelligence and security matters. Long led by Imad Mughni-

yah, the man Israeli intelligence called “a triple Hezbollah-Iran-al Qaeda agent and terrorist executive,”³¹⁷ the SSA is charged with carrying out Hezbollah terror operations on orders of the Iranian Supreme Leader.

Mughniyah was killed in 2008, reportedly by the Israelis with inside support from Syrian intelligence. He remains, however, an iconic figure for jihadis the world over, remembered for masterminding a long list of high-profile terrorist attacks that culminated in the attacks of September 11, 2001, carried out in coordination with Iran and al Qaeda. In an emotional eulogy, delivered at Mughniyah’s funeral, Nasrallah promised Hezbollah revenge for Mughniyah’s killing.

STATE SUPPORT FOR HEZBOLLAH

Hezbollah activities are enabled by the support of two state sponsors of terrorism: Iran and Syria. Both find utility in using Hezbollah to conduct proxy warfare against Israel. As noted above, Iran provides the financial underpinning, without which Hezbollah would be incapable of operations on its current scale. Additionally, Iran supplies Hezbollah with its massive modern arsenal of missiles and rockets, whose expanding ranges increasingly are capable of reaching Israel’s major cities.

As noted above, Iran’s IRGC Qods Force, whose ultimate commander is the Iranian Supreme Leader, the Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, serves in coordination with the Iranian MOIS as the Iranian regime’s liaison in this exceptionally close relationship with Hezbollah.

For its part, Syria, under the Baath dictatorship of Bashar al-Assad, also uses Hezbollah as a strategic force-multiplier to give the Alawite regime a front-line capability against Israel. Analyst Rachel Ehrenfeld cites intelligence sources as finding that, “The Bashar Assad regime not only allows Hezbollah to carry out terror attacks from Lebanese territory, as one of the expressions of sup-

port for the [Palestinian] Intifada, but also provides direct aid to Hezbollah, a step from which [Hafez] Assad Senior refrained.”³¹⁸ Syria views its ability to maintain military pressure against Israel as critical to its longstanding goal of forcing Israel to withdraw from the Golan Heights and, thereafter, resuming the effort to destroy the Jewish State outright.

Syria plays a key role in Iranian efforts to supply arms to Hezbollah. Typically, shipments of such arms arrive at Damascus airport and are then trucked to the Beka’a Valley and other Hezbollah strongholds. The importance of this overland route is evident in the successful interception by Israel or the United States of ships carrying arms from Iran on no fewer than six different occasions between 2001 and 2010. As a result, Hezbollah was denied tons of sophisticated Iranian weaponry, underscoring the premium it must place on logistical arrangements with Syria that are less susceptible to such setbacks and humiliations for both the terror group and its sponsors.³¹⁹

HEZBOLLAH’S GLOBAL REACH

At Tehran’s direction, and in support of the Iranian regime’s global terror mission, Hezbollah has established cells throughout the world, including as noted above, in the United States. These cells are dedicated to fundraising, logistical support and terror operations and typically work in close liaison with Iranian IRGC/Qods Force and MOIS undercover operatives attached to Iranian diplomatic facilities. This arrangement gives Iran an expanded capability to attack American, Israeli and other Western interests while maintaining a measure of plausible deniability.

Two areas of Hezbollah activities outside of Lebanon warrant special mention:

Africa: Iran and Hezbollah have been expanding activities in West Africa since the 1990s, piggybacking off of large Shia Le-

banese populations who pursue business interests there. Iran's African outreach serves two overt purposes: (1) to court diplomatic support, especially for its nuclear program, in international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and (2) to extend Shia proselytizing to areas either traditionally Sunni or non-Muslim.

In addition, the Shia diaspora in West Africa, numbering hundreds of thousands, provides Hezbollah with millions of dollars in revenue each year. Besides voluntary contributions (*zakat*), Hezbollah levies an annual tax assessment on Shia businesses which is collected either in cash (by Hezbollah couriers) or remitted by electronic funds transfers directly to Lebanon.³²⁰ The lenient security environment in much of Africa provides Hezbollah a benign area in which to find safe-haven and conduct recruitment, fundraising and racketeering operations.

Hezbollah also derives illicit income from criminal enterprises in West Africa: The organization has long been involved in the "conflict" or "blood" diamonds trade. Hezbollah operatives introduced al Qaeda representatives to that business in the months before 9/11. Hezbollah is also involved in the precious mineral trade in Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo and possibly Angola.³²¹ The money Hezbollah raises from its African gold and diamond business is used to buy weapons and fund jihadist operations, both in Lebanon and elsewhere around the world.³²²

Latin America: Hezbollah criminal and terrorist activity in the Tri-Border area of South America dates at least to the early 1990s. This region, where the borders of Paraguay, Argentina and Brazil come together, is notorious as a lawless safe-haven for arms-trafficking, contraband of all kinds, counterfeiting, drugs and terrorists. The Tri-Border area is a perfect breeding ground and recruiting venue for adherents to shariah, especially since a large

percentage of the population in the region is Muslim Arab, with Lebanese Shiites being the most numerous.

The Tri-Border area served as the Hezbollah planning and recruitment nexus for the Iranian plots in Argentina to bomb the Israeli Embassy in 1992 and AMIA Jewish Cultural Center in 1994. Declassified National Security Agency reporting traced the initiative and direction of the Israeli Embassy attack to the Supreme National Security Council of Iran.³²³ As Iran expands its diplomatic presence and influence throughout Latin America, Hezbollah, too, increasingly is active in Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Panama, Mexico and elsewhere.

HEZBOLLAH AND THE DRUG TRADE

Hezbollah generates millions of dollars annually from the drug trade in the Balkans, Latin America and Lebanon. A benefit of Iran's expanding presence in South America is the opportunity it increasingly affords Hezbollah to derive significant income from the Andean cocaine trade, especially since Iran intensified its relationship with the Hugo Chavez regime in Venezuela.³²⁴

The Lebanese Beka'a Valley poppy and cannabis crop is another source of illicit narcotics income for Hezbollah. The Balkans serve as a major gateway to Europe for Hezbollah heroin which traverses the Balkan Road running through Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia.³²⁵ The fact that European "infidels" are the primary end-user of these drugs adds motivation and a source of satisfaction for Hezbollah jihadis.³²⁶

HEZBOLLAH AND THE UNITED STATES

The narcotics trade is not Hezbollah's only criminal enterprise, including some involving America and its vital interests. For example, the group was the manufacturer and distributor of high-quality counterfeit U.S. \$100 bills in the early 1990s, which were produced in the Beka'a Valley.³²⁷ Hezbollah also has been

involved with a laundry list of criminal scams, including the aforementioned cigarette smuggling operations, inside the United States that all contribute to the group's ability to conduct jihad in the service of Iran and their shared, worldwide mission of imposing shariah. They constitute a direct and material threat to this country and its people – one that is, to some extent, already present within the gates.

Still more Hezbollah operatives may be here soon, thanks to the organization's expanding presence just south of our border. The arrest in Mexico of one of the group's top terrorist commanders, Jameel Nasr, on charges of organizing and recruiting cadre there is deeply worrying.

Reports that such activities also involve converting Hispanics to Islam and the embrace of shariah greatly compounds a problem that has been evident for some time: A March 2009 report in the *Washington Times* described Hezbollah's use of Mexican drug cartel channels to run narcotics and illegals into the United States. According to Michael Braun, former assistant administrator and chief of operations at the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), Hezbollah relies on "the same criminal weapons smugglers, document traffickers and transportation experts as the drug cartels."³²⁸ To the extent that Hezbollah terrorists not only can pass for but actually *are* illegal aliens from Mexico (rather than Lebanon or elsewhere in the Middle East), the already complicated job of shutting down its smuggling operations will be made more difficult.

In sum, the Hezbollah track record gives Western security officials good reason to consider it even more dangerous than al Qaeda. Hezbollah's sponsors in the Iranian, Syrian and Lebanese governments provide: secure geographic bases of operations; access to increasingly modern and lethal weapons; and nation-state financial, intelligence, logistical and training resources.

Hezbollah remains fanatically dedicated to shariah and jihad, sophisticated and tenacious. Its mastery of explosives makes it the indispensable trainer of choice for Islamic terrorists, including al Qaeda, Iraqi Shiite and Sunni militias, and the Taliban. Hezbollah's close links to al Qaeda, Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, coupled with bragging rights for having pressured Israel to withdraw from Lebanon and then fighting the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) to a standstill in the Lebanese war during the summer of 2006, make it a force that commands and enjoys respect in all the wrong places.

Rising tensions across the Middle East fueled by Iran's aggressive ascendancy and its drive for a nuclear weapon, taken together with Hezbollah's unswerving allegiance to Tehran's mullahs³²⁹ and the group's alliance with al Qaeda, justify serious concern about the circumstances under which Hezbollah operatives around the world – and especially those in the United States – might be ordered to attack.

Hezbollah has the capability, means, and motive to strike whenever Tehran might command retaliation against Western interests in response to events in Afghanistan, Iraq, or Iran itself. That being the case, any proposals to treat Islamic terrorist groups such as Hezbollah as potentially legitimate political players³³⁰ would be folly on our part and viewed by our foes as further signs of weakness, irresolution and submission. Such perceptions invite not only stepped up *dawa*, but violent jihad, as well.

HAMAS

“Israel will arise and continue to exist until Islam abolishes it, as it abolished what went before.” (The words of) the shahed, Imam Hassan al-Bana, may Allah have mercy upon him.”

These words, from the opening of the Hamas Covenant, provide the *raison d'être* of this violent Palestinian offshoot of the

Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood: destruction of the Jewish State of Israel. Established in Gaza in 1988, Hamas arose out of an earlier Brotherhood front group (*Mujama'*) that was founded by Ahmad Yassin in 1973.

Ironically, it was the Israeli administration in Gaza that initially encouraged and even indirectly funded this welfare charity in the belief that it would serve as a useful counterweight to Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in the wake of the 1967 Six-Day War. Most of Hamas' funding, however, came from local *zakat* collections, Gulf Islamic organizations and the Palestinian diaspora.³³¹

The 1988 formation of Hamas gave the Brotherhood a way to participate in the first Palestinian Intifada against Israel. Founding members of the organization include: Ahmad Yassin, 'Abd al-Aziz Rantisi, Dr. Mahmud Zahar, Musa Abu Marzook and Khalid Meshaal. Hamas's charter, edited and approved by Yassin (considered the group's founder and leader), makes clear that all of historical Palestine is held to be "sacred space," land endowed by Allah to Muslims in perpetuity because it was once conquered and ruled by Muslims. As noted earlier in this report, *waqf* is land that can never be relinquished to the control of non-Muslims – much less Jews – and must be reconquered, by violent jihad if necessary, in order to subjugate it to shariah and re-incorporate it into the *Dar al-Islam*.

Hamas was created with three principal wings: (1) a political wing for *dawa*, fundraising, and the takeover of mosques; (2) an intelligence apparatus, known as *al-Majd* (glory); and (3) a military wing, the *'Izz al-Din al-Qassam* brigades.

The political wing created a social infrastructure of clinics, hospitals and schools for the purpose of disbursing welfare and performing the indoctrination and recruitment required for *dawa*. At first, Israel did little to disrupt Hamas activities as the latter's

social support network was seen to be a useful means of marginalizing the PLO.³³²

The intelligence wing was tasked with internal policing, in particular the identification and killing of actual and suspected collaborators, which it did ruthlessly. The intelligence wing later merged with the *'Izz al-Din al-Qassam* brigades.

Despite the unambiguous language of its Covenant,³³³ Hamas military operations against Israel did not become a significant security challenge until after the First Gulf War in 1991, when Arafat's error in supporting Saddam Hussein resulted in a massive shift of support from Gulf sheikhdoms away from the PLO and towards Hamas. Millions in new funding enabled Hamas to take over what had been the PLO's social support role among Gazans, whose loyalty shifted accordingly.

The pan-Islamic jihad meetings held in Khartoum in the early 1990s at the invitation of Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir and radical Sunni cleric Hasan Turabi brought Palestinian representatives from Hamas and the PLO together with Osama bin Laden's emerging al Qaeda group, Hezbollah, and the Shiite Iranian regime. Dedication to jihad and shariah, hatred of Jews and Israel and enmity towards the United States and the West unified this otherwise disparate group in a shared dual purpose: destroying Israel and doing battle with infidels.

Imbued with the zeal of this deadly purpose, Hamas opposed the Oslo Accords of 1993 and launched a campaign of suicide bombing that same year. At about this time, too, Hamas leadership began perpetrating an endless and familiar taqiyya campaign that persists to the current day. Taking a page from the shariah playbook that Arafat successfully employed, Hamas leaders offer statements for Western consumption that sound conciliatory to the intended audiences. Periodic suggestions for a truce (or *hudna*) alternate with demands for territorial concessions from

Israel and protestations of victim status that succeed all too well in demonizing Israel in gullible Western eyes.

At the same time, like Arafat, Mahmoud Abbas and others in the Palestine Liberation Organization/Palestinian Authority leadership, those who run Hamas stake out very different positions in Arabic for the ears of their home constituencies. To such audiences, they explicitly revile Jews and espouse the destruction of their state.

Political antagonism between Hamas and Fatah dominated the relationship from the start, not least due to deliberate encouragement of such tensions by Israel. Hamas' Islamic vision for a Palestinian society based on shariah and derived directly from its Muslim Brotherhood roots, inevitably clashed with the more overtly national, secular image cultivated by Arafat, Fatah and the PLO. As the battle against Israel continued through the 1990s and especially during the al-Aqsa Intifada that broke out in September 2000, the rivalry for the hearts and minds of Palestinians intensified, eventually evolving into full-blown hostilities.³³⁴

Israeli reprisals – including the targeted killing of two top Hamas leaders, Ahmad Yassin and Abdul Azziz Rantisi in 2004, the death of Arafat in November 2004 and international condemnation of Hamas, all seemed only to fuel the group's resolve and inexorable rise to preeminence in Gaza. Then, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's decision unilaterally to evacuate all Israeli settlers and troops from Gaza in 2005, like the Jewish State's earlier abandonment of South Lebanon to Hezbollah, confirmed for the Hamas leadership that violent jihad is effective.

A critical turning point was reached with the loss of Saudi funding in this period, which provided an opening for Iran to replace and increase that support, despite the Sunni character of Hamas.³³⁵ That support helped assure that Hamas' decision to participate in the January 2006 Palestinian Legislative Council

elections translated into a decisive political victory over the PLO and Fatah.

The overwhelming decision by Gazan Palestinians to cast their votes in those elections for the party of violent jihad and shariah should have been predictable in an environment devoid of the building blocks of civil society. But apparently it came as a complete surprise to both American and Israeli policymakers.³³⁶ In the aftermath of the balloting, armed clashes between Fatah and Hamas broke out. They escalated over the following year and, despite a March 2007 agreement to form a national unity government, Hamas launched a military offensive in June that effectively ended the fighting with all of Gaza under its repressive administration of shariah.³³⁷

Hamas legalized the savage *hudud* punishments of amputation, crucifixion, and flogging. Women were forced into the hijab and men were required to grow beards. Authorities strictly segregated the sexes, enforcing virtual imprisonment of women in the home. The Islamicization of Gazan society by Hamas has been imposed on the courts, educational system, media and social institutions in general. Gaza's tiny remaining Christian population faces incessant, unchecked and violent persecution. An intractable ideological and political crisis – over tactics and power in the pursuit of more-or-less shared goals divides Gaza and the West Bank, and blocks any meaningful progress towards a unified Palestinian nationhood. Palestinian Authority presidential elections have been put on hold indefinitely.³³⁸

Particularly noteworthy to any discussion of the threat posed by Hamas is the incessant indoctrination of Gazan children aimed at instilling in them a dedication to shariah, jihad, and revering of *shaheed* (martyrs). Such brainwashing begins in pre-school and kindergarten and is intended to prepare the next generation of Hamas terrorist operatives and suicide bombers.

A barrage of television programming, videos and video games, formal classes, cultural performances like skits and plays and summer camps inculcate Palestinian youth with Jew-hatred and themes of armed violence against Israel from the earliest ages.³³⁹ As many as 100,000 youngsters attended some 700 Hamas summer camps in 2009 where banners, slogans, and songs glorified suicide bombers as role models. In addition to crafts, hiking, and swimming, boys in these camps train with plastic and wooden rifles on the rudiments of military tactics, such as ambushes and kidnapping.³⁴⁰

In the spring of 2010, masked intruders destroyed United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) summer camps in Gaza that provided an alternative to the Hamas message and programs. (According to Arab media sources, the An-Nusseriat camp was one of two UNRWA summer camps whose facilities were hit by arson during May and June 2010.³⁴¹) In fact, UNRWA has been fully in bed with the radical Palestinian agenda for many years. A better explanation for the attacks on it may be that Hamas is simply interested in cutting out the middle-man and controlling directly and by itself all of the U.N.'s billions of dollars of humanitarian relief that is allocated to Gaza.

Hamas has eschewed any pretense of nation-building, in favor of a policy of intensified rocket and missile strikes on Israel, coupled with a skillful *taqiyya* campaign to dupe impressionable Westerners with claims of moderation and victimhood. The roughly four-thousand attacks against Israeli villages and towns within range of Gaza finally provoked Israel to launch Operation Cast Lead in December 2008 to deter further rocket fire. Despite the destruction of much of Hamas' military infrastructure in a campaign noted for extraordinary efforts by the Jewish State to minimize civilian casualties in Gaza and a much-condemned naval blockade of Gaza by Israeli naval forces, Hamas continues to re-arm with longer-range and upgraded rockets. As with Hezbollah's

overland resupply route, Hamas seems to be relying primarily for its access to arms and other war materiel on relatively secure ground transits, primarily tunnels under Gaza's border with Egypt.

Neither poverty nor economic collapse in Gaza actually seems imminent, especially given the \$540 million budget for 2010 that was approved by the Hamas parliament in December 2009. One parliamentarian told reporters that only about \$60 million of that would come from Gaza taxes and fees, lending credibility to comments from other Palestinian sources that identified Iran as the source of the bulk of the budget.³⁴²

HAMAS' SUPPORT FROM HEZBOLLAH AND IRAN

Iranian support for Hamas is indeed "extremely significant," according to Matthew Levitt of the Washington Institute for Near East Affairs. Levitt spent some 18 months working on terror-funding issues at the Treasury Department during the George W. Bush administration and states flatly that "Hamas could not function as it does today were it not for Iranian financial and material support."³⁴³

That support takes the form of the massive financial infusions cited above, but also includes terror training conducted in Iran that is provided by both the IRGC/Qods Force and also Hezbollah operatives who specialize in bomb-making and explosives techniques. This cooperative relationship can be traced in part to the 1992 Israeli deportation of key Hamas members to Lebanon, which helped establish basic links between Hamas and Hezbollah. As explained above, the Hamas-Iran relationship gives the Shiite regime influence and another terror proxy inside the Gaza-based Muslim Brotherhood.

The February 2009 visit to Iran by Damascus-based Hamas political leader Khaled Mashaal served public notice of the expanding ties between these Sunni and Shia jihadis. While Iran's

longstanding relationship with the Sunni al Qaeda terror group dates from the early 1990s, forging informal ties to the Muslim Brotherhood were more problematic, in part due to Iranian silence when Syria's Hafez al-Assad slaughtered his Brotherhood opposition in the early 1980s.

Still, the possibility for Iran to make amends with the Brotherhood seems present in Egypt based on what appears to be a natural affinity arising from Iranian criticism of Hosni Mubarak's regime and support for anti-government Hezbollah operations in the Sinai.³⁴⁴ For example, comments by Muslim Brotherhood Supreme Guide Mahdi Akif made to Arab language media in 2008 expressed support for direct contact channels between Iran and the Muslim Brotherhood.³⁴⁵ The deepening convergence of anti-West and anti-Israel operational objectives among Hamas, Hezbollah, and Iran marks what is, at its base, an ideological congruence founded on mutual dedication to shariah.

HAMAS AND AL QAEDA

The worrisome increase in the presence and activities of Qaeda-affiliated jihadis in Gaza has prompted some Western analysts to take comfort in what they perceive as a fundamental ideological animosity between bin Laden's group and Hamas. This is understandable, given the desire of U.S. policymakers intent upon opening a dialogue with Hamas. Unfortunately, the facts do not support this thesis.

Indeed, according to their own published documents and statements, Hamas and al Qaeda pursue exactly the same agenda: Jihad in the way of Allah to impose shariah and re-establish the caliphate. Osama bin Laden was educated in the late 1970s in Saudi Arabia by Mohammed Qutb, the exiled brother of key Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Sayyid Qutb, as well as by Abdullah Azzam of the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood. Azzam preceded bin Laden and his deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri, to Afghanistan in

the 1980s, where they all would subsequently work closely together. And al-Zawahiri was leader of Egyptian Islamic Jihad, a Brotherhood offshoot, when he joined forces with al Qaeda in the early 1990s.

The Hamas leadership has been at pains to deny a relationship with al Qaeda, but Palestinian Authority Chairman Mahmoud Abbas told the Arab language *al-Hayat* (a London-based newspaper) on February 26, 2008, that “Al Qaeda is present in Gaza and I’m convinced that they [Hamas] are their allies.” He added, “I can say without doubt that al Qaeda is present in the Palestinian territories and that this presence, especially in Gaza, is facilitated by Hamas.”³⁴⁶ While Abbas’ claims may be questionable given that he has his own reasons for vilifying Hamas, Israeli intelligence has also reported that al Qaeda members have been infiltrating Gaza through breaches in the border with Egypt.

What is undeniable is that groups claiming affiliations with al Qaeda and using names such as the al Qaeda in Palestine Organization, Army of Believers, Army of Islam (*Jaish al-Islam*) and the Swords of Righteousness have attacked Christian facilities in Gaza and claimed responsibility for the 2007 kidnapping of Alan Johnston, a BBC reporter.³⁴⁷ The Army of Islam joined forces with Hamas in the 2006 kidnapping of Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit and the Egyptians have complained that al Qaeda leaders in Egypt fled across the border and sought refuge in Gaza.³⁴⁸

In a 2007 web posting, Osama bin Laden spoke to the doctrine of Islamic Sacred Space: “We will not recognize a state for the Jews, not even one inch of the land of Palestine.” Seen in this light, Gaza is merely the latest of al Qaeda’s chosen jihad fronts. Seeking new battlefields in which to bloody Jewish and Western armies and new safe havens from which to train and operate, al Qaeda has proven adept at inserting itself into local conflicts around the world.

Viewed properly as the jihadist, shariah-adherent terror organization that it is, Hamas can be seen to pose a dangerous threat not only to Israel, but to U.S. national security. Its expanding operational affiliation with fellow jihadis, both Sunni and Shia, at the national and sub-national levels, should be serious cause for concern to U.S. defense and security officials.

Such considerations should, most especially, preclude U.S. government outreach to Hamas terror representatives – whose hands are, after all, stained with the blood of Americans, Israelis and Palestinians alike. Hamas control of the levers of power in Gaza, achieved by brute force in compliance with Islamic doctrine, history and law, does not make it a moderate or reformist entity deserving of recognition.

To the contrary, all available evidence, including that presented in this volume, indicates that Hamas has never deviated, nor is it likely *ever* to deviate, from the jihadist declarations of its foundational Covenant. Instead, it may be expected that Hamas will continue to strengthen its ties to fellow jihadis in the Iranian regime and among other terror organizations such as al Qaeda and Hezbollah. *Any policy based on a scenario in which infidel Westerners influence shariah-compliant jihadis like Hamas to make concessions to Jews is beyond absurd: It is suicidal.*

HIZB UT-TAHRIR

Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) is an Islamic political movement, present in over 40 countries across the globe, whose openly-stated objective is the destruction of Western civilization, democracy and the capitalist system. Frankly supremacist, if not – for the moment – overtly violent, Hizb ut-Tahrir members view themselves as the ideologically pure vanguard of Islam, dedicated to re-establishment of the caliphate and replacement of capitalism with shariah.

In the words of Zeyno Baran, a Turkish-American scholar at the Hudson Institute, in espousing a policy for the redistribution of wealth (specifically Muslim oil wealth) away from current Arab/Muslim regimes deemed corrupt and toward the Muslim *ummah*, HT “effectively combines Marxist-Leninist methodology and Western slogans with reactionary Islamic theology.”³⁴⁹ Hizb ut-Tahrir’s advocacy for refutation of “non-Islamic ideals” (like capitalism), and their replacement with “Islamic solutions,” finds practical expression in the spread of shariah-compliant finance programs throughout the West, including in the United States.

Hizb-ut-Tahrir (HT) was founded in 1952 by Taqiuddin Nabhani, a Palestinian member of the Muslim Brotherhood, to advance the cause of a global Islamic State ruled by a reestablished caliphate. After completing his studies at al-Azhar in Cairo, Nabhani attempted to form an Islamist party in Jordan and eventually ran candidates in Jordanian elections.³⁵⁰ Frustrated with his party’s poor performance, Nabhani later urged a rejection of elections as a means of achieving the re-Islamization of society.

Instead, Taqiuddin Nabhani advocated an underground organizational structure based on ideologically rigorous cells, operating at a remove from the group’s leadership. This methodology would permit targeted societies to be infiltrated in a three-stage process which mirrors that outlined by Muslim Brotherhood ideologue and strategist Sayyid Qutb: The first stage is dedicated to building a vanguard through propaganda and recruitment. In the second stage, followers embed themselves in major social institutions to subvert society from within. In the final stage, the organization will impose a top-down revolution on society through these positions of influence and infiltration.³⁵¹ Nabhani even authored a proposed constitution composed of 187 articles for his envisioned Islamic State, detailing rules for governing virtually all elements of life in accordance with Islamic law.

To realize its goals, Hizb ut-Tahrir seeks to liberate Islamic countries from Western thoughts, systems and laws. Through its program of infiltration and subversion in the West, HT also strives eventually to bring infidel lands into the orbit of the borderless *ummah*.³⁵² Until then, as Nabhani explained in a 2001 publication, it will be the duty of the Caliph to spread Islam through both *dawa* and violent jihad.³⁵³ A more recent manifesto, *Methodology of Hizb ut-Tahrir for Change*, explicitly emphasizes the use of violence: “Jihad is a war against anyone who stands against the call of Islam, whether he is an aggressor or not.”³⁵⁴

Despite such statements, Hizb ut-Tahrir cadres operating in the West profess a commitment to pursuing the organization’s goal of reestablishing a global caliphate through peaceful means. Many HT members have nonetheless embraced violent methods, prompting Hudson’s Zeyno Baran to describe the group as an enabler of terror-wielding jihadists:

HT is not itself a terrorist organization, but it can usefully be thought of as a conveyor belt for terrorists. It indoctrinates individuals with radical ideology, priming them for recruitment by more extreme organizations where they can take part in actual operations. By combining fascist rhetoric, Leninist strategy, and Western sloganeering with Wahhabi ideology, HT has made itself into a very real and potent threat that is extremely difficult for liberal societies to counter.³⁵⁵

Hizb ut-Tahrir’s targeted recruits for this ideological program are males aged 18-30. Also targeted for recruitment are law enforcement personnel and local government representatives who can shield the group from surveillance and prosecution.

Potential candidates are examined on religious knowledge and each new member, called *Dorises*, is charged with recruiting at least five others. In the initial stage, new members are instructed on a wide range of topics, including religious education and world affairs. After another set of examinations, they will move to the

next stage of membership, *Khizbi*, at which time they will pledge an oath to follow the goals and leadership of Hizb ut-Tahrir. At this point they are given responsibility for training new members and continue to undergo rigorous ideological training. The third stage of membership, *Naquib*, is reserved for those who have demonstrated extraordinary commitment and leadership within the organization.³⁵⁶

HIZB UT-TAHRIR IN BRITAIN

Numerous documented terror connections with Hizb ut-Tahrir validate Baran's "conveyor belt" theory. For example, prior to September 11, 2001, Hizb ut-Tahrir leader Omar Bakri Mohammed was part of a select group of Muslim leaders who in 1998 received a faxed letter from Osama bin Laden laying out several tactics for attacking the United States. "Bring down their airliners. Prevent the safe passage of their ships. Occupy their embassies. Force the closure of their companies and banks," bin Laden's letter urged.³⁵⁷ In the run-up to 9/11, the FBI was tracking Hizb ut-Tahrir members training at U.S. aviation schools.³⁵⁸ Intelligence sources have confirmed that al Qaeda in Iraq leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was a "graduate" of the Jordanian branch of Hizb ut-Tahrir.³⁵⁹

What is more, two British-born members of Al-Muhajiroun, the U.K. Hizb ut-Tahrir affiliate, were responsible in 2003 for Britain's first documented case of suicide bombing by British citizens. Three people were killed and more than fifty injured when Asif Mohammed Hanif detonated his bomb inside Mike's Place in Tel Aviv, Israel. Both Hanif and his accomplice, Omar Khan Sharif, were disciples of U.K. Hizb ut-Tahrir leader Omar Bakri Mohammed, and had been recruited through the group in Britain to conduct the suicide bombing for Hamas.³⁶⁰

Just days before his scheduled April 2010 trial on charges of providing material support for terrorism, Syed Hashmi, a

Brooklyn College graduate who grew up in Queens and had become actively involved in Hizb ut-Tahrir there, entered a guilty plea. Hashmi admitted that when he was arrested in June 2006 at London's Heathrow Airport, he was carrying cash and military gear intended for al Qaeda forces fighting U.S. troops in Afghanistan.³⁶¹

One of Hashmi's comrades in Hizb ut-Tahrir, Mohammed Junaid Babar, also from New York, pled guilty in 2004 of smuggling money and military supplies to al Qaeda and helping to set up a training camp for jihad.³⁶²

What draws these young recruits to Hizb ut-Tahrir's cause is not just a toxic, triumphalist theology, but also the group's savvy exploitation of alternative media and advanced technology to purvey their message and to network their followers internationally. As counterterrorism analyst Madeleine Gruen explains:

The younger generation's pioneering spirit has made [Hizb-ut-Tahrir America] one of the most innovative extremist groups in terms of its use of new media as a means of marketing its ideology. Some of the marketing schemes have included hip hop fashion boutiques, hip hop bands, use of on-line social networks, use of video sharing networks, chat forums and blogs.³⁶³

HIZB UT-TAHRIR IN AMERICA

That Hizb ut-Tahrir is a growing presence in the United States is evidenced by the group's July 2009 conference, "The Fall of Capitalism and the Rise of Islam," held in at a Hilton Hotel in the Chicago suburb of Oak Lawn, Illinois. Conference topics included "Capitalism is Doomed to Fail," "The Global Rise of Islam," "Life under the Islamic Economic System," and the "Role of Muslims in America."

The general manager of the hotel defended hosting the conference, saying "We're United States citizens and an American

business – if it’s legal, we’re able to host it, as long as it’s nothing that disrupts our other guests’ privacy and security.”³⁶⁴ The event had originally been scheduled to be held at the al-Aqsa Islamic school in Bridgeview, Illinois, but the school canceled the reservation after national media exposure of the event and Hizb ut-Tahrir’s ideology.³⁶⁵ Hizb ut-Tahrir faced similar difficulties as it attempted to find a Chicago-area venue for its 2010 conference.³⁶⁶

The future direction of Hizb ut-Tahrir in America may be seen in the experience of Britain, the Western country in which the group has the largest and most visible presence. For instance, in the U.K., Hizb ut-Tahrir is now sufficiently well established that it has gone from recruiting students to actually *teaching* them in some of the country’s most prominent universities, including the London School of Economics.³⁶⁷

Based on the British experience, we should anticipate the infiltration of Hizb ut-Tahrir members into other key institutions besides academia. In keeping with the group’s methodology, HT members have been identified working in major U.K. media organizations and corporations. In 2005, *The Guardian* newspaper hired Dilpazier Aslam, a Hizb ut-Tahrir member who used his position to write on the 7/7 London bombings and justify the terror attacks.³⁶⁸ An investigation by *The Independent* newspaper found Hizb ut-Tahrir members working for Reuters and a number of blue-chip companies.³⁶⁹

If the HT playbook in the U.K. is any guide, Hizb ut-Tahrir operatives will be working to penetrate the U.S. government, as well. Perhaps the most serious case of infiltration by Hizb ut-Tahrir in the United Kingdom involved Abid Javaid, who works for the Immigration and Nationality Directorate that is responsible for processing visa and asylum applications. An investigation by the BBC discovered Javaid’s leadership in the organization, prompting the Home Secretary John Reid to launch an inquiry into his ties to Hizb ut-Tahrir.³⁷⁰ Javaid retained his posi-

tion, however, because the government said it was powerless to fire him since the government had not officially banned the organization.³⁷¹

The claims by Hizb ut-Tahrir leaders in the West that their group's aims are entirely peaceful are belied by their own publications and statements made by HT members in their more candid moments. This is what reporter James Brandon of the *Christian Science Monitor* discovered when he interviewed three Hizb ut-Tahrir activists in Amman, Jordan. One member explained in frank terms the progressive stages to accomplish Islamic rule, culminating in violence directed at anyone opposing their program:

Islam obliges Muslims to possess power so that they can intimidate – I would not say terrorize – the enemies of Islam. In the beginning, the caliphate would strengthen itself internally and it wouldn't initiate jihad. But after that we would carry Islam as an intellectual call to all the world. And we will make people bordering the caliphate believe in Islam. Or if they refuse then we'll ask them to be ruled by Islam. And if after all discussions and negotiations they still refuse, then the last resort will be a jihad to spread the spirit of Islam and the rule of Islam. This is done in the interests of all people to get them out of darkness and into light.³⁷²

TABLIGHI JAMAAT

Formed in 1927, just a few years after the dissolution of the Ottoman caliphate and barely predating the establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood, the highly secretive Tablighi Jamaat (TJ) has grown into one of the largest Islamic revivalist movements in the world. Based in Pakistan and rooted in the Deobandi school of Islam, TJ's goal is to revive the *ummah* through *dawa* missionary activity. Its purpose is to call Muslims back to the "true faith" as practiced by Mohammed and his companions in the "Golden Age" of Islam. Like its counterparts in other shariah-

adherent organizations, Tablighi Jamaat calls for the establishment of a global Islamic State, the imposition of shariah and separation of the faithful from non-Muslims. The group runs major mosques in at least ten states and has an estimated U.S. membership of 50,000.³⁷³

Adherents of the group engage in what they call “the Effort,” which initially entails traveling to mosques in their own country in small groups for three-to-ten days at a time, encouraging Muslims to live their lives in imitation of Mohammed and his companions. More dedicated followers will later undertake a 40-day missionary trip. After completing those stages, members will be invited to take a four-month trip to Pakistan or India.³⁷⁴

What concerns intelligence and law enforcement authorities is that *individuals associated with Tablighi Jamaat have been repeatedly tied to terrorist plots around the world*. Their missionary activity has provided travel cover for terrorist operatives and their adherence to shariah makes the group a perfect incubator for terrorist recruiters, prompting one Western diplomat to call Tablighi Jamaat a “honey pot” for Pakistani-based jihadist groups.³⁷⁵ French intelligence officers describe the group as an “antechamber of fundamentalism.”³⁷⁶

TABLIGHI JAMAAT AND VIOLENT JIHAD

Dozens of detainees at Guantanamo Bay have been held based on evidence of their involvement with the Tablighi Jamaat.³⁷⁷ A classified April 2004 Defense Intelligence Agency analysis said that TJ members “have the capability to conduct a terrorist attack in the U.S.,” noting that seven members in America were then under investigation and that a Tablighi official at major Midwestern mosque “has associations with several al Qaeda supporters.”³⁷⁸

That DIA memo echoed the assessment of Michael Heimbach, deputy chief of the FBI’s international terrorism sec-

tion, who in 2003 told the *New York Times*, “We have a significant presence of Tablighi Jamaat in the United States, and we have found that al Qaeda used them for recruiting, now and in the past.”³⁷⁹ Heimbach was referencing the case of Ohio al Qaeda member Iyman Faris, who used Tablighi Jamaat as a cover while traveling in Pakistan.

Tablighi Jamaat was also the path that led “American Taliban” John Walker Lindh to fighting with the Taliban against U.S. troops in Afghanistan, where he was captured. Lindh joined a missionary tour with Tablighi Jamaat after encountering them at his California mosque, and a group official enrolled him in a Pakistani madrassa, where he was encouraged to join the Taliban.³⁸⁰

Faris and Lindh are not the only Americans who have turned to terrorism through their involvement in Tablighi Jamaat. Six Yemeni-Americans, who were arrested in 2002 for traveling to Pakistan and Afghanistan to train in an al Qaeda terrorist camp, had been recruited at their Lackawanna, New York, mosque by a Tablighi Jamaat preacher.³⁸¹ And Jeffrey Battle, a member of a Portland, Oregon, terror cell who wanted to launch attacks on synagogues, sought the aid of Tablighi Jamaat officials in Bangladesh to help him train and join the Taliban.³⁸²

The Department of Homeland Security cited an Arizona doctor’s leadership position in Tablighi Jamaat as grounds for denying his application for U.S. permanent residency. He was detained and eventually deported for failing to acknowledge his role with the group, which Homeland Security officials described as “a terrorist organization (that)...provides material support...to members of a designated terrorist organization – al Qaeda; and provides the same types of material support...to an undesignated terrorist organization – the Taliban.”³⁸³ This precedent should be applied more generally to those who seek to immigrate to the United States for the purpose of promoting shariah in this country or elsewhere.

More recently, American-born al Qaeda member Bryant Neal Vinas, who helped plot a terror bombing campaign directed at the New York City subway, became an adherent to shariah at the Al-Falah mosque in Corona, Queens – the U.S. headquarters of the Tablighi Jamaat movement.³⁸⁴

Tablighi members have also been tied to terrorist plots in Europe and the Middle East. For example, the leader of the 7/7 London bombing attack, Mohammed Sidique Khan, and another plotter, Shehazad Tanweer, both attended the mosque in Dewsbury, West Yorkshire, which serves as the European headquarters for the group.³⁸⁵

Another former member of the same TJ mosque was would-be shoe-bomber Richard Reid, who attempted to blow up a Miami-bound airplane.³⁸⁶ Several members of a UK-based plot to blow up seven planes from Heathrow airport bound for the U.S. and Canada arrested in August 2006 had attended Tablighi Jamaat meetings.³⁸⁷

Two German terror suspects arrested in Pakistan in 2007 were studying at the Tablighi Jamaat mosque in Raiwind, Pakistan, according to a report in *Der Spiegel*.³⁸⁸ Fourteen members were arrested in Spain for plotting a terror attack on Barcelona.³⁸⁹

It is not just American and European authorities that have expressed concerns about Tablighi Jamaat's recurring connection to international terror. In a 2008 article in the Saudi newspaper *Al-Jazirah*, reporter Khalid al-Fadil described Tablighi Jamaat as "One of the recruitment gateways of the Al Qaeda organization in our country and in several other Arab and Muslim countries." It further claimed that one member, Muslih Al-Shamrani, was part of a group that carried out a car bombing of a Saudi National Guard building in Riyadh in 1995 that killed five Americans, as was Muhammad Ja'far al-Kahtani, a leading al Qaeda commander in Afghanistan who escaped from the Bagram Prison in July 2005.³⁹⁰

In short, there is ample reason to treat Tablighi Jamaat as an integral part of the shariah-directed jihad. Like the Muslim Brotherhood and Hizb ut-Tahrir, TJ's identity as a "non-violent" organization reflects, at best, a tactical determination to use stealthy techniques to advance the goals it shares with other adherents to shariah. At worst, it is simply providing cover to those within its own group and associated with other like-minded jihadists to prepare and execute murderous and terrifying attacks.

JAMAAT UL-FUQRA

One Islamic group operating in the United States that has exhibited no hesitation about turning to violence is Jamaat ul-Fuqra (JUF). JUF operates as many as 30 rural compounds across the United States and Canada and has several thousand followers. The group also uses the names "Muslims of America" and the "International Quranic Open University."

Founded by Pakistani Sheikh Mubarak Ali Gilani in Brooklyn in 1980, JUF actively recruited members to participate in the jihad in Afghanistan against the Soviets. But during the 1980s, it was also the most active terrorist group in the United States, conducting 17 bombings and assassinations, and 12 murders targeting non-Muslims and moderate Muslims alike.³⁹¹

Jamaat ul-Fuqra gained particular national attention when the only American-born member of the cell responsible for the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, Clement Rodney Hampton-El, was found to be part of JUF.³⁹² During the investigation into that terror attack, it was discovered that Hampton-El had conducted military training exercises with the other bombing cell members at a farm outside Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, which included testing for the bomb that would eventually be used.³⁹³ As a 2005 Stratfor analysis observes, members of Jamaat ul-Fuqra worked closely with the Al-Kifah Refugee Center, known as the

Brooklyn Jihad Office, which was the primary fundraising and coordination center for what eventually became al Qaeda.³⁹⁴

Because of its violent domestic activities and its connection to international terrorist organizations, Jamaat ul-Fuqra was listed in several State Department terrorism reports until 1999. One report described the group's ideology and methods as follows:

Jamaat ul-Fuqra is an Islamic sect that seeks to purify Islam by violence. Fuqra is led by Pakistani cleric Shaykh Mubarik Ali Gilani, who established the organization in the 1980s. Gilani now lives in Pakistan, but most Fuqra cells are located in North America. Fuqra members have purchased isolated rural compounds in North America to live communally, practice their faith and insulate themselves from Western culture."³⁹⁵

The obvious question was put to the State Department press spokesman in the daily press briefing on January 31, 2002: "The group headed by Shaykh Gilani used to be designated by the State Department as a terrorist group but it was taken off the list. Why?" The answer read as follows: "Jamaat ul-Fuqra has never been designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization. It was included in several recent annual terrorism reports under 'Other Terrorist Groups,' i.e., groups that had carried out acts of terrorism but that were not formally designated by the Secretary of State. However, because of the group's inactivity during 2000, it was not included in the most recent terrorism report covering that calendar year."

In other words, an organization that had engaged in myriad terrorist attacks was no longer treated as a terrorist organization because it had been "inactive" in one year. This treatment by the State Department – and, therefore, by other federal agencies that follow its lead – is all the more appalling when one considers both what is known about the abiding intentions of Jamaat ul-

Fuqra's founder and the fact that his organization has been anything but "inactive" in preparing for violent jihad.

GILANI'S AGENDA

Sheikh Gilani's supremacist vision for the group is expressed in his book, *Mohammedian Revelations*, in which he explains that "the mission of this Jamaat ul-Fuqra is to lead Muslims to their final victory over Communists, Zionists, Hindus (and) deviators."³⁹⁶

Gilani participated in an international terror conference held in Khartoum, Sudan, in December 1993 and described elsewhere in this report in connection with the presence there of representatives from al Qaeda, Egyptian Jihad, Hamas, Hezbollah and the Iranian regime. Osama bin Laden was also present. A video obtained by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation of the Khartoum conference recorded the attendees chanting, "Down, down USA! Down, down CIA" and "Death to the Jews."³⁹⁷

CBS News reported in 2002 that bin Laden and Gilani had in common a close mutual friend, a former Pakistani air force officer and member of his nation's Islamist-sympathizing intelligence service, the ISI. Interestingly, this friend, Khalid Khawaja, was murdered in May 2010 under mysterious circumstances.³⁹⁸ Gilani is also believed to have been responsible for luring *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl to his death by beheading in Pakistan on the pretext of meeting with the terrorist leader.³⁹⁹

JAMAAT UL-FUQRA ON VIDEO

The paramilitary nature of Jamaat ul-Fuqra can be seen in a recruiting video recorded in the early 1990s and subsequently obtained by U.S. law enforcement authorities. Entitled "Soldiers of Allah," it features Sheikh Gilani and others teaching how to employ firearms, explosives, carjackings, ambushes and assassinations.⁴⁰⁰ In the video, Gilani encourages potential recruits to con-

tact the group's headquarters in Hancock, New York where they are promised "advanced training courses in Islamic Military Warfare."

A 2009 documentary film entitled "Homegrown Jihad"⁴⁰¹ provided chilling details about: the Jamaat ul-Fuqra; its founder; its members (a number of whom are released convicts who embraced shariah while in prison – a fact that further underscores the folly of allowing Muslim Brotherhood operatives to minister in the U.S. penal system); their goals; and JUF training programs and infrastructure.

Among other noteworthy highlights of the video documentary, Gilani brags of having established with his compounds a modern terrorist training infrastructure in America. While many of these JUF camps are typically in areas that are remote, they often are within striking distance of dams, power plants, military installations and other strategic targets. For example, the group's headquarters is near Hancock, New York, close by the watershed for New York City's water supply.

Particularly alarming was the video's footage showing the fear and frustration of local law enforcement and private citizens in communities outside a number of JUF compounds as they reported that their appeals for help from the FBI and other federal authorities have been consistently rebuffed. Here again, no official explanation has been forthcoming as to why such refusals continue to this day.

A new JUF video⁴⁰² features, along with poor quality footage of hand-to-hand combat training and guerilla-style military maneuvers, a statement read by the self-described Secretary General of "the Muslims of the Americas" [*sic*], Muhammed Patik Shaheed (phonetic spelling). Shaheed declares that – on the basis of "a fact-finding mission" and "nationwide census" – "We are one-hundred percent certain that Muslims are the majority in America" and that, as a result, "America is our country."

Shaheed goes on to warn that “We will not let people bring false accusations against peace-loving Muslims. We will defend our country against all these enemies, foreign and domestic.” Unfortunately, the enemies they have in mind are the non-Muslim Americans who may think the United States is *not* the JUF’s country, or that of any others who would supplant the Constitution with shariah.

THE JAMAAT UL-FUQRA THREAT TO NORTH AMERICA

The U.S. government is not the only one to express concern about Jamaat ul-Fuqra. A classified report from the Canadian Integrated Threat Assessment Center obtained by the *National Post* describes JUF as “a Muslim criminal extremist group that seeks to purify Islam and defend it against perceived enemies using violence where necessary.”⁴⁰³ The report goes on to state that, “Fuqra members frequently travel to Pakistan for religious indoctrination and paramilitary training. There have been uncorroborated reports that members attended training camps in the Sudan.”

Another April 2003 report by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police entitled, *Strategic Assessment of the Nature and Extent of Criminal Extremism/Terrorism*, discusses the ideology that inspires the group’s violence: “Members of the Fuqra are taught there is a Satanist-Zionist conspiracy to destroy Islam and that Fuqra is God’s chosen instrument to defeat the enemies of Islam.”⁴⁰⁴

The concerns expressed about Jamaat ul-Fuqra by Canadian authorities have been validated by news of a potential plot by a cell composed of two Canadian and three American JUF members who reportedly wanted to target an Indian-owned theater in Toronto and a Hindu temple in York.⁴⁰⁵ The cell members were arrested in October 1991 while attempting to cross the U.S.-Canadian border at Niagara Falls, New York.

Documents recovered from the two vehicles included aerial photographs of both locations, floor plans, a shopping list for bomb components, and assignments for a “hit team,” a “guard team” and “recon team.” Videos recovered also showed the cell members had conducted surveillance of both sites. The three Americans – all from the Dallas, Texas area – were convicted in the case.

As the trial of Jamaat ul-Fuqra members was underway in Canada, the group’s activities came under scrutiny by U.S. authorities in Colorado. The case began in September 1989 with the discovery of a storage locker rented by JUF members in Colorado Springs. The locker contained 30 pounds of explosives, three large functional pipe bombs, ten handguns, silencers, military training manuals and bomb-making instructions.⁴⁰⁶ Also found were “targeting packages,” including surveillance notes and photographs of numerous military installations and electrical facilities.

That investigation later led to the discovery of a 100-acre compound outside of Buena Vista, Colorado. According to a statement published on the Colorado Attorney General’s website,⁴⁰⁷ five members of that compound were indicted in September 1992 for worker compensation fraud amounting to \$350,000, some of which was used to purchase the Buena Vista compound. Additional indictments for conspiracy to commit murder and arson were filed six months later. One of the convicted Colorado cell members, Vicente Rafael Pierre, would be arrested again just days after the 9/11 attacks, along with two other leaders of the group’s Red House, Virginia compound, for illegally purchasing weapons.⁴⁰⁸

During the Colorado trial, the chief investigator in the case, Susan Fenger, described the ideological danger from Jamaat ul-Fuqra: “They believe that true Islam will take over the world in the next few years and that they are carrying out the will of Allah

by helping this transformation by force and violence. They are often armed and highly dangerous.”⁴⁰⁹

The question occurs: Given what is known about Jamaat ul-Fuqra, its intentions and capacity for violent jihad, why is it allowed to maintain an infrastructure across America from which its violence can be mounted at will? Whatever the rationale, the unavoidable fact is that it is reckless in the extreme for the United States government to be ignoring the clear and present danger posed by Jamaat ul-Fuqra inside the United States and across our northern border in Canada.

The combined capacity for jihad present in the array of organizations (including many necessarily beyond the scope of this study) that are promoting shariah – both here and abroad, both through violent means and stealthy ones – is great and growing. The nature of America’s open, tolerant society greatly increases the danger. That is especially true at a moment like today, when interpretations of constitutional protections for religion combine with deeply problematic elite and, to some extent, popular attitudes (the subjects of the following sections that make up Part II of this report) to leave much latitude for these shariah-adherent enemies to accomplish our destruction.

PART II

THE UNITED STATES AND
SHARIAH

6

THE ANTI-CONSTITUTIONAL CHARACTER OF SHARIAH

As a nation, we have lost our understanding of America's founding principles and as a result have become increasingly ill-prepared to defend the superiority of those principles. This puts us at a distinct disadvantage in being able to identify, understand and confront hostile doctrines – both foreign and domestic – that are in conflict with our own. The result of this combination of confusion and lassitude is that, in the face of shariah's violent and stealthy jihadist assaults, our peace and prosperity are at risk to the point where the core tenets of our nation – and ultimately its very existence – are in jeopardy.

In this context, it is worth reexamining America's founding principles and their incompatibility with the doctrines of Islam, especially those political, military and judicial doctrines embodied in shariah.

THE FOUNDING DOCUMENTS

The authoritative statement of America's founding principles is the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration defines the most fundamental of these in this brief, yet sweepingly comprehensive, passage: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights... That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

In conformity with the Declaration, the U.S. Constitution's Preamble is similarly clear in the declaration of its purpose: "[To] secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution."

Note that "We the people" create the Constitution; the Constitution does not create "the people." "The people" as a founding entity were constituted through the voluntary act of consenting to the principles of the Declaration. In creating the Constitution to secure natural rights and liberties, the people acted in their sovereign capacity.

Such is the basis of American government, rooted in "the laws of nature and nature's laws." Noted historian Harry Jaffa explained how the principles of the American founding were derived from a combination of reason and revelation:

What we call Western civilization is to be found primarily and essentially in the confluence of the autonomous rationalism of classical philosophy and the faith of biblical religion.... The unprecedented character of the American Founding is that it provided for the coexistence of the claims of reason and of revelation in all their forms, without requiring or permitting any political decisions concerning them. It refused to make unassisted human reason the arbiter of the claims of revelation, and it refused to make revelation the judge of the claims of reason. It is the first regime in Western civilization to do this, and for that reason it is, in its principles

or speech (leaving aside the question of its practice or deeds), the best regime.⁴¹⁰

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

America's doctrine of separation of church and state, which constitutionalists define more narrowly as a ban on a government-established or official state religion, exemplifies this balance. Popularly viewed as a secular doctrine, it actually has its basis firmly rooted in Judeo-Christian biblical scriptures such as "Submit yourselves for the Lord's sake to every authority instituted among men"⁴¹¹ and "Render unto to Caesar that which is Caesar's."⁴¹²

Thomas Jefferson's Virginia Statute for Religious Liberty, adopted by the Virginia General Assembly in 1786, exemplifies this concept:

Whereas, Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burdens, or by civil incapacitations tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our Religion, who being Lord, both of body and mind yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in His Almighty power to do.

As the Virginia Historical Society explains:

Jefferson considered the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom as one of his three greatest achievements, ranking it with the drafting of the Declaration of Independence and the founding of the University of Virginia. According to the Virginia History and Government Textbook Commission, which was created by a resolution adopted by the General Assembly in its 1950 session, "Virginia was the first sovereign commonwealth, state, or nation in all the world to proclaim by law entire freedom of religious belief or unbelief."⁴¹³

TOLERANCE IN AMERICA VERSUS THE QURAN

This brief examination establishes that American principles are principles of liberty that are rooted in *mutual* toleration. It follows that, in the United States, liberty was never intended to tolerate the intolerant and its citizens were never intended to tolerate totalitarian doctrines. Put differently, intolerant, totalitarian doctrines are in direct conflict with the stated purpose of American government “to secure these rights [endowed by their Creator].”

Even a fairly superficial reading of the Quran and other primary source documents of shariah reveals that it is a political-military-legal doctrine, rather than a religion as defined by the American standards mentioned above. The prominent Islamic scholar Abdul Maududi concurs with this assessment, saying: “But the truth is that Islam is not the name of a ‘Religion,’ nor is ‘Muslim’ the title of a ‘Nation.’ In reality, Islam is a revolutionary ideology and programme which seeks to alter the social order of the whole world and rebuild it in conformity with its own tenets and ideals.”⁴¹⁴

Shariah is, moreover, a doctrine that mandates the rule of Allah over all aspects of society. Specifically, in contrast – and fundamentally at odds – with the Jeffersonian principle of religious freedom, shariah holds that God did not create the mind free, but in subservience to the will of Allah (as detailed in shariah). The condition of human beings is submission to Allah, not freedom.

INTOLERANCE TOWARDS APOSTATES

As noted elsewhere in this report, one particularly clear-cut inconsistency of shariah with the rule of law pursuant to the U.S. Constitution is shariah’s requirement that apostates be killed. Quran 4:89 says, “Those who reject Islam must be killed. If they turn back (from Islam), take hold of them and kill them wherever

you find them.” According to Hadith Sahih al-Bukhari, Mohammed declared, “Whoever changes his Islamic religion, kill him.”⁴¹⁵ Clearly, such direction is incompatible with the Constitution’s First, Fifth and Sixth Amendment protections.

Virtually every provision of the U.S. Constitution can be juxtaposed with shariah practices that are in violent conflict with America’s foundational laws.

As noted in the next chapter of this report, a minimum standard of professional competency for America’s political elites and national security professionals demands that they understand the enemy’s threat doctrine. To the extent that that doctrine is wholly incompatible with the Constitution, it is, moreover, a violation of their oaths of office if they fail to defend the latter.

THE FOUNDERS AND ISLAM

America’s earliest presidents best understood our founding principles. They were not only deeply involved with their formal adoption. They were professionally competent. When confronted with an Islamic threat, they took the effort to consult primary sources and to conduct competent analysis of that threat.

The first Muslim member of the House of Representatives recently made a spectacle of being sworn in on a copy of the Quran, rather than the Bible. He deflected some criticism by using one owned by Thomas Jefferson. Unremarked in all the controversy that ensued was the reason *why* our third President came to own a Quran.

In 1786, Thomas Jefferson, ambassador to France, and John Adams, ambassador to England, met with the emissary of the Islamic potentates of Tripoli to Britain, Sidi Haji Abdul Rahman Adja, regarding the demands for tribute being made at the time by the so-called Barbary Pirates.

Afterwards, Jefferson and Adams sent a four-page report to the Congress describing this meeting. The relevant portion of their report reads:

We took the liberty to make some inquiries concerning the Grounds of their pretensions to make war upon Nations who had done them no Injury, and observed that we considered all mankind as our friends who had done us no wrong, nor had given us any provocation.

The Ambassador answered us that it was founded on the Laws of their prophet, that it was written in their Qur'an, that all nations who should not have acknowledged their authority were sinners, that it was their right and duty to make war upon them wherever they could be found, and to make slaves of all they could take as Prisoners, and that every Musselman who should be slain in battle was sure to go to Paradise.

After this, Jefferson read the Quran in order to know his enemy. That knowledge of his adversary led to his doctrine of “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute.”

John Adams' son, John Quincy Adams, whose formative years coincided with the founding of the republic, offers further insights into the early presidents' views on this subject. Like many Americans, he took an oath to uphold and defend the U.S. Constitution from all enemies, foreign and domestic. And, when faced with an Islamic enemy, he understood his obligation to be educated on the factual aspects of the principles, doctrines, objectives, jurisprudence and theology of shariah that comprised his enemy's threat doctrine.

John Quincy Adams' 136-page series of essays on Islam displayed a clear understanding of the threat facing America then – and now, especially from the permanent Islamic institutions of jihad and *dhimmitude*.⁴¹⁶ Regarding these two topics, Adams states:

...[Mohammed] declared undistinguishing and exterminating war, as a part of his religion, against all the rest of mankind....The precept of the Quran is, perpetual war against all who deny, that [Mohammed] is the prophet of God.

The vanquished [*dhimmi*] may purchase their lives, by the payment of tribute.”

As the essential principle of [Mohammed’s] faith is the subjugation of others by the sword; it is only by force, that his false doctrines can be dispelled, and his power annihilated.

The commands of the prophet may be performed alike, by fraud, or by force.

This appeal to the natural hatred of the Mussulmen towards the infidels is in just accordance with the precepts of the Quran. The document [the Quran] does not attempt to disguise it, nor even pretend that the enmity of those whom it styles the infidels, is any other than the necessary consequence of the hatred borne by the Mussulmen to them – the paragraph itself, is a forcible example of the contrasted character of the two religions.

The fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion is the extirpation of hatred from the human heart. It forbids the exercise of it, even towards enemies. There is no denomination of Christians, which denies or misunderstands this doctrine. All understand it alike – all acknowledge its obligations; and however imperfectly, in the purposes of Divine Providence, its efficacy has been shown in the practice of Christians, it has not been wholly inoperative upon them. Its effect has been upon the manners of nations. It has mitigated the horrors of war – it has softened the features of slavery – it has humanized the intercourse of social life.

The unqualified acknowledgement of a duty does not, indeed, suffice to insure its performance. Hatred is yet a passion, but too powerful upon the hearts of Christians. Yet

they cannot indulge it, except by the sacrifice of their principles, and the conscious violation of their duties. No state paper from a Christian hand, could, without trampling the precepts of its Lord and Master, have commenced by an open proclamation of hatred to any portion of the human race. The Ottoman lays it down as the foundation of his discourse.⁴¹⁷

As we have seen in chapter two, Adams' analysis of the meaning of jihad is validated in the English-language translation of the authoritative 14th Century text, *Reliance of the Traveller – A Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law*.⁴¹⁸ This book reveals in its opening chapter on Jihad:

o9.0 – Jihad. *Jihad* means to wage war against non-Muslims, and is etymologically derived from the word *mujahada*, signifying warfare to establish the religion. ... The scriptural basis for jihad, prior to scholarly consensus (def: b7) is such Quranic verses as: (1) "Fighting is prescribed for you" (Quran 2:216); (2) "Slay them wherever you find them" (Quran 4:89); (3) "Fight the idolaters utterly" (Quran 9:36); ...I have been commanded to fight people until they testify that there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the messenger of Allah, and perform the prayer, and pay *zakat*. If they say it, they have saved their blood and possessions from me, except for rights of Islam over them.

In conclusion, it is clear from the writings of several of our earliest presidents, as well as the texts of the nation's founding documents, that American principles are not at odds with – and imperiled by – some "radical" or "extreme" version of Islam. Rather, it is the mainstream doctrine of shariah that constitutes the threat to the U.S. Constitution and the freedoms it enshrines.

That incompatibility has several practical implications: For one thing, the shariah legal code cannot be insinuated into America – even through stealthy means or democratic processes – without violating the Constitution's Article VI Supremacy Clause,

which requires that the Constitution “shall be the supreme Law of the land.”

For another, those who advocate the imposition of shariah in America must be considered ineligible to serve in the military, or hold state or federal office, insofar as Article VI requires them to swear an “oath...to support this Constitution” – *not* any other legal code, like shariah. The same disqualifier would appear to govern with respect to immigrants or would-be naturalized citizens.

Lastly, advocacy of and engagement in jihad, of even the *dawa* variety, for the purpose of imposing shariah, supplanting the Constitution and overthrowing the government it mandates would – as a practical matter – constitute a felony violation of the U.S. Code’s prohibitions on treason, sedition and subversive activities.

From its founding, America has had a great tradition of tolerance and inclusion, on a mutual basis. Our latter day tendencies, however, for cultural diversity, political correctness and unreciprocated ecumenism – all seen by our enemies as submission and the subject of the following chapter – must not be allowed to create vehicles for our national destruction at the hands of those all-too-willing to use our civil liberties against us toward that end. In World War II, Americans would never have proposed that fascist or Nazi doctrine had some political or moral equivalency with American principles. We rightly identified the two as being completely and unalterably at odds. Today’s mortal peril, shariah, must be viewed and treated the same way.

As is discussed at greater length below, the relevant, seminal texts concerning shariah are available *in English* from online booksellers and in mosque bookstores across America. It is, consequently, inexcusable for our political elites to be ignorant of the doctrines that guide shariah-adherent organizations like the Muslim Brotherhood’s Islamic Society of North America, the Council

on American Islamic Relations, the North American Islamic Trust, etc. as well as al Qaeda, Hezbollah, Hamas, and their ideological cousins.

Even more reprehensible is the willingness of some among America's elites, and it would appear even a subset of its elected leaders, to accede to these groups' increasingly insistent contention that shariah is compatible with the U.S. Constitution. In fact, based on shariah's tenets, its core attributes – especially its intolerance of other faiths and disfavored populations and its bid for supremacy over all other legal or political systems, there can be no confusion on this score: As the Framers fully understood, shariah is an enemy of the United States Constitution. The two are incompatible.⁴¹⁹

7

THE U.S. AND WESTERN VULNERABILITIES TO A THREAT MASQUERADING AS A RELIGION

It is not simply inaccurate, incomplete or bowdlerized information about the threat posed by shariah that has left the United States floundering in its response particularly to the civilization jihad since 9/11. There is another reason. It takes the form of a collective block on reality that serves to prevent facts from influencing our reasoning – or, more specifically, to prevent facts about Islamic doctrine from influencing our strategy to defend ourselves against jihad and the advance of shariah.

POST-MODERNISM AT WORK

Truth – as supported by facts, history and logic – has been vanquished by “politically correct” efforts to impose on this country and its institutions an understanding of Islam that hides the centrality of shariah, jihad, and Islamic supremacism, even though these are defining imperatives that pose an existential threat to Western-style liberty. The Islamist networks and their modus operandi are described in great detail elsewhere in this study. This

chapter will explain the reasons why these networks and their agents have been so effective and what are the civilizational vulnerabilities that are laying liberal, democratic society open to conquest.

Our society has come to prize unquestioning acceptance as the highest possible virtue of the “post-modern” Western world. This makes boundaries and taboos, limits and definitions – anything that closes the door on anything else – the lowest of possible sins. Judgment, no matter how discerning, is now tarred as “prejudice” and, therefore, a neo-barbarous act to be repressed and suspended altogether. Patriotism has been caricatured out of polite society as jingoistic war-mongering. Western civilization itself, which may be understood as the product of both judgment and patriotism, has been roundly condemned for being both prejudiced and war-mongering. Weakened by a kind of cultural anemia, we now regard transformation of America the Western into America the Multicultural as a good, or necessary, or even just inevitable thing.

Americans, increasingly, are acting as their own enforcers, promoting adherence to the new ethical mandate of multiculturalism by means of self-censorship. It is one thing not to be well-versed enough to define the enemy; it is another thing to be unwilling or effectively incapable of articulating precise and descriptive words to do so.

Such self-censorship has been a problem for years, distinct and pre-dating the modern Islamic threat. As Western society consciously sought to move beyond its own brutal past, the mistake it made was to assume and expect that other societies naturally would do the same. Further, it was somehow believed that by setting the example of eschewing even the mention of historical *or still-extant* savagery, such restraint would encourage mirroring.

It is this sort of thinking that accounts, at least in part, for the general unwillingness to discuss – and thereby acknowledge –

shariah and particularly its stealth jihad against the West. There is, however, another, deeper motivation at work as well, one that is born of an acute consciousness of our own fortune and success – which, paradoxically, spawns an entirely misplaced guilt.

Unexamined emotions like these are prompting a misguided quest to identify with the “victim,” who seems to be just about anyone who opposes the United States and the West. Such responses, already based on emotion rather than reason, are easily magnified, and considerably so, by feelings of intimidation. Taken together, this kind of muddled mentality has induced a widespread moral paralysis rooted in our conditioned reflex to suspend judgment.

JIHADISTS AS ‘VICTIMS’

Our national lack of moral certitude – often couched in the language of “neutrality” – reserves a crucial moral space for the possibility of sympathetic judgment, perpetuating the notion that blamelessness for terrorism is just as possible as blame. This implies that terrorism is not beyond the pale.

In a civilized society, though, such a “neutral” position amounts actually to taking sides. Treating terrorism with the same even-handedness accorded to competing tax plans, for example, creates an atmosphere that is amoral to a point of immorality. Besides leaving room for approval, the act of suspending judgment – and this is what may be most significant – delivers terrorism and terrorists from the nether-realm that all civilizations reserve for taboo, anathema and abomination. This begins to explain why the practice is so dangerous.

On some level, such behavior is the latest incarnation of the age-old encounter between the West and the rest – specifically, the non-Western “Other” encountered during various periods of Western exploration, conquest and colonization. Age-of-Exploration Europeans created the image of the noble savage,

projecting a nobility onto the primitive peoples of the New World that canceled out, or at least compensated for, their obvious savagery.

Contemporary analysis of the shariah-enslaved jihadi and his assault on Western civilization reprises that mischaracterization. Just as apologists have seen in the barbaric conduct of some indigenous peoples the desperation of the primitive in the face of an advanced and encroaching civilization, apologists today see in the suicide bomber a similar desperation – a plight in which weaponization of a terrorist’s life and limbs is presented as his only option for dealing with a technologically superior and encroaching civilization. What sounds like an apology for Islamic terrorism against American, Israeli, and other Western targets also sounds like a variation on the traditional theme: Enlightened society meets primal scream; enlightened society cringes with guilt – and fear.

THE ENEMY WITHIN

There is a crucial difference in the contemporary incarnation of this “Noble Savage Other,” however: Where the Other of yesteryear used to live vividly imagined, if dimly understood, in the Western imagination, the contemporary Other now lives, quite literally, in the West itself.

Indeed, a massive demographic shift has brought adherents to shariah – a doctrine that, by definition, opposes all others – deep into the non-Islamic world. The Other is still vividly imagined, if dimly understood. But where he once provided intellectuals with a theoretical foil against modernity, the Other – in this century, in the collective form of practitioners of shariah – now manifests itself as a concrete bloc.

'SUBMISSION'

The historical, Other-inspired tradition of self-criticism is no longer deemed adequate in these circumstances. Instead, the Other demands and receives a kind of cultural accommodation – submission – that is the 21st Century echo of the centuries-long subjugation of our European ancestors to Islamic conquest and domination. In the real-life endgame of multicultural “inclusion,” left unchecked, this impulse would seem to make the West’s renewed dismantlement inevitable.

Such a fate could only happen in an era of Western identity-decline, a time in which cultural relativism has wedged itself between the West and its original and defining beliefs. The spreading contagion of Western self-excoriation leads inexorably to a willing suspension of critical thinking that encourages – indeed, *demand*s – that value-based distinctions between Western and non-Western civilizations be abolished.

In other words, “diversity” is automatically “good,” as long as the “diversity” being embraced is non-Western and the distinction being denied is Western. But it is “bad” when discrimination of the intellectually honest kind concludes that shariah-inspired savagery is actually savage. Western society is left in a state of moral, cultural, and political paralysis.

Under sway of the multiculturalist credo, notions of the superiority of Western culture are heretical, an imminent threat to the leveling arrangement that makes the European Union’s so-called “meeting of different civilizations” possible. As the bureaucrats in Brussels see it, the “values of Europe” disallow consideration of Western civilization as superior to another. In other words, any tendency that threatens to restore the traditional hierarchy that put Western civilization at the pinnacle for having enshrined liberty and human rights must be disavowed, shamed and rejected outright.

IN DENIAL

Such submission abounds in the media and in politics, where discussion of doctrinal links between Islam's shariah and terrorism has been considered out of bounds at least since the George W. Bush years. This logic blackout is now reaching levels of absurdity as "rage over the health care bill" was seriously debated by reporters as a potential motivation for the Times Square bomber, Faisal Shahzad, and as Attorney General Eric Holder balked repeatedly at considering even "radical Islam" as a possible rationale for such terrorist attacks.

The unmistakable trend is to deny shariah's doctrinal association with terrorism in a strange public display of "sensitivity." The collective striving to be sensitive has, paradoxically, deadened our senses and blunted our logic – a condition resembling not just appeasement, but surrender.

As charges of "religious defamation," "racism," "bigotry," and "blasphemy" have become, like Pavlovian gongs, instant conversation-enders, Islam has become in the West increasingly insulated not just from criticism, but also from the poking and prodding of analysis – from reality itself. This may be precisely the kind of "protection" from secular "blasphemy" (read, criticism) that shariah has long maintained it requires, and, indeed, is pursuing in the international arena with anti-blasphemy resolutions at the United Nations. The more challenging question is, Why are non-Muslims so obsessively doing everything they can to help suppress debate about shariah and related subjects?

DHIMMITUDE

The answer is complicated. Certainly one of the forces at work is the West's crisis of confidence in its own value, which indeed, defines the identity crisis of the West itself. But there is something else, as well. That something else is the age-old relationship, not between the West and the rest, but between shariah

and the rest – namely, the relationship between its adherents and the *dhimmi*, the millions of non-Muslims through the centuries who have lived in Islamized societies.

To live as a *dhimmi* is to have an inferior legal status under shariah, a codified condition as old as the first Islamic conquests of non-Islamic peoples. The Muslim-to-*dhimmi* relationship is, at best, a master-servant relationship, pitting an identifiable authority figure against an identifiable supplicant.

This was often literally the case since, in many historical contexts, *dhimmis* were required by shariah to be recognizably inferior as evidenced by their clothes, the size and color of their homes, modes of transportation and overall public subservience to Muslims. The relationship's "core element," explains Bat Ye'or, the leading modern scholar of the *dhimmis*, "pertains to the premise of Muslim superiority over all other religious groups."⁴²⁰

Made explicitly clear in shariah, and to those conquered by its adherents, was the abject reality that *permission to continue living* rested completely in the hands of the Muslim overlords, whose slightest displeasure could result at any moment in withdrawal of that permission. Fear thus formed the essence of the *dhimmi* system.

Bat Ye'or has introduced a term to the lexicon to describe a mode of behavior or state of mind fostered by shariah-sanctioned religious inferiority: *dhimmitude*. Forbidden to possess arms, own land, criticize shariah or defend themselves either in a fight or in court against a Muslim (among many, many other prohibitions), *dhimmis* developed cross-cultural, cross-continental survival strategies that ensured survival not of the fittest, but rather of the most deferential – self-abasement as self-preservation.

A good example of this phenomenon can be found in the fact that, since criticism of shariah was severely punished, *dhimmis* "adopted a servile language and obsequious demeanor for fear of retaliation and for their self-preservation."⁴²¹ In this struggle to

survive were lost precious markers of the self: history and identity, truth and tradition. What was left were self-censoring societies, stunted by fear, compromised by fearfulness.

'POLITICAL CORRECTNESS' AS DHIMMITUDE

Certain similarities between *dhimmi* life under Islam and “politically correct” life in a multicultural world are striking. We have long lived in such a self-censoring society, stunted by a kind of fear that political *incorrectness* would result in opprobrium, ostracism or professional failure. Traditionally (because multiculturalism, as noted above, has been with us long enough to be characterized as a tradition), this has had nothing to do with Islam or the *dhimmi*. But this now-well-established practice does help explain the seamless compatibility between *dhimmitude* and the multicultural mindset that flourishes in our post-modernist world.

Importantly, Bat Ye'or has demonstrated that actual *dhimmi* status under shariah in Islamic societies is by no means a prerequisite of *dhimmitude*. Indeed, definite patterns of *dhimmi* behavior exist not only in the shariah states, but throughout the Free World. In the current context, one aspect has particular resonance, or, rather, non-resonance: the silence of *dhimmitude* regarding shariah. It is the silence of the insecure society.

CONFORMING TO SHARIAH 'BLASPHEMY' CODES

It is easy to see why *dhimmi* populations in Islamic lands would collude in “protecting” Islam from “offense” or criticism; they rightly and understandably fear the consequences under shariah. But why do *Westerners*, in academia, the media, Congress, the White House, or the United Nations collude in these same “protections”?

For that matter, why the reluctance to acknowledge patent differences between shariah and the West? Why the refusal to ex-

amine whether shariah plays a central role in the so-called “war on terror” – now even more euphemistically known as a fight against “extremism”? Why the failure to study whether the “war on terror” is a defensive response to the latest manifestation of 13 centuries of jihad? Why the cold-sweating fear over even asking the questions?

Bat Ye’or has described Western silence on Islam – today’s gruesome human rights violations, yesterday’s bloody conquests – as “the politics of *dhimmitude*.”⁴²² The term is provocative, describing a framework of concessions to Islam that goes far beyond multicultural theorizing in a lecture hall or PC politesse in the public arena.

Indeed, the whole concept of *dhimmitude* – predicated on the historic abasement of non-Muslims in Islamic society – envisions a conception of world affairs that pre-dates the Cold War, let alone the post-modern era, by many centuries. Gone are the paradigms of the great powers and bipolar rivalries familiar to recent generations. In their place, a complex power struggle between the West and shariah plays out on a deeply psychological level where Western strengths are checkmated by the machinations of an enemy at once more determined to prevail than we, and more confident in its own superiority.

Whether characterized as a courtesy, a favor or appeasement, every Western wince – from, to cite but a few examples, Margaret Thatcher’s concessions to the ayatollahs, to George W. Bush’s retreat on “crusade,” to Barack Obama’s pledge to free *zakat* from the prohibitions on material support for terror – are seen by our enemies as a form of *dhimmitude*. They are, after all, clear manifestations of shariah’s influence over the West. Such behavior indicates, as Bat Ye’or writes, an “implicit submission to the shariah prohibitions of blasphemy.”⁴²³

FEAR AS THE NEW REASON

Shariah demands that Islam must not be “disrespected.” And Islam is *not* “disrespected,” according to Western practice. There is more than etiquette at work here; there is fear. And where there is fear, there is silence. Of this silence – this tacit, non-comprehended acceptance of shariah’s dictates – Bat Ye’or writes: It “puts the Western public sphere in the position of conforming to one of the basic rules of *dhimmitude*: the express prohibition of Christians and Jews to criticize Islamic history and doctrine.”⁴²⁴

That inescapable fear is the fear of confronting the reality that some belief systems and some cultures prey atavistically on others. It would mean admitting that there are others out there who are not like us – and that no adjustment to our own behavior will change their determination to subjugate or kill us. And that is a terrifying reality. Fear has become the new reason.

We fear more fatwas, more rage, protests, assassinations, and boycotts. We are afraid of more violence, more burning flags, more gutted embassies. Afraid of more bomb threats. Afraid of more bombs. And so we close our eyes and close our circle, pretending ourselves into a status quo of our own imagination, a condition dependent on our own delusions: Moderate Islam is emerging as an antidote to shariah. Democracy is the answer. And don’t ask any questions. Because there is something else our culture fears more than anything else. We are afraid to *do* anything about our fears – even to name them.

The growth of Muslim populations in the West augurs the inexorable spread of shariah into Western societies – less by violence than by dint of natural procreation, unchecked immigration, and the incessant demands of an aggressive minority that refuses to assimilate. Logic should tell us, then, that the growth of shariah in the West threatens Western-style liberty: threatens freedom of expression, freedom of conscience and upends religious and sex-

ual equality. But we are at a point where we, the children of Athens, fear and deny that logic.

We do so because logic would lead ineluctably to the perception that the beliefs of shariah Islam and the beliefs of the West are at irreconcilable odds. It is not just shariah's place in the West that would then become an acknowledged threat to the survival of the West. The multicultural mirage of interchangeable diversity and "universal values" necessarily vanishes as well.

In its place would arise an inevitable hierarchy of differentiation: Not all religions are equally benign; not all religions are equal. Not all cultures have made equal contributions; not all cultures are equal. To our elites, this would be a bad thing because it would set into motion a rite of passage – a painful, difficult awakening from a dream world of sunny universalism and pale indecision into a stark reality of black and white, good and evil, win or lose, do or die.

Thus, our continued inaction – the Muslim Brotherhood's near-term, tactical goal – depends on our continued silence, just as avoiding clashes depends on our own self-censorship. As a culture, we ignored Ibn Warraq's plea in 2006 for "unashamed, noisy, public solidarity"⁴²⁵ with the Danish cartoonists as a means of safeguarding freedom of expression. We also ignored his warning that from our silence, "the Islamization of Europe will have begun in earnest."⁴²⁶

We have comforted and deluded ourselves by calling our self-censorship the silence of respect. In reality, it is the silence of *fear*. We have called it the silence of tolerance; actually, it is the silence of cultural acquiescence. There has been no clamor to defend the public square from religious tyranny. There is only shame, a shame without justification in reality, but a smothering shame all the same.

STANDING UP FOR THE WEST

The West is the source of the liberating ideas of individual liberty, political democracy, the rule of man-made law, human rights and cultural freedom. It is the West that has raised the status of women, fought against slavery and defended freedom of inquiry, expression, and conscience. The West needs no lectures on the superior values of societies that keep their women in subjugation, cut off their clitorises, stone them to death for alleged adultery, throw acid on their faces, or deny the human rights of those considered unacceptable to a savage, omnipotent deity.⁴²⁷

Ibn Warraq's catalogue of Western treasure – onto which an American appendix might include the Founding Fathers, Mark Twain, Thomas Edison, Irving Berlin, Ella Fitzgerald, Watson and Crick, Laurel and Hardy, Ted Williams, Jonas Salk and the 82nd Airborne – is indeed something to be proud of, to derive strength from, and guidance, too. It gives the lie to wishful notions about non-existent “universal values.” The end of shariah denial in the West points the way to the end of multiculturalism in the West, too, iconoclastic though that prospect may be to some.

We need to come to grips with the dread reality that ours is not only a time of transformative modernization and heretofore unimaginable affluence, but also a time of supreme, even ultimate struggle. Ours is an age marked by the startling confluence of devalued Western models faced with the unthinkable threat of cultural obliteration via Islamization that is all-too-familiar to those who know history. Arrayed against this looming fate stands but a thin line of courageous Americans and their counterparts in Europe and elsewhere – non-Muslims, former Muslims and a few courageous practicing Muslims whose ranks are much weakened by the cowering *dhimmi*s and their willingness to submit to shariah.

There is only one thing that can begin to save us, without which even the rich trove of information and revelation in this

study will be of little use: Free speech. Free, unfettered, politically incorrect, informed and precise speech about shariah and the threat it poses to America.

8

U.S. LEADERSHIP FAILURES IN THE FACE OF SHARIAH

Our shariah-adherent enemies understand that – given the vast military and economic advantages enjoyed by the West – achieving the goal of forcing the United States and other freedom-loving peoples to submit to their program requires them, of necessity, to exploit the vulnerabilities described in the previous chapter. Specifically, these foes must control our perceptions of the threat they pose and, thereby, our responses to them.

In fact, by manipulating perceptions at the national strategic level about the nature of shariah, the enemy can actually exercise profound influence over the nature and adequacy of the defense mounted. That is most especially true of actions needed to contend with the Muslim Brotherhood’s stealth jihad – even though we know its avowed purpose is aimed at “eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and ‘sabotaging’ its miserable house by their hands.”

To fully understand America’s peril in the face of such enemies, we must carefully consider our collective failure to con-

tend with their successful pursuit of information dominance and psychological strategy, critical ingredients in information warfare. We must come to grips with, and correct, the control they have come to enjoy over what Americans, and most especially the U.S. civilian, intelligence, and military leadership, understand about shariah and its proponents.

WILLFUL BLINDNESS

Information dominance can be advanced by the simple act of concealing relevant information, the “denial” component of the military concept of “denial and deception.” As this report makes clear, however, our shariah-adherent enemies provide to each other – and, therefore, make available (at least indirectly) to the rest of us – ample data about their intentions, motivations and capabilities. The problem is that too many in this country and, again, especially those in positions of responsibility for our security, are failing to acquaint themselves with such data, to say nothing of being informed by it or acting upon it.

Former federal prosecutor Andrew McCarthy has called the phenomenon “willful blindness,” the title of his 2008 book about the first attempt to destroy the World Trade Center in 1993, which was mounted by the “Blind Sheikh,” Omar Abdel-Rahman, and other adherents to shariah. McCarthy described the historic *and on-going*, stubborn refusal of America’s senior national security officials to acknowledge the linkage between: (1) mainstream, orthodox Islamic doctrine; (2) kinetic terrorism; and (3) the pre-violent efforts of Muslim jihadis to insinuate shariah into the fabric of our society by stealth and subterfuge.

As we have discussed above, such unwillingness to recognize and acknowledge the enemy’s battle doctrine emanates directly from the proclivity of Americans, both in and out of public office, to accommodate even troubling conduct in the name of religious tolerance, multiculturalism and political correctness.

This blindness, however it is rationalized, has a predictable effect: It translates into an inability even to gauge accurately how far advanced is the assault, let alone to execute an effective strategy for countering it.

Former Joint Chiefs of Staff analyst Stephen Coughlin wrote his seminal master's thesis for the National Defense Intelligence College on the U.S. refusal to study and internalize *what the enemy himself says* about why he fights jihad. Coughlin concluded that the failure to investigate these sources has left U.S. national security leadership "disarmed in the war of ideas."⁴²⁸

VIOLATING AMERICA'S OWN DOCTRINE

This behavior is singularly disabling and potentially deadly in light of the fact that the United States' own war-fighting doctrine is based on a deliberative decision-making process that begins with "intelligence preparation of the battle space." Such preparation is *supposed to start* with an unconstrained analysis of the doctrinal template of the enemy.

If we refuse to pursue a fact-based determination of the nature of the enemy and his doctrinal template, however, we have no basis for accurately predicting enemy courses of action. Without sound predictions, we are reduced to *guessing* what strategies might be effective for countering our foes.

In short, what amounts to a hostile seizure of control of our doctrinal template through information dominance is a powerful technique for defeating this country. There is ample reason to believe that our shariah-adherent enemies feel confident in their ability to wield this weapon against us with decisive effect. Should they do so, the results will only reflect in part their skill and strategic acumen. In part, it will also be due to our own contributions to such a defeat.

The truth is that there is plenty of blame to go around for this sorry state of affairs and for our national failure to date to de-

velop a correct enemy doctrinal template that is rooted in shariah. In order for the urgently needed corrective action to be taken, it is essential to map where the responsibility for such failure lies.

Deficient Professional Training: It is evident that within the academic halls of U.S. war colleges and training institutions, there is a failure to comprehend and teach shariah as the enemy's ideological wellspring. That shortfall leaves students uninformed about the warfighting principles of the key U.S. global opponent of the 21st Century.

William Gawthrop, the former head of the Joint Terrorism Task Force of the Defense Department's Counterintelligence Field Activity, warned in a military intelligence journal about the dangers of this trend in 2006:

As late as early 2006, the senior service colleges of the Department of Defense had not incorporated into their curriculum a systematic study of Mohammed as a military or political leader. As a consequence, we *still* do not have an in-depth understanding of the war-fighting doctrine laid down by Mohammed, how it might be applied today by an increasing number of Islamic groups, or how it might be countered.⁴²⁹ (Emphasis added.)

The U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command has invested in the cultural and social education of personnel deploying to places like Iraq and Afghanistan, and to officers of all services who have chosen to become regional experts in the Af/Pak Hands program established by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The study of Islam is an important component of the training. However, the Army-sponsored training program, carried out by the Leader Development and Education for a Sustained Peace (LDESP) program through the Naval Postgraduate School, does not teach enemy threat doctrine. Until security concerns by an LDESP faculty member were raised after the Fort Hood shootings of November 2009, Muslim Brotherhood member Louay Safi of

the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) taught the Islam component to thousands of Army senior enlisted men and officers. LDESP unofficially suspended Safi from teaching, but it also retaliated against the faculty member who gave the warning by dropping him from further instructing the troops.⁴³⁰

Self-Censored Guidance: As noted in the previous chapter, self-censorship is a serious contributor to, and manifestation of, America's willful blindness about shariah. This behavior has been expressed most egregiously in various national security documents that have institutionalized U.S. conceptual failure on Islamic jihadist ideology. By issuing such documents, successive administrations of both political parties have locked in a set of self-imposed strategic handicaps that doom any short-term successes on tactical battlefields – to say nothing of victory at a strategic level.

Of particular concern are the 2010 versions of the Pentagon's Quadrennial Defense Review, the Homeland Security Department's Quadrennial Review⁴³¹ and the White House-issued National Security Strategy.⁴³² All hew to the same troubling language guidelines promulgated by DHS,⁴³³ the FBI's Counterterrorism Analytical Lexicon⁴³⁴ and the National Counterterrorism Center's vocabulary regulations⁴³⁵ – to the effect that no reference to Islam, jihad or shariah may be made when discussing the threat. This is not simply incompetence. It amounts to malfeasance and it places the U.S. government demonstrably and officially in compliance with Islamic law on slander – a posture that puts the nation in grave peril.

Relying on the Enemy: The terminological constraints now in effect inside the U.S. government come from the Muslim Brotherhood. The immediate provenance may be the Society of Professional Journalists,⁴³⁶ but the Society in turn apparently obtained the guidelines from sources that critics say got their ideas about vocabulary from Muslim Brotherhood affiliates and associ-

ates.⁴³⁷ Ikhwan operatives have also played important roles in defining what can, and cannot, be said about shariah and the jihadism it requires.

To cite but one example, on May 8, 2007, then-Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff met with a group of self-styled Muslim Americans “leaders.” Not surprisingly, most were drawn from the ranks of Ikhwan front groups. (See in this connection the discussion in chapter four.)

The host’s stated purpose was to discuss ways the Department can work with the Muslim-American community in the interest of protecting the country, promoting civic engagement and preventing violent radicalization from taking root in the United States. The Muslim participants, however, used the occasion to inveigh against U.S. officials for using terminology the Ikhwan finds offensive – even though, indeed *precisely because*, it accurately describes terrorists who invoke Islamic theology in planning, carrying out and justifying their attacks. As has been discussed above, the Brotherhood routinely dissembles about the validity of this connection and darkly warns that even discussing that possibility will insult and provoke Muslims.

On March 14, 2008, the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) conformed to this demand for compliance with shariah slander codes. It issued brief guidelines on jihad terminology in “Words that Work and Words that Don’t: A Guide for Counterterrorism Communication.”⁴³⁸ In it, the authors declare:

We are also attaching an excellent Homeland Security paper entitled *Terminology to Define the Terrorists: Recommendations from American Muslims*, a guide for U.S. government officials to use to describe terrorists who invoke Islamic theology in planning, carrying out, and justifying their attacks.⁴³⁹

The NCTC adopted these recommendations uncritically, just as the Department of Homeland Security did theirs. Among the resulting NCTC recommendations were the following:

Try to limit the number of non-English terms you use if you are speaking in English. Mispronunciation could make your statement incomprehensible and/or sound ill-informed. If you must use such a word, make sure your pronunciation is validated by an expert. Don't use words that require use of consonants that do not exist in English and whose nearest English approximation has a totally different meaning.

In national security matters involving threats as grave as those posed by the forces of shariah, the potential risks associated with mispronouncing a term are far outweighed by the *necessity* of accurately understanding – and appropriately drawing upon – the enemy's own, stated rationales for his actions. And we have no better sources for such terminology than the words of authoritative shariah-adherent scholars, jihadists and political figures involving their communications intended for consumption by Muslim audiences (as opposed to *taqiyya* aimed at non-Muslim Western ones). *Such terminology is valid to the enemy and needs to be properly understood and incorporated into our own strategic doctrine.*

Should we persist in policies that exclude such insights, the United States government can only serve to advance the Muslim Brotherhood's mission of "destroying Western civilization from within ... by their own hand." However unintended, the practical effect of conforming to what amounts to an Ikhwan-approved lexicon designed explicitly for *dawa* against the West is to promote our misunderstanding, mischaracterizing and otherwise underestimating the forces of shariah and jihad.

The slow drift toward what is often called a "politically correct" version of threat analysis within the ranks of U.S. intelligence and security agencies actually translates to our enemies as our "submission" – precisely the goal of denying America information dominance as part of the grand jihad.

One further issue that arises when a lexicon, such as that now in force within the Intelligence Community, is obtained from

outside the official U.S. national security apparatus, and then imposed by leadership upon subordinates. Under such circumstances, a highly-improper form of “prior restraint” tends to operate.

Today, analysts jeopardize their careers if they try to use accurate language to define the enemy threat doctrine. Undue command influence that effectively calls on professionals *not* to perform their duties to professional standards is, in fact, dereliction of duty in time of war.

Put differently, it would be bad enough if this practice of acquiescing to such intimidation and conforming to the MB’s shariah slander/blasphemy dictates simply meant that the Department of Homeland Security and other U.S. agencies have allowed their strategic threat characterization to be dictated by individuals without acceptable national security credentials. As made clear in chapter four, however, the latter are actually – with rare exceptions – agents of influence or actual jihadist operatives who work for the enemy.

This, at a minimum, is tantamount to malpractice and professional incompetence. Comparable breaches of codes of conduct would result in lawyers being disbarred and physicians losing their licenses to practice. To the extent that it involves in this profession turning-a-blind-eye to and probably enabling of *sedition*, it would appear to be a felony offense known as “misprision of treason” in the U.S. Code.⁴⁴⁰

Failing the ‘Duty to Know’: The case for treating harshly such misconduct is further justified by in cases where our most senior government officials fail to practice due diligence in their execution of their duties. Culpability for that particular failure is a function of the “knowability of relevant facts,” which reflects the legal standard embodied in the phrase “either knew or should have known.” Once a professional is on notice that he

does not know something that is material, he is obligated to find it out.

Yet, in numerous cases at very senior levels, that responsibility has not been fulfilled. National security officials must be, above all else, professionals – and the rules of professionalism must apply to them. According to the very first rule of *The Model Rules of Professional Conduct*: “Professionals [in this case, lawyers] have a duty to be competent that includes the requirement to inform oneself of the subject matter by taking the necessary time to prepare oneself to a standard of preparedness necessary to provide successful representation.”⁴⁴¹

“Taking the necessary time to prepare oneself” means that a professional never has the right to claim that he did not have time to know something he was professionally obligated to know.

For all professionals in the national security community, their duty – “duty” being a legally-defined term – requires, at a minimum, that they conform to professional standards. And one of the professional standards is Rule 1.1, “the duty to be competent,” which includes the “duty to know.” The duty to know, in turn, includes the “duty to take all time necessary to learn.” That duty is not just an inherent responsibility for U.S. government officials. They have *sworn* to fulfill it.

The Constitution’s Article II, Section 1 that says “The executive power shall be vested in the President” goes on to require the President to swear an oath:

Before he enters on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation: “I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to *the best of my Ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution* of the United States. (Emphasis added.)

Pursuant to the Constitution's Article VI, other officials of the government must take a similar oath, which is specified in Title V § 3331 of the United States Code:

I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will *support and defend the Constitution of the United States* against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God." (Emphasis added.)

It is, therefore, fair to ask of U.S. officials with national security responsibilities whether the failure to know an enemy violates not only professional rules of competency but their solemn oath of office? After all, if an officeholder must "protect and defend against all enemies" (N.B. the Constitution uses the word "enemy," not "violent extremists"), this implies that he has to *know* all enemies, or at least undertake the due diligence effort to learn about them.

In short, this report makes clear that the "knowability of relevant facts" – reflected in the legal standard established by the phrase "either knew or should have known" – is not in serious dispute. *The true character of shariah is eminently knowable* and, as noted above, once a professional is on notice that he does not know something that is material, he is obligated to find it out. Those in high office who have failed to fulfill these responsibilities must be held accountable.

A CASE STUDY

There is, arguably, no more dramatic example of a senior U.S. government official failing to perform his duty to know – and, seemingly, to fulfill his oath of office – than that of John Brennan, Homeland Security Advisor and Counter-terrorism Advisor to President Obama. To be sure, Brennan is not alone in such a fail-

ing; senior officials in previous administrations of both parties, as well as others in the present one, should be held to account, as well.

That said, John Brennan has taken the “failure to know” to new extremes. Unfortunately, the full extent and implications of his doing so can only be surmised at this time, given the nature of his responsibilities, without access to highly classified information.

On the basis of information that *is* in the public domain, though, we can safely say that Brennan epitomizes what is wrong with today’s official understanding and characterization of the enemy and his threat doctrine. Brennan is also a prime contributor to the environment characterized by submission to shariah’s dictates in which the rest of the U.S. government’s national security apparatus increasingly is required to operate. The following are illustrative examples taken from Brennan’s relatively few public appearances and statements.

In a May 2010 speech at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Brennan exhibited his ignorance of shariah by arguing that the “violent extremists” attacking the United States are victims of “political, economic and social forces” and should not be described in “religious terms”: “Nor do we describe our enemy as ‘jihadists’ or ‘Islamists’ because jihad is a holy struggle, a legitimate tenet of Islam, meaning to purify oneself or one’s community, and there is nothing holy or legitimate or Islamic about murdering innocent men, women and children.”⁴⁴²

Brennan also declared in his remarks at CSIS that “Describing our enemy in religious terms would lend credence to the lie propagated by al Qaeda and its affiliates to justify terrorism, that the United States is somehow at war against Islam. The reality, of course, is that we have never been and will never be at war with Islam. After all, Islam, like so many faiths, is part of America.”

The evidence shows that these statements are wholly disconnected from the true nature and requirements of shariah. Those who adhere to shariah are not lying when they say it not only justifies terroristic jihad, but actually *requires* them to engage in it. That is deemed to be true even against “innocents” in the ordinary sense of the word, since, if those targeted do not adhere to shariah, they are – by definition – *not* innocents. What is more, shariah is absolutely and unalterably “at war” with the *Dar al-Harb*, including notably the United States and Western civilization more generally.

In an op-ed published in *USA Today* on February 9, 2010, Brennan defended the Obama administration’s handling of the brief interrogation and swift lawyering-up of Umar Farook Abdulmutallab, the Christmas day bomber. In response to a damning editorial by the paper entitled, “National security team fails to inspire confidence; Officials, handling of Christmas Day attack looks like amateur hour,” Brennan defensively claimed the critics were “misrepresenting the facts to score political points, instead of coming together to keep us safe.” He asserted that, “Politically motivated criticism and unfounded fear-mongering only serve the goals of al Qaeda. Terrorists are not 100 feet tall.”⁴⁴³

The point is not that the critics are exaggerating the gravity of the threat from adherents to shariah. It is that Brennan and his colleagues are systematically underestimating and mischaracterizing it, and attempting to discredit or marginalize those who attempt to estimate and characterize the threat.

John Brennan called Hezbollah a “very interesting organization” in remarks at the Washington-based Nixon Center in May 2010. Despite the fact that the State Department long has designated this jihadist group as a Foreign Terrorist Organization, Brennan opined that: “There certainly [are] the elements of Hezbollah that are truly a concern to us – what they’re doing. And what we need to do is to find ways to diminish their influence

within the organization and to try to build up the more moderate elements within Hezbollah.”⁴⁴⁴

The claim that there are actually true “moderates” in any conventional meaning of the word within the shariah-adherent community – to say nothing of within one of its most virulently jihadist organizations, Hezbollah – is unsubstantiated by the facts. Such statements bespeak not only “willful blindness.” They are suggestive of the sort of top-level guidance that can only subvert efforts within the U.S. government to defeat this and other terrorist groups.

In a February 13, 2010 speech at NYU's Islamic Center,⁴⁴⁵ Brennan referred to Jerusalem as “Al Quds,” an Arabic name for the city used only by Muslims that translates literally as “The Holy.” No top U.S. policymaker had ever used that term before in such a public address.

For shariah-adherent Muslims, “Al Quds” or “Al Qods” is a rallying cry. In August of 1979, Ayatollah Khomeini designated the last Friday of Ramadan as Al Quds Day, during which Muslims around the world should protest Israel's control of Jerusalem, saying in part: “I ask all the Muslims of the world and the Muslim governments to join together to sever the hand of this usurper [Israel] and its supporters...I ask God Almighty for the victory of the Muslims over the infidels.”⁴⁴⁶

Al Quds has other well-known jihadist connotations. For example, the Al-Quds Brigades (in Arabic, Saraya al-Quds) is the armed wing of the Palestinian terrorist organization Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ). The Al-Qods Force is an Iranian military organization and intelligence arm of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps. (For more on the IRGC, see chapter six.)

Brennan's deliberate choice of the term Al-Quds obviously represents pandering to the aspirations of those who are determined to “liberate” what they consider to be “infidel-occupied” Jerusalem. Whether intended as such or not, it can only be per-

ceived as a further indication of the ominous distancing of the United States under President Obama from America's most important strategic ally in the region, Israel, and of submission to the shariah's inexorably rising tide.

In the NYU speech, Brennan also enthused about the very heart of the shariah enterprise, Saudi Arabia, where he had once served as the CIA station chief: "In Saudi Arabia, I saw how our Saudi partners fulfilled their duty as custodians of the two holy mosques at Mecca and Medina. I marveled at the majesty of the Hajj and the devotion of those who fulfilled their duty as Muslims by making that pilgrimage."⁴⁴⁷

The only way Brennan could literally have seen how the Saudis "fulfilled their duty as custodians of Mecca and Medina" and "marvel at the Hajj" is if he himself were a Muslim. That is because non-Muslims are not allowed to set foot in either place. Assuming he was speaking figuratively in this effusive way, the message of pandering – read, once again, submission – was as unmistakable to the intended audience, namely the House of Saud, as was President Obama's notorious bow to the Saudi king.

At NYU, Brennan went beyond pandering towards the custodians of shariah to propound a classic bit of MB *taqiyya*: "Whatever our differences in nationality, or race, or religion or language, there are certain aspirations that we all share. To get an education. To provide for our family. To practice our faith freely."

No one with even passing familiarity with Saudi Arabia, let alone the head of CIA operations there, could possibly think that those who adhere to shariah – whether in the Kingdom or elsewhere – have any mutual respect for the free practice of other faiths. In fact, the Saudis will not allow anyone to wear a cross in public, let alone build or attend a Christian church. It is increasingly dangerous to try to practice faiths other than Islam in much of the rest of the "Muslim world" (notably, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq

and Malaysia) as well, thanks to the Saudi-led and – underwritten promotion of shariah around the globe.

On the occasion of his speech to New York University, Brennan was introduced by Ingrid Mattson, president of the Islamic Society of North America. As we have seen, ISNA is not only the largest Muslim Brotherhood front in the United States. It was an unindicted co-conspirator in America's largest terror funding trial, U.S. vs. Holy Land Foundation. Recall that the HLF prosecution resulted in the conviction of all of the defendants on a total of 108 charges, and proved that the Foundation had funneled over \$12 million to the Brotherhood's Palestinian franchise: the State Department-designated terrorist organization, Hamas.

Brennan, nonetheless, enthused about Mattson, expressing appreciation “For your leadership as an academic whose research continues the rich tradition of Islamic scholarship, and as the president of the Islamic Society of North America, where you have been a voice for the tolerance and diversity which defines Islam.”⁴⁴⁸

The characterization of a top Muslim Brotherhood operative in these terms and the embrace of MB disinformation about what “defines” Islam would be a problem in an entry-level CIA analyst. Coming from the top White House official with responsibility for counter-terrorism and homeland security – who is also reputed to be the most influential figure in U.S. intelligence – such deferential treatment is appalling.

Indeed, it is hard to overstate the danger associated with the President of the United States having as his top advisor in these sensitive portfolios someone so severely compromised with respect to shariah and the threat it poses. Corrective actions of the sort outlined in the following chapter must begin with the installation of a leadership that is under no illusion about these topics, and that is both determined *and allowed* to replace willful

blindness and susceptibility to Muslim Brotherhood influence
operations with vigilance and fact-based guidance.

CONCLUSION

Under successive presidencies, the United States has failed to understand, let alone counter successfully, the threat posed to its constitutional form of government and free society by shariah. In the past, such failures were reckless. Today, they are intolerable.

The preceding pages document shariah's true supremacist and totalitarian character. They make clear its incompatibility with the Constitution as the only source of law for this country. As we have seen, shariah explicitly seeks to replace representative governance with an Islamic State, to destroy sovereign and national polities with a global caliphate.

If shariah is thus viewed as an alien legal system hostile to and in contravention of the U.S. Constitution, and as one which dictates both violent and non-violent means to a capable audience ready to act imminently, then logically, those who seek to establish shariah in America – whether by violent means or by stealth – can be said to be engaged in criminal sedition, not the protected practice of a religion.

Ignoring this reality does nothing to mitigate the danger posed by shariah. Rather, its adherents regard their accommodation – even in the name of religious tolerance – as “submission” to their doctrine. The unavoidable result is a further emboldening of those who seek to impose their agenda on the rest of us, quite possibly by using force instead of stealthy, non-violent techniques.

After all, in accordance with Muhammad's example, violence is only supposed to be eschewed when it is impracticable. Evidence that civilization jihad is no longer needed – that submission is being achieved and can be accelerated by terror – can only result in more, and more terrifying, jihadist attacks.

In addition, this behavior, which is often justified as necessary to prevent the alienation of “moderate Muslims,” generally has the opposite result: As with bullies and thugs of other stripes, efforts to appease the Islamists *reinforces* their determination to dominate co-religionists and to compel their conformity to shariah. In mosques, the workplace, financial institutions, courtrooms and government, concessions to shariah actually have the practical effect of denying law-abiding, tolerant Muslims who cherish this country the latitude to enjoy and uphold a free society.

As has been shown in this study (notably in the Appendix), there is arguably no better example of this syndrome than the West's embrace of the stealthy jihadist practice of shariah-compliant finance. In the absence of options to conduct their financial affairs in a “shariah-compliant” fashion, Muslims in America are – pursuant to the shariah doctrine of “necessity” – able to engage in transactions the shariah-adherent consider *haram* (impure).

Once such arrangements *are* available, however, theretofore non-adherent Muslims are subjected to intense pressure to conform to shariah. This can result, among other problematic implications, in the latter's tithing through shariah-compliant financial mechanisms that wind up underwriting jihad.

Particularly problematic have been the concerted efforts made by successive U.S. administrations to embrace the Muslim Brotherhood, both here and abroad. As established above, this organization has as its mission “the destruction of Western civilization from within...by its own miserable hand and that of the Brothers.”

Relying on Brotherhood operatives for “outreach to the Muslim community,” let alone appointing them to influential government jobs, is a formula for disaster. It gives prominence and legitimacy to enemy agents engaged in covert and not-so-covert acts of sedition. It facilitates their penetration and influence over the intelligence, law enforcement and national and homeland security agencies responsible for discerning and defeating such threats.

Importantly, official embrace of MB front organizations and their personnel also has the counterproductive effect of signaling to Muslims who are not shariah-adherent – and therefore, for the moment at least – not the problem, that they should follow and conform to the dictates of those who unalterably *are*. It is hard to imagine a more self-defeating course of action when the best, and possibly only, hope for the survival of Western civilization is to enlist natural allies in the fight against shariah, namely, Muslims who want no more than the rest of us to live under its repression, against their enemies *and ours*: jihadis on a mission to impose shariah.

While detailed recommendations for adopting a more prudential and effective strategy for surviving shariah’s onslaught are beyond the scope of this study, several policy and programmatic changes are clearly in order. These include:

- U.S. policy-makers, financiers, businessmen, judges, journalists, community leaders and the public at large must be equipped with an accurate understanding of the nature of shariah and the necessity of keeping America shariah-free. At a minimum, this will entail resisting – rather than acquiescing to – the concerted efforts now being made to allow that alien and barbaric legal code to become established in this country as an alternate, parallel system to the Constitution and the laws enacted pursuant to it. Arguably, this is already in effect for those who

have taken an oath to “support and defend” the Constitution, because the requirement is subsumed in that oath.

- U.S. government agencies and organizations should cease their outreach to Muslim communities through Muslim Brotherhood fronts whose mission is to destroy our country from within as such practices are both reckless and counterproductive. Indeed, these activities serve to legitimate, protect and expand the influence of our enemies. They conduce to no successful legal outcome that cannot be better advanced via aggressive prosecution of terrorists, terror-funders and other lawbreakers. They also discourage patriotic Muslims from providing actual assistance to the U.S. government lest they be marked for ostracism or worse by the Brothers and other shariah-adherent members of their communities.
- In keeping with Article VI of the Constitution, extend bans currently in effect that bar members of hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan from holding positions of trust in federal, state, or local governments or the armed forces of the United States to those who espouse or support shariah. Instead, every effort should be made to identify and empower Muslims who are willing publicly to denounce shariah.
- Practices that promote shariah – notably, shariah-compliant finance and the establishment or promotion in public spaces or with public funds of facilities and activities that give preferential treatment to shariah’s adherents – are incompatible with the Constitution and the freedoms it enshrines and must be proscribed.

- Sedition is prohibited by law in the United States. To the extent that imams and mosques are being used to advocate shariah in America, they are promoting seditious activity and should be warned that they will not be immune from prosecution.
- Textbooks used in both secular educational systems and Islamic schools must not promote shariah, its tenets, or the notion that America must submit to its dictates.
- Compounds and communities that seek to segregate themselves on the basis of shariah law, apply it alongside or in lieu of the law of the land or otherwise establish themselves as “no-go” zones for law enforcement and other authorities must be thwarted in such efforts. In this connection, assertion of claims to territory around mosques should be proscribed.
- Immigration of those who adhere to shariah must be precluded, as was previously done with adherents to the seditious ideology of communism.

Such measures will, of course, be controversial in some quarters. They will certainly be contested by shariah-adherent Muslims committed to jihad and others who, in the name of exercising or protecting civil liberties, are enabling the destruction of those liberties in furtherance of shariah.

Far from being dispositive, their opposition should be seen as an opportunity – a chance, at a minimum, for a long-overdue debate about the sorts of policies that have brought the West in general and the United States in particular to the present, parlous state of affairs. If this study catalyzes and usefully informs that debate, it will have succeeded.

APPENDIX I: SHARIAH-COMPLIANT FINANCE

Shariah-compliant finance (SCF) is a category of investment or financial transactions that is conducted or structured in such a way as to be considered by Islamic authorities to be “legal,” “authorized” or “pure” (*halal*) pursuant to shariah. Whether a given transaction is deemed “compliant” depends on the approval of one or more Islamic scholars – men who are recognized by such authorities as possessing the requisite knowledge of shariah and who are engaged to serve on a shariah advisory board for the purpose of vetting each deal.⁴⁴⁹

Proponents of shariah-compliant finance often convey the impression that SCF is an “ethical” financial system whose roots and practice are to be found in the Quran, *hadiths* and traditions of early Islam. In fact, it was invented out of whole cloth in the mid-20th Century by Muslim Brotherhood figures like Sayyid Qutb and Sayyid Abul A'la al-Mawdudi. Its purpose was to provide yet another method to penetrate and undermine Western societies by stealthily insinuating shariah into their capitalist free markets. To this end, the Ikhwan seized upon what was, in fact, a biblical injunction against usury and transformed it into a prohibition on charging or earning *any* interest.

According to the SCF industry, other “impure” activities that must not be allowed to sully financial transactions involve pork, gambling, tobacco, music, drugs, pornography and *Western*

defense. (N.B. Transactions involving *Muslim* militaries are not considered *haram*, just those of the United States and its allies, unless they benefit Muslims.)

The shariah-compliant finance industry did not amount to much until the beginning of the present century, when – thanks to the increased price of oil – vast foreign reserves created leverage for the oil-exporting nations, their ruling elites and sovereign wealth funds to demand increasingly SCF options in exchange for recycling their petrodollars. Meanwhile, Western capital market managers and government officials saw an opportunity to repatriate those funds. A number of the most skilled among them set about devising various ingenious gambits that simply *obscured*, rather than actually dispensed with, compensation for the time-value of money.

As long as some shariah authority can be persuaded to bless the construct, it can be marketed as shariah-compliant. Since, without exception, such authorities seek to promote shariah's triumph, they have every incentive to allow the maximum penetration of Western capital markets and have approved an array of mortgages and other lending mechanisms, bonds and investment vehicles that, on close inspection, are artifices for concealing what amounts to interest by any other name.

SHARIAH-COMPLIANT FINANCE'S BENEFITS FOR THE JIHADISTS

The shariah-compliant finance industry provides multiple benefits to the stealth jihadists. For starters, it has created a new instrument for forcing non-shariah-adherent Muslims to conform to their program. Once Western capital markets and governments began accommodating themselves to shariah-compliant finance, such Muslims would be denied the excuse that they previously had to utilize, of “necessity,” interest-related finance (for mort-

gages, bonds, investments, etc.) – namely, simply because no other option existed.

Another benefit to the Ikhwan and its allies: SCF enables the “shariah advisors” to penetrate Western companies that retain their services, often essentially at board level. Once installed as the arbiters of what is *halal* and what is *haram* (impure), these champions of shariah are able to gain insights into investments under consideration, shape deals, and discourage those of which they do not approve.

It stands to reason that from such influential positions, the advisors may be able to have a say not only over transactions involving Muslims, but others, as well. At some point, the mere threat to withdraw approval of large pieces of a bank’s lending portfolio, for example, because another part of the enterprise is doing business with, say, Israel, may be sufficient to enforce what amounts to a boycott of the Jewish State. Needless to say, playing such a role would greatly magnify the opportunities shariah-compliant finance provides, in the words of Muslim Brotherhood spiritual leader Yousuf al-Qaradawi, to wage “jihad with money.”

That is especially so since SCF affords at least two other ways to advance the stealth jihad, besides directly or indirectly influencing Western financial transactions. In accordance with the Islamic obligation to perform *zakat*, promoters of shariah-compliant finance seek to facilitate and control such charitable donations. Qaradawi and other Muslim Brotherhood operatives calculated that by building automatically deducted *zakat* into their various deals, the advisors could obtain and channel vast sums to approved “charities” in accordance with shariah.

Since three of the eight causes that shariah approves for philanthropy indirectly involve supporting jihad and its perpetrators and another one explicitly does so, SCF amounts to a way to dress up substantial opportunities for illegal material support for terror as a protected religious practice of tithing.

The same can be said of funds derived from the “purification” of financial transactions initially deemed to be shariah-compliant but subsequently determined to be *haram*, instead. By sluicing the profits in this way from investments, financial instruments, etc., that were once deemed acceptable, the shariah advisors are able at their discretion to increase still further the sums available for their favorite charities. The latter tend to be shariah-compliant, stealthy – and at least in some cases, actually *violently* – jihadist “charitable organizations.”

‘AGENTS OF INFLUENCE’

For some time now, despite the aforementioned, serious problems, Wall Street has been marketing SCF as little more than a kind of “hot,” “new” product for American pension funds, insurance companies and corporations. Investment banks and other financial institutions have been hiring Muslim religious authorities to sit on corporate SCF advisory boards that directly influence the investment of billions of U.S. dollars.

By so doing, Wall Street has welcomed Islamic Law into the American financial sector. Among major international firms with a presence on Wall Street that now offer SCF products are: AIG, Bank of America, Citicorp, Goldman Sachs, J.P. Morgan Chase, Merrill Lynch, Morgan Stanley Capital, and Wachovia/Wells Fargo.

What is even worse, the U.S. Department of the Treasury also has been officially promoting SCF throughout the U.S. banking and financial system. For example, in November 2008, Treasury featured a training class for U.S. government employees in association with the Islamic Finance Project at Harvard Law School. Dubbed “Islamic Finance 101,” the one-day seminar was intended to familiarize officials from “U.S. banking regulatory agencies, Congress, Department of Treasury and other parts of

the Executive Branch” with what the Treasury termed “an increasingly important part of the global financial industry.”⁴⁵⁰

The Treasury Department and other agencies of the U.S. government have been warned repeatedly and in detail that – whether it is called “Islamic Finance” or the more clear “Shariah-Compliant-Finance” – SCF is used to legitimate and facilitate the penetration of Shariah. As such, it is inherently antithetical to American law.

Unfortunately, to date, neither Treasury, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Reserve Board, nor the rest of the federal government has recognized this reality about either shariah or SCF, the financial component of jihad. In fact, in response to a brief, a senior official actually had the temerity to say to a critic of SCF, “I don’t know what shariah law is, but it can’t possibly be what you say it is.”⁴⁵¹ The willful blindness of Treasury officials regarding the threat to U.S. national security posed by Islamic Law constitutes professional malpractice, at a minimum.

AIG: A CASE STUDY

In September 2008, at the height of the U.S. financial crisis, the U.S. government used more than \$180 billion of taxpayer funds to buy 79.9 percent of the preferred shares of American International Group (AIG) – a massive insurance company deemed “too big to fail.” That purchase made every American taxpayer a part-owner in a company that aggressively promotes SCF. Indeed, AIG is the largest purveyor of shariah-compliant insurance products in the world, thanks to its so-called *Takaful* (or SCF) division that has sold such shariah-based insurance products since 2006. Its Sun America, AIG Financial Services Corp. and other divisions also deal in shariah financial instruments.⁴⁵²

In December 2008, the Michigan-based Thomas More Law Center and attorney David Yerushalmi, a litigator expert in security transactions and shariah-compliant financing, filed a law-

suit against the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve Board alleging that AIG is promoting Islam in violation of the First Amendment's Establishment clause.⁴⁵³ This constitutional provision requires the separation of church and state.

Clearly, in the case of AIG, the state is actively *promoting* a religious program: shariah. For example, AIG's division for SCF products (which changed its name from AIG Takaful to CHAR-TIS Takaful (a.k.a. Enaya) in November 2009 and scrubbed its website of shariah references) has explicitly promoted shariah, not just its SCF products.⁴⁵⁴

In addition, in accordance with Islamic Law, AIG's Shariah-compliant business units must not invest funds in any enterprise that does business with religious entities that are *not* Muslim. As noted above, AIG's Shariah-compliant business units may invest in a Muslim-owned arms factory that sells exclusively to Muslim armies – but not one that is owned by Christians or Jews, or that sells weapons to Christians or Jews.

In these and myriad other ways, the U.S. government and taxpayers are effectively made participants by their ownership of AIG in a global campaign to subjugate the world to shariah Islam. While most U.S. taxpayers are completely unaware that they have been embroiled in such activities, officials at the Department of the Treasury, Federal Reserve and Security Exchange Commission have a professional obligation to know. So, too, do those charged with oversight of these agencies on Capitol Hill.

Closely related to the objectionable U.S. ownership of a shariah compliant entity is the fact that the Islamic legal authorities that sit on AIG's board of advisors for shariah compliance are themselves either advocates of jihad in the name of shariah or are the students and disciples of such authorities. Specifically, AIG's takaful advisors include Mufti Imran Usmani, who is the "son, student, and disciple" of Mufti Taqi Usmani.⁴⁵⁵ The elder Usmani sat on the Dow Jones Islamic Index shariah advisory board for

some 10 years beginning in 1999 during which time, he called on Western Muslims to rise up in violent jihad.⁴⁵⁶

In short, it is clear that the U.S. government, and in particular the U.S. Department of the Treasury, is engaged – wittingly or unwittingly – in conduct calculated to introduce shariah not just into the U.S. banking and financial system, but into the society more generally. Given the wealth of information available to these officials (and explicated throughout this report) about the critical threat posed by shariah to the existing U.S. system of law, their behavior that as the effect of promoting a legal system demonstrably antithetical to the Constitution can only be described as reckless and malfeasant.

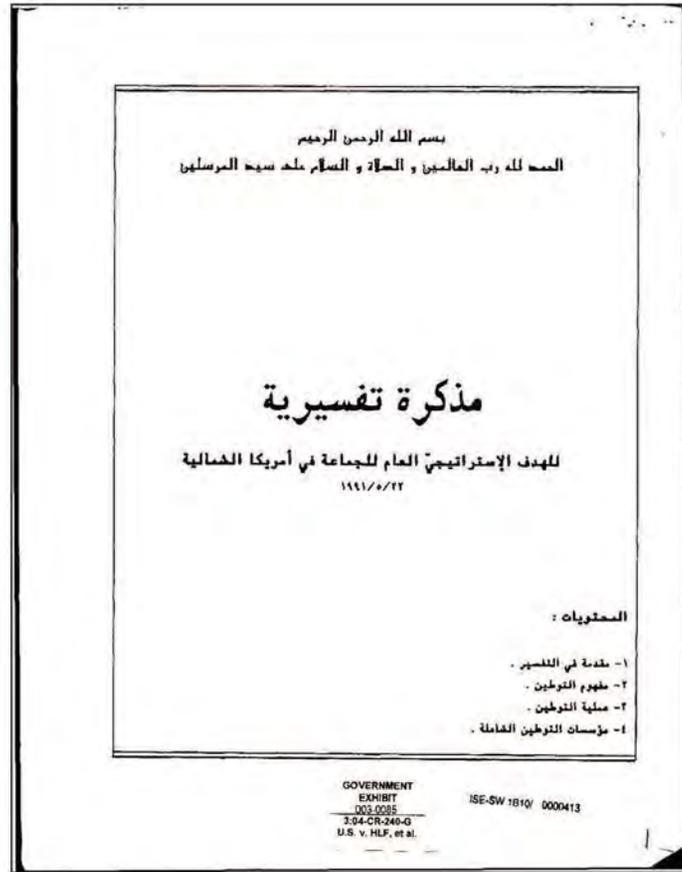
Whether reckless out of ignorance or willfully malfeasant, these officials must be held to their oaths of office and, in particular, their sworn obligation to defend, uphold and protect the American legal system as established by the Constitution. (See chapter eight.)

APPENDIX II:
"AN EXPLANATORY
MEMORANDUM ON THE GENERAL
STRATEGIC GOAL FOR THE GROUP
IN NORTH AMERICA"

The following Muslim Brotherhood document was entered into evidence in the *U.S. v Holy Land Foundation* trial, and is a primary source threat document that provides new insights into global jihad organizations like the Muslim Brotherhood. These documents (covered extensively in chapter four) define the structure and outline of domestic jihad threat entities, associated non-governmental organizations and potential terrorist or insurgent support systems. The Memorandum also describes aspects of the global jihad's strategic information warfare campaign and indications of its structure, reach and activities. It met evidentiary standards to be admissible as evidence in a Federal Court of law.

In the original document, the first 16 pages are in the original Arabic and the second are English translations of the same. It is dated May 22, 1991 and titled "An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America" (Memorandum). The document includes an Attachment 1 that contains "*a list of our organizations and the organizations of our friends.*"

The Memorandum expressly recognizes the Muslim Brotherhood (Ikkwan) as the controlling element of these organizations and expressly identifies the Muslim Brotherhood as the leadership element in implementing the strategic goals. The Memorandum is reproduced here in its official Federal Court translation, as Government Exhibit 003-0085 3:04-CR-240-G in *U.S. v Holy Land Foundation, et al.* with punctuation, line spacing and spelling intact.



**AN EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM ON THE
GENERAL STRATEGIC GOAL FOR THE GROUP IN
NORTH AMERICA—5/22/1991**

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

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 Confer-

ence 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 “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.
- 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.

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.

And the second - is the global Movement has not succeeded yet in "distributing roles" to its branches, stating what is the 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.

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.

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 priori-

ties, 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 Dawah” 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 Dawah 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 Dawah 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, 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.

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 Harned 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 ow 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.

- 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:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 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.

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'.
- 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.

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.

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.

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 SCI-
ENTISTS |
| 5- AMSE | THE ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCIENTISTS
AND ENGINEERS |
| 6- IMA | ISLAMIC MEDICAL ASSOCIATION |
| 7- ITC | SLAMIC 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 [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

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Lieutenant General William G. "Jerry" Boykin US Army (Ret.) served primarily in Delta Force and Special Forces assignments during his 36-year career in the Army, which culminated with appointment as Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Intelligence in the Pentagon, overseeing the gathering and exploitation of intelligence during the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. He is an original member of the Army's elite Delta Force and participated in almost all of the U.S.'s special operations since 1979, including the Desert One hostage-rescue attempt in Iran in 1980, Panama in 1989, and the invasion of Grenada in 1983, where he was wounded by a .50 caliber machine-gun round through the chest. Gen. Boykin attended the Armed Forces Staff College, Army War College and received his Masters Degree at Shippensburg University. His badges include the Master Parachutist Badge, Military Freefall Badge, Ranger Tab and Special Forces Tab. Medals and awards include: the Service Medal, Defense Superior Service Medal (with 3 Oak Leaf Clusters), Legion of Merit (with Oak Leaf Cluster), Bronze Star Medal, Air Medal, and two Purple Hearts (with Oak Leaf Cluster).



Lieutenant General Edward Soyster, US Army (Ret.) was a career Army officer with staff and command assignments at all levels. All of his assignments as a general officer were in intelligence culminating as Director, Defense Intelligence Agency during Panama Invasion and Desert Shield/Storm.



Christine Brim is the Chief Operating Officer, Center for Security Policy. She has over twenty years experience in risk management, business continuity planning and disaster recovery planning. She has published in the areas of communications and logistics. She received her MBA from George Mason University with a focus on decision support systems.



Ambassador Henry F. Cooper is Chairman of the Board of Directors of High Frontier and Chairman Emeritus of Applied Research Associates. Ambassador Cooper was appointed by the President to serve as Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Air Force with oversight responsibility for Air Force strategic and space systems and has served as Assistant Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Ambassador and Chief U.S. Negotiator at the Geneva Defense and Space Talks with the Soviet Union, and Director of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). In the private sector, he taught Engineering Mechanics at Clemson University, and worked at Bell Telephone Laboratories, R&D Associates, JAYCOR and Applied Research Associates. He served in the U.S. Air Force and as Scientific Advisor to the Air Force Weapons Laboratory. Throughout his career, he served on numerous technical and policy working groups and advisory boards—including the Defense Science Board, the Air Force Scientific Advisory

Board, U.S. Strategic Command's Strategic Advisory Group, the Defense Nuclear Agency's Scientific Advisory Group on Effects, and a Congressional Commission to assess the U.S. government's organization and programs to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. He holds BS and MS degrees from Clemson University and a PhD from New York University, all in Mechanical Engineering.



Stephen C. Coughlin, Esq. is an attorney and holds the rank of Major in the U.S. Army Reserves. He is a specialist on Islamic Sharia Law, Islamic doctrine and ideology, and the strategic information/War of Ideas with experience in international law, intelligence, strategic communications and project management. He holds a Masters degree in Strategic Intelligence, with a focus on global terrorism and Jihadist movements; his JD is from the William Mitchell School of Law.



Michael del Rosso is an accomplished technology executive whose career spans 30 years. He has served as CEO and CTO of large public companies and early stage companies. He is a Senior Member of the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers (IEEE), past Chairman of the IEEE-USA Critical Infrastructure Protection Committee (CIPC), a 2006 Lincoln Fellow at The Claremont Institute where he is presently Research Fellow in National Security Policy, Senior Fellow for Homeland and National Security at the Center for Security Policy, and has been a Certified Information Systems Security Professional (CISSP).



Frank Gaffney is the Founder and President of the Center for Security Policy in Washington, D.C., a not-for-profit, non-partisan educational corporation established in 1988. Mr. Gaffney is the host of Secure Freedom Radio, a nationally-syndicated radio program heard weeknights throughout the country that addresses current and emerging threats to national security, sovereignty and our ways of life. Mr. Gaffney is the lead-author of *War Footing: Ten Steps America Must Take to Prevail in the War for the Free World* (Naval Institute Press, 2005), a highly acclaimed volume that constitutes an "owner's manual" for the new global conflict in which America finds itself engaged - the War for the Free World. Mr. Gaffney also contributes actively to the security policy debate in his capacity as a weekly columnist and contributor to National Review Online and other nationally syndicated columns and radio programs. In 1987, Mr. Gaffney was nominated by President Reagan to become the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, the senior position in the Defense Department with responsibility for policies involving nuclear forces, arms control and U.S.-European defense relations. Previously, from August 1983 until November 1987, Mr. Gaffney was the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear Forces and Arms Control Policy under Assistant Secretary Richard Perle. Mr. Gaffney holds a Master of Arts degree in International Studies from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and a Bachelor of Science in Foreign Service from the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service.



John Guandolo is a 1989 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, who took a commission as an Officer in the United States Marine Corps. He served with 2d Battalion 2d Marines as an Infantry Platoon Commander in combat in Operations Desert Shield/Storm. Mr. Guandolo was a combat diver, a military freefall parachutist, and is a graduate of U.S. Army Ranger School. In 1996, Mr. Guandolo resigned his commission in the Marine Corps to join the Federal Bureau of Investigation, serving at the Washington Field Office where he conducted narcotics investigations domestically and overseas; in 2001, he served for one year as the FBI Liaison to the U.S. Capitol Police investigating threats against the President, Vice-President, Members of Congress, and other high-level government officials. Shortly after 9/11, Mr. Guandolo began an assignment to the Counterterrorism Division of the Washington Field Office working there for over five years and developing an expertise in the Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic Doctrine, the global Islamic Movement, and myriad terrorist organizations to include Hamas, Al Qaeda, and others. In 2006, Mr. Guandolo created and implemented the FBI's first Counterterrorism Training/Education Course focusing on the Muslim Brotherhood and their subversive movement in the United States, Islamic Doctrine, and the global Islamic Movement. Mr. Guandolo currently works advising governments—U.S. and others—on matters related to National Security, specifically the threat from the Global Islamic Movement. He actively educates members of law enforcement, the intelligence community, military, national guard, key community leaders.



Brian T. Kennedy is President of the Claremont Institute. Mr. Kennedy has been with the Institute since 1989. He became the fourth president of the Claremont Institute in 2002. During

his tenure he has directed the Institute's Golden State Center in Sacramento and also the Institute's National Security Project. In addition to his duties as president, Mr. Kennedy serves as publisher of the Claremont Review of Books and is a member of the Independent Working Group on Missile Defense. His articles on national security affairs and public policy issues have appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*, *National Review*, and *Investor's Business Daily*. Mr. Kennedy is a native Californian and a graduate of Claremont McKenna College.



Clare M. Lopez is a strategic policy and intelligence expert with a focus on Middle East, national defense, and counterterrorism issues. Currently a senior fellow at the Center for Security Policy and vice president of the Intelligence Summit, she formerly was a career operations officer with the Central Intelligence Agency and Executive Director of the Iran Policy Committee from 2005-2006. Ms. Lopez is deputy director of the U.S. Counterterrorism Advisory Team for the Military Department of the South Carolina National Guard and serves as a member of the Board of Advisors for the Center for Democracy and Human Rights in Saudi Arabia, the Institute of World Affairs, and the Intelligence Analysis and Research program at her undergraduate alma mater, Notre Dame College of Ohio. She has been a Visiting Researcher and guest lecturer at Georgetown University. Ms. Lopez is a regular contributor to print and broadcast media on subjects related to Iran and the Middle East and the co-author of two published books on Iran. She is the author of an acclaimed paper for the Center, *The Rise of the Iran Lobby*. Ms. Lopez received a B.A. in Communications and French from Notre Dame College of Ohio and an M.A. in International Relations from the Maxwell School of Syracuse University. She completed Marine Corps Officer Candidate School (OCS) in Quantico, Virginia before declining a commission to join the CIA.



Admiral James A. "Ace" Lyons, Jr. (U.S. Navy, Ret.), is President/CEO of LION Associates LLC. As an Officer of the U.S. Navy for thirty-six years, most recently as Commander in Chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, the largest single military command in the world, Admiral Lyons' initiatives contributed directly to the economic stability and humanitarian understanding in the Pacific and Indian Ocean regions and brought the U.S. Navy Fleet back to China. He also served as Senior U.S. Military Representative to the United Nations. As the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations from 1983–1985, he was principal advisor on all Joint Chiefs of Staff matters and was the father of the Navy Red Cell, an anti-terrorism group comprised of Navy Seals he established in response to the Marine Barracks bombing in Beirut. Admiral Lyons was also Commander of the U.S. Second Fleet and Commander of the NATO Striking Fleet, which were the principal fleets for implementing the Maritime Strategy. As Fleet Commander he managed a budget of over \$5 billion and controlled a force of 250,000 personnel. He is a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy and has received post graduate degrees from the U.S. Naval War College and the U.S. National Defense University.



Andrew C. McCarthy is the author of two *New York Times* bestsellers, *Willful Blindness* (2008) and, most recently, *The Grand Jihad*. He is a senior fellow at the National Review Institute, and a contributing editor at *National Review*. For 18 years he was an assistant United States attorney in the Southern District of New York, and in 1995 he led the terrorism prosecution against the "Blind Sheikh" (Omar Abdel Rahman) and the jihadist cell that carried out the World Trade

Center bombing and plotted to attack New York City landmarks. After the 9/11 attacks, he supervised the U.S. attorney's command post near Ground Zero.

Patrick Poole is one of the nation's leading analysts on issues related to the Muslim Brotherhood and terrorist activities in the United States. He is a primary presenter at the U.S. Army Counterterrorism conference, and has briefed numerous law enforcement and intelligence units throughout America. Mr. Poole is a journalist writing for several think tanks, publications, and blog sites regarding national security issues, specifically pertaining to the Muslim Brotherhood Movement, and has done international work involving Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Asia. His articles on jihadist ideology and Islamic radicalization have appeared in the *Journal of International Security Affairs*, the *Journal on Counterterrorism and Homeland Security* and the *Middle East Review of International Affairs*.



Joseph E. Schmitz served as the fifth Senate-confirmed Inspector General of the Department of Defense from April 2002 to September 2005. As such, he was agency head of the most expansive Inspector General organization in the world, with statutory policy oversight responsibility for roughly 60,000 auditors, investigators, inspectors, law enforcement officers, and oversight professionals throughout the Department of Defense. Prior to that, he was a Partner in the international law firm of Patton Boggs LLP, and at the same time, as a Naval Reservist, served as Inspector General of the Naval Reserve Intelligence Command. Mr. Schmitz currently serves as CEO of JOSEPH E. SCHMITZ, PLLC, the core values of which are integrity, transparent accountability, disciplined teamwork, and independ-

ence. He graduated with distinction from the U.S. Naval Academy and earned his J.D. degree from Stanford Law School.



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pears in about 120 newspapers, including the Washington Examiner on Sundays. Her work has appeared in many publications including The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Times, The New Criterion, The Public Interest, The Weekly Standard, In Character, and The Washington Post Magazine, and her fiction has appeared in the Atlantic Monthly. She has made numerous television appearances as a CNN contributor to "Lou Dobbs Tonight" and "Lou Dobbs This Week." She is now at work on her second book for St Martin's Press, *The Hollow Center*.



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David Yerushalmi, Esq., General Counsel to the Center for Security Policy. Mr. Yerushalmi is a lawyer specializing in litigation and risk analysis, especially as it relates to geo-strategic policy, national security, international business relations, securities law, disclosure, and due diligence requirements for domestic and international concerns. David Yerushalmi has been involved in international legal and constitutional matters for over 25 years. David Yerushalmi is today considered an expert on Is-

lamic law and its intersection with Islamic terrorism and national security. In this capacity, he has published widely on the subject including the principal critical scholarship on Shariah-compliant finance published in the *Utah Law Review* (2008, Issue 3). This work and the empirical investigation known as the Mapping Shariah project in America was the focus of a recent monograph published by the McCormack Foundation and the Center for Security Policy.

NOTES

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- 1 See, e.g., “Muslim Public Opinion on US Policy, Attacks on Civilians and al Qaeda,” University of Maryland Program on International Policy Attitudes, April 24, 2007, <http://www.worldpublicopinion.org>
- 2 See in this regard, Andrew McCarthy, “Which Islam Will Prevail in America,” August 20, 2010, <http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/244349/which-islam-will-prevail-america-andrew-c-mccarthy>.
- 3 Mohamad Akram, *An Explanatory Memorandum: On the General Strategic Goal for the Group*, May 22, 1991, Government Exhibit 003-0085/3:04-CR-240-G U.S. v. HLF, et al., United States District Court, Northern District of Texas, <http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-25-08/Elbarasse%20Search%203.pdf>, 18. Hereafter cited as *Explanatory Memorandum*.
- 4 Paragraph 1, §§ 1 and 2, *Explanatory Memorandum*, 18. Reads:
- 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".

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*.

5 Paragraph 4, *Explanatory Memorandum*, 20. Reads:

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 lives 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 ...

6 Paragraph 4, § 4, *Explanatory Memorandum*, 21. Reads:

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.

- 7 Newt Gingrich, "America at Risk: Camus, National Security and Afghanistan," accessed August 1, 2010, <http://www.aei.org/video/101267>
- 8 See, for example, Congressional Muslim Staff Association briefing on Capitol Hill, September 1, 2010.
- 9 See, for example, <http://www.tabletmag.com/news-and-politics/42898/lawless/Lee-Smith> September 5th, 2010, <http://www.tabletmag.com/news-and-politics/42898/lawless/>.
- 10 Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri, *Umdat al-Salik (Reliance of the Traveller: A Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law)*, rev. ed., trans. Nuh Ha Mim Keller. (Beltsville, Amana Publications, 1994) ; Chapter h8.17, 272.
- 11 Quran Sura 65:4 describes the waiting period for a divorce to be final: "Such of your women as have passed the age of monthly courses, for them the prescribed period, if ye have any doubts, is three months; and for those who have no courses (it is the same)."
- 12 al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler*, Chapter 01.2, pgs. 583-84 enumerates those categories of Muslims who "are not subject to retaliation" for killing: "(4) a father or mother (or their fathers or mothers) for killing their offspring, or offspring's offspring."
- 13 al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler*, Chapter 04.3: "Circumcision is obligatory (for both men and women ... for women, removing the prepuce of the clitoris ...)."
- 14 Quran Sura 4:3: "... marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four..."

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- 15 Quran Sura 4:34: “... And to those women on whose part ye fear disloyalty and ill-conduct, admonish them (first), (next) refuse to share their beds, (and last) beat them”
- 16 Quran Sura 2:233: “Your wives are as a tilth unto you, so approach your tilth when or how ye will”
- 17 Maxim Lott, “Advocates of Anti-Shariah Measures Alarmed by Judge’s Ruling,” *Fox News*, August 5, 2010, accessed August 6, 2010, <http://www.foxnews.com/us/2010/08/05/advocates-anti-shariah-measures-alarmed-judges-ruling/>
- 18 Shamim A Siddiqi, *Methodology of Dawah Ilallah In American Perspective*, (Brooklyn, NY, 1989). The text in full is available online, accessed July 18, 2010, <http://www.dawahinamericas.com/bookspdf/MethodologyofDawah.pdf>
- 19 *Explanatory Memorandum*, 18.
- 20 Paragraph 1, §§ 1 and 2, *Explanatory Memorandum*, 18. Reads:

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(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*.

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23 Robert Spencer, *Stealth Jihad: How Radical Islam is Subverting America Without Guns or Bombs*, Regnery Publishing, 2008.

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- 24 Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones*, (Salimiah, Kuwait: International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations.1978 [written 1966]), 139.
- 25 Louay M. Safi, *Peace and the Limits of War: Transcending Classical Conception of Jihad*. (Herndon, VA: IIIT, 2001), 42.
- 26 U.S. v Holy Land Foundation case, No. 43, Attachment A, List of Unindicted Co-conspirators and/or Joint Ventures, United States of America vs. Holy Land Foundation, United States District Court for Northern District of Texas, Dallas Division, (Case 3:04-cr-00240, Document 656-2), 29 March 2007, at 8, at <http://www.websupp.com/data/NDTX/3:04-cr-00240-635-NDTX.pdf> or at http://www.nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/HLF/US_v_HLF_Unindicted_Coconspirators.pdf
- 27 Government Exhibit: Philly Meeting - 15, 3:04-CR-240-G, U.S. v. HLF, et al., at 2,3, at <http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-29-08/Philly%20Meeting%2015.pdf>
- 28 Steven Merley, "The Muslim Brotherhood in the United States," *Research Monographs on the Muslim World*, Series No 2, Paper No 3 (Hudson Institute, Washington, DC, April 2009), Appendix II, 52.
- 29 "List of Unindicted Co-conspirators and/or Joint Venturers," *United States of America v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, Attachment A*, in the online library of the NEFA Foundation, pp 1-11, accessed September 8, 2010, http://www.nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/HLF/US_v_HLF_Unindicted_Coconspirators.pdf
- 30 Andrew C. McCarthy, "The Government's Jihad on Jihad," *The National Review Online*, May 13, 2008, accessed September 8, 2010, <http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/224461/governments-jihad-i-jihad-i/andrew-c-mccarthy>
- 31 Patrick Poole, "Willful Blindness: Army Unprepared for Another Jihadist Attack," May 3, 2010, <http://pajamasmedia.com/blog/willful-blindness-army-unprepared-for-another-jihadist-attack>

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<http://www.defense.gov/news/d20100820FortHoodFollowon.pdf>
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 “Ahmadinejad: Israel must be wiped off map,” *Gulf Times* (Qatar), October 27, 2005 (http://www.gulf-times.com/site/topics/article.asp?cu_no=2&item_no=58372&version=1&template_id=37&parent_id=17).
- 35 The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, Remarks by John O. Brennan, Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism—As Prepared for Delivery: “A New Approach to Safeguarding Americans,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, James S. Brady Press Briefing Room, Washington, DC, August 6, 2009.
- 36 “Counterterror Adviser Defends Jihad as ‘Legitimate Tenet of Islam,’” *Fox News*, May 27, 2010.
- 37 al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler*, , (Chapter 09.0), “Jihad,” 599.
- 38 “Backgrounder: The President’s Quotes on Islam,” *News and Policies/Policies in Focus*, the White House,
<http://merln.ndu.edu/MERLN/PFIraq/archive/wh/islam1.pdf>
- 39 “Remarks by the President on Strengthening Intelligence and Aviation Security,” The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, January 7th, 2010, accessed April 29th, 2010,
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-strengthening-intelligence-and-aviation-security>
- 40 Gary DeMary, “America’s 200-Year War with Islamic Terrorism: The Strange Case of the Treaty of Tripoli” ;2009,
<http://www.americanvision.org/mediafiles/americas-200-year-old-war-with-islam.pdf>
- 41 See Major Hasan’s Power Point presentation at JihadWatch.org:
<http://www.Jihadwatch.org/images/MAJ%20Hasan%20Slides.pdf>

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- 42 Former Joint Chiefs of Staff expert Stephen Coughlin modified an existing briefing to show the fidelity of Major Hasan's presentation to shariah. On Hasan's acceptability as an "acting" substitute for the Fort Hood Imam based on that imam's assessment, see <http://abcnews.go.com/video/playerIndex?id=9013819> accessed September 27, 2010.
- 43 Robert Spencer, "Islamic Radical Tied to New Boston Mosque," *Jihad Watch*, March 9, 2004, accessed August 5, 2010, <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2004/03/islamic-radical-tied-to-new-boston-mosque.html>
- 44 Explanatory Memorandum
- 45 "Criminal Complaint, United States of America vs. Abdurahman Mohammed Alamoudi, United States District Court, Eastern District of Virginia", September 2003, accessed April 29, 2010, <http://fl1.findlaw.com/news.findlaw.com/hdocs/docs/terrorism/usalamoudi93003cmp.pdf>
- 46 al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler*, h8.17, 272.
- 47al-Misri, 'Reliance of the Traveler, ol.2, 583-84 enumerates those categories of Muslims who "are not subject to retaliation" for killing: "(4) a father or mother (or their fathers or mothers) for killing their offspring, or offspring's offspring."
- 48 al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler*, m10.4, 538. See also Quran Sura 4:34: "... And to those women on whose part ye fear disloyalty and ill-conduct, admonish them (first), (next) refuse to share their beds, (and last) beat them ..."
- 49al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler*, o4.3: "Circumcision is obligatory (for both men and women ... for women, removing the prepuce of the clitoris ...)."
- 50 Quran Sura 4:3: "... marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four ..."
- 51 Mohammed ibn Isma'il Bukhari, *The Translation of the Meaning of Sahih al-Bukhari*, trans. Mohammed Muhsin Khan, 8 vols. (Medina, Dar al-Fikr: 1981) 5:58.234

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- 52 al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler*, m3.7, 520.
- 53 al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler*, m5.1, 525.
- 54 al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler*, ol.2, pgs. 583-84 enumerates those categories of Muslims who “are not subject to retaliation” for killing: “(4) a father or mother (or their fathers or mothers) for killing their offspring, or offspring’s offspring.”
- 55 Quran Sura 2:233: “Your wives are as a tilth unto you, so approach your tilth when or how ye will....”
- 56 Maxim Lott, “Advocates of Anti-shariah Measures Alarmed by Judge’s Ruling,” *Fox News*, August 5, 2010. Accessed August 6, 2010, <http://www.foxnews.com/us/2010/08/05/advocates-anti-shariah-measures-alarmed-judges-ruling/>
- 57 Imran Ahsan Khan Nyazee, *Theories of Islamic Law: The Methodology of Ijtihad*, 2d ed., (Kuala Lumpur: The Other Press, 2002), 50. For example, from a contemporary Pakistani law professor:
- Islam, it is generally acknowledged, is a “complete way of life” and at the core of this code is the law of Islam. This implies that a Muslim through his submission to Islam not only accepts the unity of Allah, the truth of the mission of Mohammed, but also agrees through a contract (*bay’ah*) with the Muslim community that his life be regulated in accordance with the *ahkam* of Allah, and in accordance with these *ahkam* alone. No other sovereign or authority is acceptable to the Muslim, unless it guarantees the application of these laws in their entirety. Any other legal system, howsoever attractive it may appear on the surface, is alien for Muslims and is not likely to succeed in the solution of their problems; it would be doomed from the start. ... A comprehensive application of these laws, which flow directly or indirectly from the decrees (*ahkam*) of Allah, would mean that they should regulate every area of life, from politics to private transactions, from criminal justice to the laws of traffic, from ritual to international law, and from the laws of taxation and finance to embezzlement and white collar crimes.

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- 58 Jerrold M. Post, *Leaders and their Followers in a Dangerous World: The Psychology of Political Behavior*, (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, NY, 2004), 139, citing Amir Taheri, *Holy Terror*, (unknown binding, 1989).
- “It is the nature of Islam to dominate, not to be dominated, to impose its law on all nations and to extend its power to the entire planet.”
- 59 Andrew Bostom, “Shiite Iran’s Genocidal Jew-Hatred: Part 3,” accessed August 6, 2010,
<http://www.andrewbostom.org/blog/2008/07/20/390/>
- 60 Jason Burke and Ian Traynor, “Fears of an Islamic Revolt in Europe Begin to Fade,” *The Guardian Observer*, July 26, 2009, accessed July 4, 2010,
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/jul/26/radicalisation-european-muslims>
- 61 Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones*, (Salimiah, Kuwait: International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations, 1978 [written 1966]), 139.
- 62 Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, (Baltimore, 2006), 64. See also Andrew Bostom, *The Legacy of Jihad* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2005), 95-6.
- 63 Siddiqi, *Methodology of Dawah Ilallah*, 57.
- 64 See the Mapping Shariah Project at <https://www.mappingsharia.us>
- 65 See The Investigative Project on Terrorism, directed by Steven Emerson, for a voluminous collection of the Holy Land Foundation trial documents at <http://www.investigativeproject.org>
- 66 Accessed September 9, 2010, <http://www.shoebat.com/bio.php>
- 67 Accessed September 9, 2010, <http://www.kamalsaleem.com/>
- 68 Accessed September 9, 2010,
<http://www.ignatius.com/Products/SOH-H/son-of-hamas.aspx>
- 69 Nyazee, *Theories of Islamic Law: The Methodology of Ijtihad*, 118, 119, 318, 316.

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- 70 Amir Taheri, *Holy Terror: Inside the World of Islamic Terrorism* (Adler & Adler, 1987), 241-3.
- 71 Yahiya Emerick, Yahiya Emerick. *What Islam is all About: A Student Textbook, Grades 7 to 12*, 5th rev. ed. (Lebanon, Noorart, 2004), 354.
- 72 See, for example, Congressional Muslim Staff Association briefing on Capitol Hill, September 1, 2010.
- 73 See, for example, Lee Smith, accessed September 5th, 2010, <http://www.tabletmag.com/news-and-politics/42898/lawless>
- 74 "Sources of Islamic Law," *Legal Service India*, accessed August 16, 2010, <http://www.legalserviceindia.com/article/I302-Sources-of-Islamic-Law.html>
- 75 Asaf A.A. Fyzee, *Outlines of Mohammedan Law*, 4th ed. (Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 1974), 19. Cited hereafter as Fyzee.
- 76 al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler*, vii.
- 77 David Bukay, "Peace of Jihad? Abrogation in Islam," *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2007 (3-11), accessed June 7, 2010, <http://www.meforum.org/1754/peace-or-jihad-abrogation-in-islam>
- 78 Qutb, *Milestones*, 28, 29.
- 79 Slide 16 "Conclusions," Major Nidal M. Hasan, "Koran," June 2007, first given to fellow psychiatrist/interns at Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington, D.C., published by the Washington Post as a PowerPoint in PDF format at URL: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/gallery/2009/11/10/GA2009111000920.html>, 5 November 2009. Cited hereafter as "Slide # "slide title," Major Hasan Briefing."
- 80 Slide 35 "Example: Jihad-rule of Abrogation," Major Hasan Briefing
- 81 It is important to note that there is no consensus on the use of the *Sira* to arrive at shariah. The *Sira* is mentioned here merely as the accompanying component of the *Sunna* to the *ahadith* but should in no way be considered their legal equivalent.

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- 82 See, for example, Q 3:103, 3:110, 4:59 and 4:115
- 83 Abdur Rahman I. Doi, *Shariah: The Islamic Law*. (Kuala Lumpur: A.S. Noordeen, 1984), 5. Cited hereafter as Doi, *shariah*.
- 84 Mohammed Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, 3d rev. ed., (Cambridge, UK, The Islamic Text Society, 2003), 8.
- 85 Kamali, *Principles*, 8.
- 86 Nyazee, *Theories of Islamic Law: The Methodology of Ijtihad*, 50.
- 87 Nyazee, *Ijtihad*, at 50.
- 88 Doi, *shariah*, 466.
- 89 al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler*, at § b2.1, Reads: b2.0. The Koranic Evidence for Following Scholars, b2.1 (Mohammed Sa'id Buti:) "The first aspect of it is the work of Allah the Majestic, 'Ask those who recall if you know not' (Qur'an 16:43). By consensus of all the scholars (*ijma*), this verse is an imperative for someone who does not know a ruling in Sacred Law or the evidence for it to follow someone who does. Virtually all scholars of fundamental Islamic law have made this verse their principle evidence that it is obligatory for the ordinary person to follow the scholar who is a *mujtahid*."89 (Emphasis added.)
- 90 al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler* at §§ b7.1 and b7.2:
- § b7.1: ("Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf:) Scholarly consensus (*ijma*) is the agreement of all the *mujtahids* of the Muslims existing at one particular period after the Prophet's death (Allah bless him and give him peace) about a particular ruling regarding a matter or event."
- § b7.2 "When the ... necessary integrals of consensus exist, the ruling agreed upon is an authoritative part of Sacred Law that is obligatory to obey and not lawful to disobey. Nor can *mujtahids* of a succeeding era make the thing an object of new *ijtihad*, because the ruling on it, verified by scholarly consensus, is an absolute ruling which does not admit of being contravened or annulled."
- 91 Hamdy Al-Husseini & Abdullah Farag, IOL Correspondents, "IAMS Delegation to Visit Darfur: Al-Qaradawi," *IslamOnline.net*, Hamdy

Al-Husseini & Abdullah Farag, September 1, 2006, accessed June 12 2010, <http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2004-09/01/article02.shtml>

- 92 Doi, *shariah*, 465, 466.
- 93 Emerick. *What Islam is all About*, 381.
- 94 Emerick, *What Islam is All About*, 377.
- 95 Emerick, *What Islam is All About*, 376.
- 96 See Mark Durie, *The Third Choice: Islam, Dhimmitude and Freedom*, (Deror Books, 2009).
- 97 Douglas E. Streusand, "What Does Jihad Mean?" *Middle East Quarterly*, September 1997. For a listing of all appearances in the Quran of Jihad and related words, see Mohammed Fu'ad 'Abd al-Baqi, *Al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li-Alfaz al-Quran al-Karim* (Cairo, Matabi' ash-Sha'b, 1278), 182-83; and Hanna E. Kassis, *A Concordance of the Quran* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 587-88.
- 98 Bukhari, Hadith, 4:34:204.
- 99 Bukhari, *Hadith*, 4:196:124
- 100 al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler*.
- 101 *Ibid.*, § 09.0, "Jihad," 599.
- 102 *Ibid.*
- 103 *Ibid.*
- 104 Burhan al-Din al-Farghani, al-Marghinani, *Al-Hidaya: The Guidance*, 2 vols. Trans. Imran Ahsan Khan Nyazee. (Bristol, England, Amal Press, 2008). As cited in Andrew Bostom, *The Legacy of Jihad*, 27.
- 105 Abu al-Walid Mohammed ibn Ahmad ibn Rushd, (aka Averroës), *The Distinguished Primer (Bidayat al-Mujtahid wa Nihayat al-Muqtasid)*. 2 vols. Trans. Imran Ahsan Khan Nyazee. (Reading, Garnet Publishing, 2002). As cited in Andrew Bostom, *The Legacy of Jihad*, 147-160.

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- 106 Mohammed ibn al-Hasan al-Shaybani. *The Islamic Law of Nations: Shaybani's Siyar (Kitab al-siyar al-kabir)*. Trans. Majid Khadduri. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966). As cited in Andrew Bostom, *The Legacy of Jihad*, 182-3.
- 107 Streusand.
- 108 Qutb, *Milestones*,
- 109 Qutb, *Milestones*, 127.
- 110 Quran 3:104, 110 commands Muslims to "enjoin the good and forbid the evil." This phrase covers the entire moral content of Islam.
- 111 Johannes J.G. Jansen, "The Neglected Duty: The Creed of Sadat's Assassins and Islamic Resurgence in the Middle East." (1986), accessed May 4, 2010, http://gertrudebelljar.typepad.com/the_gertrude_belljar/2003/03/the_neglected_d.html
- 112 Brigadier S. K. Malik, Pakistani Army, *The Quranic Concept of War*, First Indian Reprint, (New Delhi, India, Himalayan Books, 1986).
- 113 Brigadier S.K. Malik, *The Quranic Concept of War* (with a forward by General Zia-ul-Haq), (Lahore, Pakistan, Wajid Al's Ltd., 1979), (This paper relies on the 1986 First Indian Reprint). Cited hereafter as S.K. Malik, xi.
- 114 S.K. Malik, xiii.
- 115 Translating Jihad, March 18, 2010, <http://translating-jihad.blogspot.com/2010/03/moheet-purpose-of-jihad-is-to-establish.html>
- 116 The Legacy of Jihad, 28
- 117 Etan Kohlberg, "The Development of the Imami Shi'i Doctrine of Jihad", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1976, 126, 64-86; 80-81.
- 118 *Ibid.* 80
- 119 *Ibid.*
- 120 *Ibid.* 81; also The Legacy of Jihad, 28,88, 213-220, 620-622.
- 121 *The Legacy of Jihad*, 28.

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Truces are permissible, not obligatory. The only one who may effect a truce is the Muslim ruler of a region (or his representative) with a segment of the non-Muslims of the region, or the caliph (o22) (or his representative). When made with other than a *portion* of the non-Muslims, or when made with all of them, or with all in a particular region such as India or Asia Minor, then only the caliph (or his representative) may effect it, *for it is a matter of the gravest consequence because it entails the nonperformance of jihad, whether globally or in a given locality, and our interest must be looked after therein*, which is why it is best left to the caliph under any circumstances, or to someone he delegates to see to the interests of the various regions.

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Glenn discusses facts, implications behind boy arrested after bringing homemade clock to school

By The Glenn Beck Program Updated 09/22/2015 | 1:55 PM EST

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Glenn sat down with the mayor of Irving, Texas and a security expert on his T.V. program Monday night, to discuss the story of Ahmed Mohamed, a 14-year-old boy who was arrested after bringing a homemade clock to school last week. Once again, the media dropped the ball and got the story all wrong.

“You will change your mind once you have all of the facts,” Glenn said.

First, Glenn described the story as it came out last week, and who could be against this?

“A young, clean-cut Muslim teenager is trying his hand in a science project. He makes a homemade clock, goes to school. Instead of praise for his invention, he gets arrested and suspended from school. Even when the police knew that it wasn't a bomb, they still arrested him,” Glenn said. “He's just another victim of Islamophobia in America.”

Like many people, Glenn said the story tugged at his heart and he was about to voice his own support for the teenager. But then, the facts came out.

Watch the clip of Mayor Beth Van Duyne and Jim Hanson from the Center for Security Policy speaking with Glenn. Scroll down for additional footage.

Islamists in Irving? | "Glenn Beck Program"



Below is a rush transcript of this segment, it might contain errors.

GLENN: Let me just propose a theory. I'm just thinking out loud, but I'm trying to make sense of this. My theory is that for some reason Irving is important to the Islamists, not the Muslims, but the Islamists. It could be as simple as the progressives trying to turn Texas blue, and this is just the place where they're just going to start planting the seeds and taking a stand. You pissed them off, and now this is a dog whistle. This is not a story that is for anybody to hear, except for the Islamists because once you create a boogeyman, now all the money, all the resources, all the intellectual power, all is focused on your little town of Irving, Texas. You think there's a possibility that that's true?

MAYOR VAN DUYNE: It's nothing that I really want to have to face that that's true. I would hate to think that that's true.

GLENN: So would I, but can you explain it any other way?

MAYOR VAN DUYNE: I mean, as much as we're being portrayed as a small town in Texas, the fact is that Irving is one of the top 100 largest cities in the country.

GLENN: It's the most diverse city in the country and gets along.

MAYOR VAN DUYNE: Most diverse zip code.

GLENN: And it gets along, everybody generally gets along.

MAYOR VAN DUYNE: Fifth safest city in the country for a city our size.

GLENN: So, tell me, and Jim, I'd like to hear you because the Mayor is probably not going to say this. Does that sound unreasonable to you?

JIM: I think it's completely reasonable. I think it's happening. I don't think there's any question that this latest event was a PR stunt. It was a staged event where someone convinced this kid to bring a device that he didn't build, as you mentioned. It's a RadioShack clock that he put in a briefcase, and in a briefcase it looks like a bomb. You know how I know that, Glenn? Because I've built briefcase bombs and blown them up. That's what they look like. So, anyone who looked at that was reasonable in assuming that that was a dangerous device. They did that to create the exact scenario that played out. They wanted people to react, and they wanted to portray this kid as an innocent victim.

I think he was a pawn of potentially his father. His sister actually claimed that she was suspended. His sister told MSNBC that she was suspended by the same school district for making a bomb threat years ago. Don't know if that's true yet, but she said that in her own words. So, there's a vendetta from them, and they're tied, as you mentioned, with CAIR, and CAIR is Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas tied. They're basically involved in civilization jihad, so I think you're right.

GLENN: Has the president reached out to you, Beth?

MAYOR VAN DUYNE: No, I have not heard at all from the president.

GLENN: Surprise you?

MAYOR VAN DUYNE: I was really shocked when I saw his tweet, yeah. I was really surprised. It seems to be an underlying habit that he is going to second-guess police officers without any kind of information. I now have our police chief who is a wonderful, wonderful man, a family man, a churchgoing man, and I now have our police officers as well as a number of teachers, school administrators, receiving death threats as a direct result of this. It is unfortunate, and it has got to stop.

Influence Operation Successful, Thanks to the Media | "Glenn Beck..."



Below is a rush transcript of this segment, it might contain errors.

MAYOR VAN DUYNE: We've heard more from the media than the child ever released to the police when we were asking him questions. He told a lot more to the reporters than he ever told to the police. There's a problem with that. If your child was in that school and you saw something like this come in, you would want to make sure it is our priority to make our children safe in school, period. Irving is the fifth safest city in the country. We're pretty very proud of that fact. We have a very professional police department. I'm very proud of them. What has happened as a result of the hashtag of the misinformation that has been spread like wildfire immediately by the president is we now have death threats on members of our police department and in our school district. For what?

JIM: For doing their jobs.

MAYOR VAN DUYNE: And to make sure that our children are safe in that school.

GLENN: What's coming next?

JIM: This was a success. It was a raging success for them. They are celebrating and dancing, and they're planning their next influence operation, because that's the correct term for this. It's an influence operation.

GLENN: Explain that.

JIM: You take a situation, and you create the appearance of something bad to get an effect. They created the appearance of an anti-Muslim bias where there was none, where there was pure public safety concern, and they use that to portray Muslims as victims, Americans as bigots, and our system as stacked against them. They will do that again, and what they're trying to do is censor any criticism of Islam. That allows them to do things like impose sharia tribunals like the mayor shut down and use Islamic law to supplant US law. They're going to be more successful the more the media helps them by not being concerned that this is actually happening, by just looking at the surface and not digging deeper.

GLENN: Beth, what should we do? What should we do?

MAYOR VAN DUYNE: Well, first of all, don't just jump on a bandwagon and knee-jerk reaction when you read a headline. I think people thought that they knew a lot more about this story just by reading a headline. Clearly that's not the way to react. I think we need to start supporting our teachers and start supporting our police.

GLENN: Hang on just a second. I thought I knew more about this.

MAYOR VAN DUYNE: That shocks me, by the way. You have my cell phone number. You should've called me up.

GLENN: But I read the story. It's not something that was on my radar. I just read a quick little story, and I'm like how is this possible?

MAYOR VAN DUYNE: That was my first reaction, but I'm in the position where I can start immediately making those phone calls. At six o'clock in the morning I'm calling and waking people up going I need to know more information about this. But I think when you're the president, you probably have some resources to be able to make a few calls.

GLENN: And you have the common sense that I had. As I was thinking, I didn't actually type it out, but as I was thinking, you know what, I'm with Ahmed too. That's an outrage. And then I thought what are you doing? You don't even know anything about this story. I think that's what happens to us.

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Exhibits I-2i and I-2ii

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Exhibit I-3

(Compact Disc with Videos)

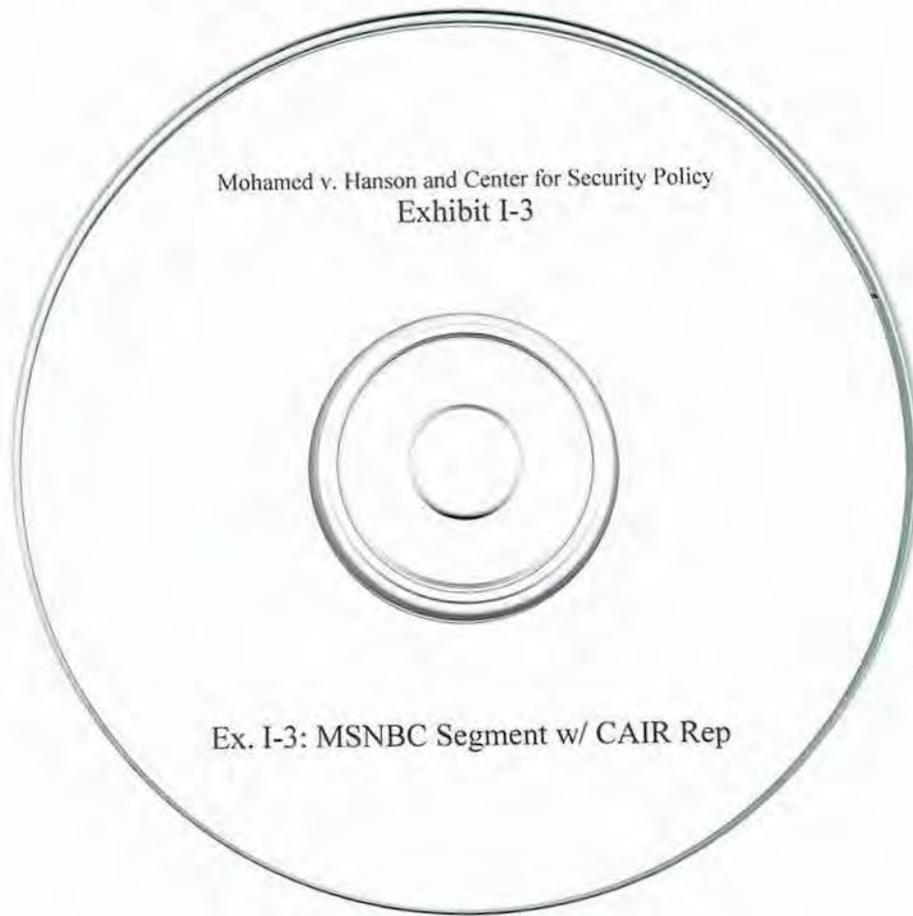


Exhibit I-4



BEN TORRES/GETTY

THE INSIDE STORY

'Man, I Went Viral': My Day With Ahmed Mohamed, the Most Famous Boy on Earth

On the road to stardom from the back seat of the family's minivan.



RANDY R. POTTS 09.17.15 2:34 PM ET

IRVING, Texas — Ahmed Mohamed is watching himself trend on my iPhone. "Man, I went viral."

Ahmed's looking at a video of himself posted online, while he and his sister Eyman argue inside the family minivan over whether it has 24 million or 24,000 views.

“This is seven digits!” It’s 24 million views, in 24 hours,” Ahmed yelps. “I feel like I could just walk on the street and people would know who I am.”

The level of fame he’s achieved 24 hours after his suspension, arrest, and interrogation at MacArthur High School for a “bomb” that was really a clock has gone beyond the streets of Irving. President Obama has invited him to the White House. MIT wants him to enroll. Mark Zuckerberg wants him to work at Facebook. Every reporter on Earth wants a few minutes with him, including me.

Ahmed’s story struck such a nerve because the world saw a model student thrown in handcuffs like a suspect whose crime was being brown. Where most would see a white kid holding a crude electronic clock, the school apparently saw a Muslim terrorist.

Walking up to Ahmed’s house and seeing the media, I wondered, What more is there to write?

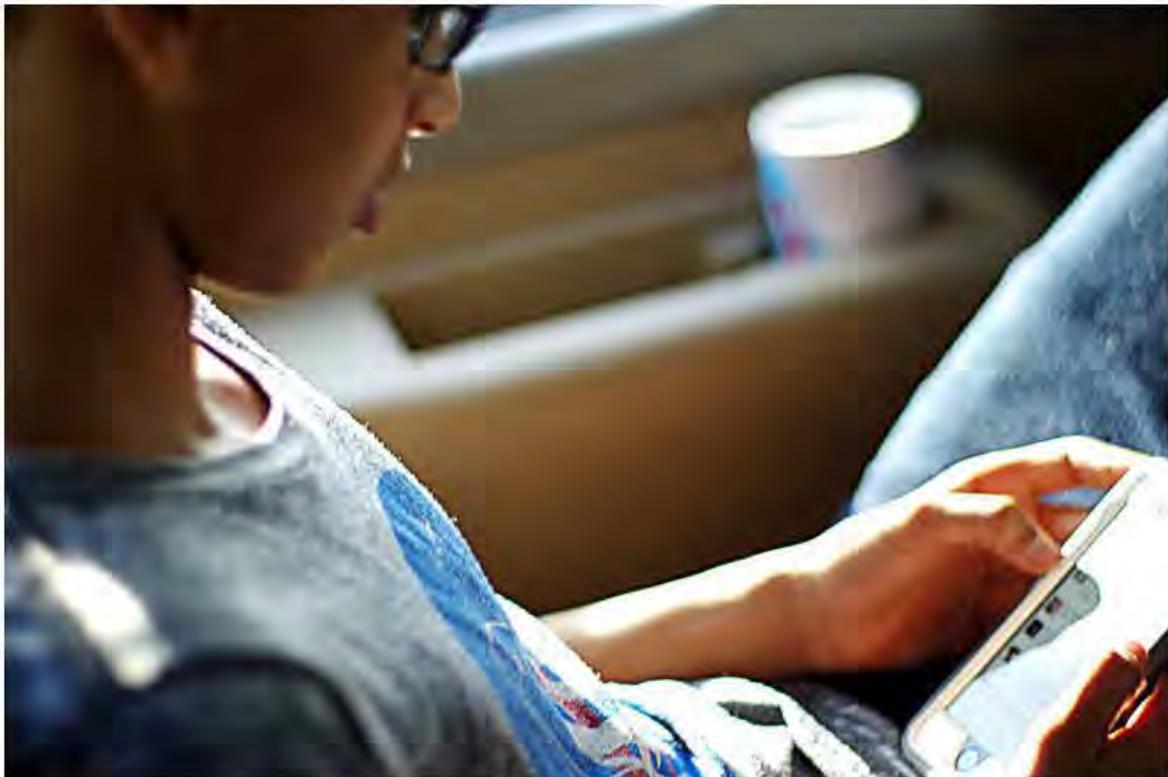
“The only real news I have for you is that Ahmed’s not going back to MacArthur,” family spokesperson Alia Salem from the Council on American-Islamic Relations tells me. “But, we’re about to drive to the television studio in a minute. Why don’t you come along? Sit next to Ahmed, you can ask him your questions.”

Before we left for the television studio, Ahmed had taken me into his bedroom to show me the now-famous desk where everything gets built. I asked if I could take a picture; he nodded and sat on his desk chair holding up a tangle of wires, and, seeing his Koran, grabbed it from his desk and held it up next to the wires. Eyman comes in, sees me taking pictures, and asks Ahmed, "Why are you holding the Koran?"

"I don't know."

In any event, she tells us we've got to go.

"You're gonna be late for TV. Like, you're going to be on it! We can't be late!"



RANDY R. POTTS FOR THE DAILY BEAST

I climb into the way back of the family minivan. Ahmed sits to my left; Alia and Ahmed's oldest sister, Eyman, sit in the middle row; Ahmed's father, Mohamed Elhassan Mohamed drives; riding shotgun is Abbas Abdullah, youth leader at the local mosque.

Ahmed sees his friend through the mess of reporters and cameramen.

“Daniel! I have to say bye to Daniel! Wait, Yaba Yaba! [Arabic for “father.”] Wait! Eyman! Stop!” Dad stops the minivan in the middle of the street in front of their home, clogged with cars. “Hey, Daniel, tell everyone at school ‘thank you’ for giving me support.”

As we drive away, Elhassan asks where were going. Confusion reigns in the minivan. Alia is pulling up maps on her phone. Abbas tells Elhassan, “You have to know what it is you want, every channel, every channel—”

Alia looks up from her phone: “OK, the two newest that came through are Stephen Colbert and Ellen DeGeneres.”

Ahmed is still in awe, looking at a photo of himself on Twitter.

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 “Oh, man, they can see my address in the background!”

Ahmed shows me a photo of his clock we find on Twitter and the photo of him in handcuffs and a NASA T-shirt in the police station. I ask him particulars about the incident but he’s lost in Twitter again.

“Ever heard that phrase, ‘15 minutes of fame?’” I ask him.

Ahmed looks at me, fat grin on his face: “This is gonna be soooooo much longer.”

Ahmed may be the most famous teenager on Earth, but he is still a teenager, which means getting permission from his father before traveling.

“Dad, I have to ask you a question,” Alia says, “Stephen Colbert in New York City, *The Late Show*, wants Ahmed to fly out to New York tomorrow. It’s a really, really, really, really big show.”

“I don’t know,” he replies.

“I want Ellen!” Eyman interrupts, meaning Ellen DeGeneres’s show.

“There’s also Ellen,” Alia patiently nods.

Abbas asks what the teenagers plan to do with all this exposure.

“What I’m saying is, like, scholarships and jobs can come from this, if you sit down and talk to the right people who have influence, that would be the best call. So you don’t wanna just ‘Oh, I wanna go on this show, and go on this show.’”

Ahmed breaks in with news.

“Twitter says they’d like to intern me! Twitter would like to intern me! One hour ago, they said it.”

“Ahmed, what about Stephen Colbert?” Alia asks him.

“Um, OK.” That’s his response to *Stephen Colbert*. “I heard about the show before.”

Ahmed asks if he can use my phone to Google the *Late Show* host and then says: “I’m worried about your data.” I tell him it’s unlimited. “OK, phew.”

We watch the opening 30 seconds of a Colbert segment and Ahmed nods, “Yeah, I think I’ve seen him before.”

Half an hour later I’m in the control room at the studio watching Ahmed and Alia talking to Chris Hayes on MSNBC.

Ahmed says one of the police officers told him, "That's who I thought it was." When Hayes presses Ahmed on what he believes that cop meant, the boy's throat and face begin to wobble.

No wonder he was scared; the U.S. government is not known for treating Muslims accused of terrorism lightly. Not only that, Ahmed was questioned and allegedly asked to sign something akin to a confession under threat of expulsion. Then police took him in handcuffs to a juvenile detention center. During this whole time he was denied his right to speak to his parents.

After the MSNBC segment, Eyman and I sit down in the hallway where she says the same thing happened to her as Ahmed.

"I got suspended from school for three days from this stupid same district, from this girl saying I wanted to blow up the school, something I had nothing to do with."

Eyman talks with the slightest lisp, almost imperceptible, but it becomes stronger as she gets emotional.

"I got suspended and I didn't do anything about it and so when I heard about Ahmed, I was so mad because it happened to me and I didn't get to stand up, so I'm making sure he's standing up because it's not right. So I'm not jealous, I'm kinda like—it's like he's standing for me."

Eyman said her suspension was in her first year of middle school, "my first year of attempting middle school in America. I knew English, but the culture was different, the people were different."

This part of Texas is a hotbed of Islamophobia. Irving Mayor Beth Van Duyne in March claimed Muslim clergy were "bypassing American courts" by offering to mediate disputes between worshippers according to Islamic law. Residents of Farmersville last month fought against creation of a Muslim cemetery in their town. Garland was the site of a "draw Muhammad" contest hosted by anti-Islam activist Pamela Geller that was subsequently attacked by two gunmen inspired by ISIS.

She says she thought it was easier for boys to be Muslims than girls because of the hijab.

“How do you even stick out? You look like everyone else!”

After the taping is finished Ahmed tours the studio: He hits a couple of billiard shots at the pool table, pushes buttons in the in-house theater, and sits in the mock ticket booth out front, signing tickets.



RANDY R. POTTS FOR THE DAILY BEAST

Outside the studio we see electronic equipment from the '70s, including a camera that looks 40 years old. I ask if he could make it into a clock: “Yeah, sure. It has a timer in it so, I guess I take that timer out and use it. It’d have moving parts cuz it’s old.”

After that we pile back into the van and go home.

“Ahmed Mohamed came up in the Republican debate,” Alia reports from Twitter. “It didn’t go well.” Elhassan looks back, confused. “They didn’t like him?”

“Probably not!” Abbas yells.

“Because of Mr. Obama?” Elhassan asks. Alia responds that she doesn’t know.

As we turn onto his street, Ahmed remarks on all the reporters still there.

“My dad drives good, he can get around them, he can park very precisely,” Ahmed says.

Remnants of pizza the family bought for the media are still on the front lawn. Ahmed is running around with a little girl on his back.

“Take a picture of us! Take a picture of us!”

Alia stands outside the home keeping reporters at bay; one said he flew in from New York City, another says he’s from London. They all want to speak with Ahmed, but it’s fallen on her to let him be 14.

Walking into the living room, there are two daybeds to my left where older women recline; to my left, to men sit up straighter on the couch, point at my camera, and I snap their pictures.

I am trying to find Ahmed to say goodbye. I walk through the back room where a large dining room table is pushed up against an opening in the wall that looks into the kitchen; three women sit at the table in three brightly colored purple, yellow, pink hijabs.

“This is Sudanese bread, you must try,” one tells me. They are eating the best pieces of lamb with their hands from communal bowls. “I know you guys don’t like to share food. You like to share like this,” she says, pointing to my camera, “but not food!”

Small children are everywhere; one brings me a clear plastic cup with a sip of Sprite she’s poured for me. The bigger kids, about 15 of them, are all in the adjacent room gathered around Ahmed, watching him trend online, giggling quietly.

From the living room come the sounds of the men praying, I think, but it sounds more like music, like a capella jazz. “Are they singing? Are those

prayers?" I ask.

"They are thanking God."

A teenage girl sees me eating: "Take a picture of this white man eating."

Someone else says, "I'm gonna tweet it right now. Hashtag: white man eating Sudanese food."

I can't eat another bite so I get up and find Ahmed on the bed in his parents' bedroom.

"Hey, man, I gotta go. It was so great to meet you."

He tries to get up but too many little girls are leaning on him.

"Dude, I'm still trending."

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Reverse Engineering Ahmed Mohamed's Clock... and Ourselves.

 by [Anthony](#) - posted 1:23 pm, September 17, 2015

 Filed under: [Media](#), [News](#), [Security](#)

 Tags: [ahmed mohamed](#), [arrest](#), [bomb](#), [clock](#), [hoax](#), [texas](#)

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I have something in common with Ahmed Mohamed: as a youngster, I was also an electronics enthusiast. At his age and even earlier, I frequently took apart electronic devices – anything from my own toys, to broken things around the house, and even that dirty garbage-picked black and white TV my parents dragged home that they knew I'd have a blast playing with (I did.) I'd try and troubleshoot, repair, or sometimes just disassemble things and salvage components for future projects. I'd try and imagine how all those bits and pieces, lengths of wires, mazes of conductive circuit board traces all came together to produce an image, or a sound, or some other useful function. I wanted to know how it all worked.

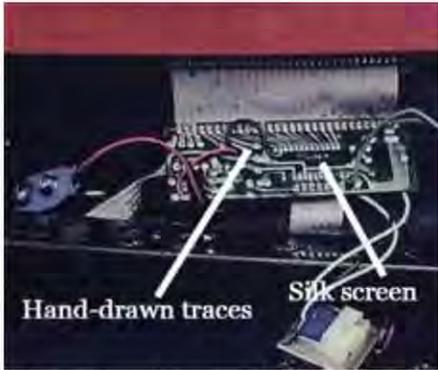
Without dating myself – fast forward a bunch of years, and I'm the same way. I've even picked up an engineering degree over the course of those years. I don't have to only imagine how things work anymore, I have a pretty good understanding now. When shopping for electronic devices, my first instinct is to see if there's a way to build one myself (and, I frequently do!) When something of mine breaks, I don't send it back, I take it as a personal challenge to get it working again. If I fail, I still salvage useful parts – they might come in handy to fix something else later. This aspect of myself – being both methodical, and curious – hasn't changed a bit over the years.



High resolution police photo of Ahmed's clock.
Click to enlarge.

So, this story about a 14 year old boy in Texas that was arrested on suspicion of creating a bomb hoax (who, apparently just wanted to show off his latest electronics project to his teachers) that has blown up (no pun intended) all over the news and social media, caught my attention immediately. Not because of his race, or his religion, the seeming absurdity of the situation, the emotionally charged photo of a young boy in a NASA t-shirt being led off in hand cuffs, the hash tags, the presidential response... no, none of that. I'm an electronics geek. I was interested in the clock! I wanted to figure out what he had come up with.

I found the highest resolution photograph of the clock I could. Instantly, I was disappointed. Somewhere in all of this – there has indeed been a hoax. **Ahmed Mohamed didn't invent his own alarm clock. He didn't even build a clock.** Now, before I go on and get accused of attacking a 14 year old kid who's already been through enough, let me explain my purpose. I don't want to just dissect the clock. I want to dissect our reaction as a society to the situation. Part of that is the knee-jerk responses we're all so quick to make without facts. So, before you scroll down and leave me angry comments, please continue to the end (or not – prove my point, and miss the point, entirely!)



For starters, one glance at the printed circuit board in the photo, and I knew we were looking at mid-to-late 1970s vintage electronics. Surely you've seen a modern circuit board, with metallic traces leading all over to the various components like an electronic spider's web. You'll notice right away the highly accurate spacing, straightness of the lines, consistency of the patterns. That's because we design things on computers nowadays, and computers assist in routing these lines. Take a look at the board in Ahmed's clock. It almost looks hand-drawn, right? That's because it probably was. Computer aided design was in its infancy in the 70s. This is how simple, low cost items (like an alarm clock) were designed. Today, even a budding beginner is going to get some computer aided assistance – in fact they'll probably start there, learning by simulating designs before building them. You can even simulate or lay out a board with free apps on your phone or tablet. A modern hobbyist usually wouldn't be bothered with the outdated design techniques. There's also silk screening on the board. An "M" logo, "C-94" (probably, a part number – C might even stand for "clock"), and what looks like an American flag. More about that in a minute. Point for now being, a hobbyist wouldn't silk screen logos and part numbers on their home made creation. It's pretty safe to say already we're looking at '70s tech, mass produced in a factory.

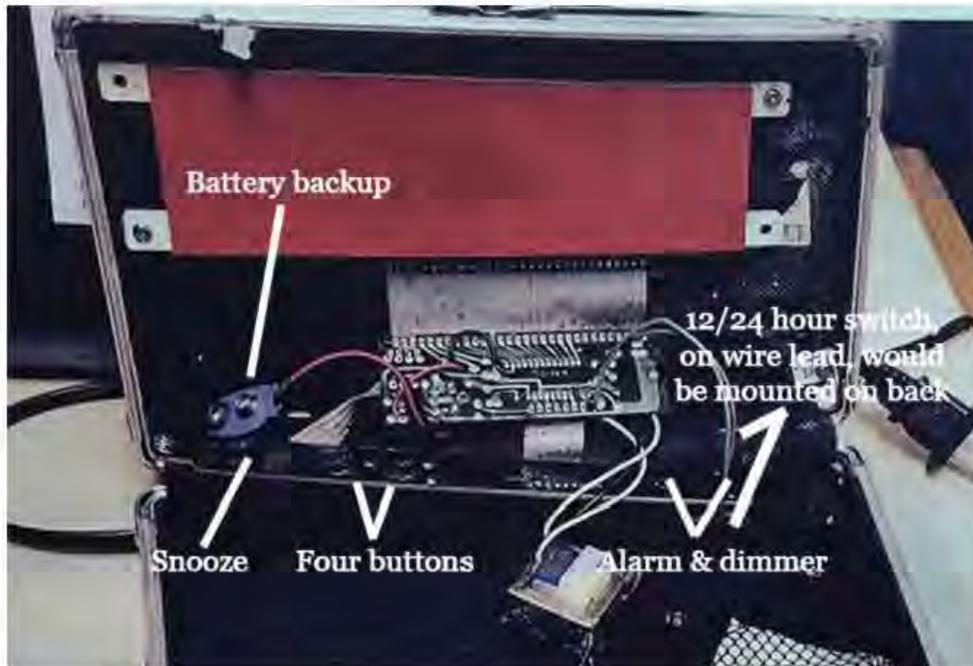
So I turned to eBay, searching for vintage alarm clocks. It only took a minute to locate Ahmed's clock. See [this eBay listing](#), up at the time of this writing. Ahmed's clock was invented, and built, by Micronta, a Radio Shack subsidiary. Catalog number 63 765.



Image property of eBay seller curiosities_curios

The shape and design is a dead give away. The large screen. The buttons on the front laid out horizontally would have been on a separate board – a large snooze button, four control buttons, and two switches to turn the alarm on and off, and choose two brightness levels. A second board inside would have

contained the actual “brains” of the unit. The clock features a 9v battery back-up, and a switch on the rear allows the owner to choose between 12 and 24 hour time. (Features like a battery back-up, and a 24 hour time selection seems awful superfluous for a hobby project, don't you think?) Oh, and about that “M” logo on the circuit board mentioned above? Micronta.



For one last bit of confirmation, I located the pencil box Ahmed used for his project. [During this video interview](#) he again claims it was his “invention” and that he “made” the device – but the important thing at the moment, at 1:13, we see him showing the pencil box on his computer screen. [Here it is on Amazon](#), where it's clearly labeled as being 8.25 inches wide. Our eBay seller also conveniently took a photo of the clock next to a ruler to show its scale – about 8 inches wide. The dimensions all line up perfectly.

So there you have it folks, Ahmed Mohamed did not invent, nor build a clock. He took apart an existing clock, and transplanted the guts into a pencil box, and claimed it was his own creation. It all seems really fishy to me.

If we accept the story about “inventing” an alarm clock is made up, as I think I've made a pretty good case for, it's fair to wonder what other parts of the story might be made up, not reported factually by the media, or at least, exaggerated.

I refer back again to this [YouTube video interview](#) with Ahmed. He explains that he closed up the box with a piece of cord because he didn't want it to look suspicious. I'm curious, why would “looking suspicious” have even crossed his mind before this whole event unfolded, if he was truly showing off a hobby project, something so innocuous as an alarm clock. Why did he choose a pencil box, one that looks like a miniature briefcase no less, as an enclosure for a clock? It's awful hard to see the clock with the case closed. On the other hand, with the case open, it's awful dangerous to have an exposed power transformer sitting near the snooze button (unless, perhaps his invention was to stop serial-snooze-button pressers by giving them a dangerous electrical shock!)

So again, I'm pointing all this out – about the specifics of the clock – not to pick on the poor kid. I'm picking on us, our culture, and our media. I don't even care about the clock itself at this point.

If we stop and think – was it really such a ridiculous reaction from the teacher and the police in the first place? How many school shootings and incidents of violence have we had, where we hear afterwards “this could have been prevented, if only we paid more attention to the signs!” Teachers are taught to be suspicious and vigilant. Ahmed wasn't accused of making a bomb – he was accused of making a look-alike, a hoax. And be honest with yourself, a big red digital display with a bunch of loose wires in a brief-case looking box is awful like a Hollywood-style representation of a bomb. Everyone jumped to play the race and religion cards and try and paint the teachers and police as idiots and bigots, but in my mind, they were probably acting responsibly and erring on the side of caution to protect the rest of their students, just in case. “This wouldn't have happened if Ahmed were white,” they say. We're supposed to be sensitive to school violence, but apparently religious and racial sensitivity trumps that. At least we have another clue about how the sensitivity and moral outrage pecking order lies.

Because, is it possible, that maybe, just maybe, this was actually a hoax bomb? A silly prank that was taken the wrong way? That the media then ran with, and everyone else got carried away? Maybe there wasn't even any racial or religious bias on the parts of the teachers and police.

I don't know any of these things. But I'm intellectually mature enough to admit I don't know, and to also be OK with that. I don't feel a need to take the first exit to conclusionville. But I do like to find facts where I can, and prefer to let them lead me to conclusions, rather than a knee jerk judgement based on a headline or sound bite.

I think the whole event – and our collective response, with everybody up to the President chiming in, says a whole lot about us. We don't care that none of us were there and knows what happened, we jump to conclusions and assume we're experts. We care about the story, but we don't care about the actual facts. Headlines and click-bait are far more interesting than thinking for ourselves. We like to point out other any bit of perceived injustice or discrimination we can find – it's practically a new national past-time. We like playing victim, and we like talking about victims – so much so we sometimes find victims where none really existed. We also like to find somebody to blame, even when there's nobody at fault. We like to play social justice warrior on our Facebooks and Twitters, posting memes and headlines without digging in behind the sensationalism, winning bonus sensitivity points in the forms of likes and re-tweets. Once group-think kicks in, we rally around hash tags and start shouting moral outrage in a deafeningly loud national chorus. The media plays us like a fiddle, and we don't even notice we've all been had.

As for me, I'm glad to apply the lessons I've learned as an electronics enthusiast to other aspects of life. There's no emotion in troubleshooting a circuit, electricity doesn't have morals. There's just physics, and logic, and methodology. I think we could all benefit from applying a little more of that sort of thinking to these situations.

** Correction: A reader and commenter, Joe Donaldson, tracked down the clock in a Radio Shack catalog dated 1986. It's likely that my guess of mid-to-late 70s was off by a bit, and it's now obvious it was a model that was for sale in the mid 80s. Though it doesn't really change the point, I want to post this correction here for accuracy sake and thank Joe for the heads up. (See the comment here, with link to the catalog page.)*

Comments for this thread are now closed.

13460 Comments

Artvoice

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 Artvoice Webmaster  • a year ago

OK everyone, closing this thread down - after almost 3 weeks and over 13,000 comments I'd say this has pretty much run its course. The ongoing moderation has become a bit of a nuisance, seeing as the only discussion still going off is pretty far off the tracks at this point. Thank you to everyone for participating in the discussion, and the comments here will remain viewable.

g ^ v Share

 curiouserandcuriouser • a year ago

Something is troubling me about this article, and it's an issue I have not seen raised. The author writes that the eBay listing of the Micronta 63-765 was up at the time of his writing of the article. If by up, he means for sale, why did he not buy it, and use the actual clock rather than eBay photos? That clock was offered on a buy it now listing for 29.95. The author could have purchased it right then, and confirmed his theory with the actual item. In the day after, two other identical clocks were sold that the author could have purchased. I do not buy Ahmed's narrative, but I think it's incumbent on the author to prove his theory. This occurred to me as I myself bid on eBay for this model. Why am I bidding I ask myself--- This is the author's theory to prove, and he should do so. Relying on eBay photos when you have the best evidence available to you is troubling to me. The more I think about it, the more it bothers me. While the author's theory may be correct, I am amazed that this issue has not been raised. Of course, maybe in the 13,000 prior comments it has. While I have been on board with the theory of the guts in a box, and Ive railed against Ahmed as a provocateur, and tend to think of it still in those terms, after all my criticism of other lack of investigatory steps by others, this one appears glaring, and I would be a hypocrite to let it slide.

3 ^ v Share

 Ichabod Crain  curiouserandcuriouser • a year ago

"Mohamed [the father] was once in the national news for trying to convince a pastor who burned a Quran that true Islam is peaceful."

How do you convince anyone that "true Islam is peaceful"? The Quran is nothing but a warrior's code, written by a warlord and his gang of cutthroats who raided and plundered caravans for 618

Peninsula.

Within a decade of Muhammad's death Muslims conquered Mesopotamia, Byzantine Syria, Byzantine Egypt, large parts of Persia, and established the Rashidun Caliphate. On it went from there all through history - a story of rape and pillage and plunder that continues to this very day on various parts of our planet.

Sure, Islam is peaceful - for its perpetrators, once they have killed off or enslaved the dissenters, but it would be disingenuous to make such a statement as "true Islam is peaceful".

10 ^ v Share >



Jester → Ichabod Crain • a year ago

<http://lamecherry.blogspot.com...>

^ v Share >



Ichabod Crain → Jester • a year ago

I have read the evidence that there is no independent historical collaboration that Muhammad ever existed, and have watched a good documentary on the subject. It really makes you think. However, the story of Muhammad and his band of merry men has had as powerful an influence as it would have had if it was real, unfortunately for the victims of Islam.

1 ^ v Share >



ProfElwood • a year ago

I missed this one, but Dallas Morning News (who originally broke the story) threw some FUD on the matter here:

<http://www.dallasnews.com/news...>

"Most of these theories cite no evidence, many contradict each other and some clash with known facts — like a statement from Irving City Hall that the MacArthur High freshman never intended to frighten anyone with his circuit-stuffed pencil case."

Contradict each other? When several witnesses have different versions of the same event, then conflict in their stories can cast doubt on their witness. Analysis based on the same evidence, however, isn't affected by other people's offerings.

"Fraudulent clock theory

The same Facebook post claimed that Ahmed didn't really make a clock, but merely reassembled the components of a store-bought clock inside a case. Other posts and YouTube videos have advanced this theory.

Ahmed's clock is still in police custody, according to the family. But last week the boy told The News that he spent just 20 minutes soldering a digital display to a circuit board and power supply, which he put inside a pencil case. His description matched a photo of the clock that police later released."

Except, of course, there's no indication that he soldered anything. The photo still doesn't back up his story.

3 ^ v Share >



Jester → ProfElwood • a year ago

The Dallas Morning news is a globalist propaganda rag. They deleted links to my little summary of Ahmed and his so-called clock from the comment section to one of their "We Love Ahmed" puff pieces.

And by the way, another blatant lie from Mohamed El Hassan Mohamed.

"The teen has never been in trouble, the father said, saying he thinks this is a case of Islamophobia."

<http://www.cnn.com/2015/09/16/...>

1 ^ v Share >



Ichabod Crain → ProfElwood • a year ago

"Last week the boy told The News that he spent just 20 minutes soldering a digital display to a circuit board and power supply, which he put inside a pencil case. His description matched a photo of the clock that police later released."

The digital display is obviously connected to the circuit board by a ribbon cable. It is also obviously the manufacturer's original part, since it matches up perfectly with the solder pads on the circuit board and the display. If you had to solder even just one end of the ribbon cable, it could be a bit tricky even for a professional. Soldering those 30 joints would take the whole 20 minutes allotted for the entire project. Not only that but it appears that ribbon cable was attached to the PC board by a wave soldering machine, something only found on the production line. Those solder joints are perfectly uniform and there is no evidence of resoldering whatsoever.

Ahmed wants to imply perhaps that he found a circuit board somewhere and attached a digital display from somewhere else and

thereby assembled the clock from parts lying around his house. Only that doesn't hold water. We would have to imagine he had two of these exact same digital clocks, because you couldn't so simply match up the digital displays from different clocks.

Even if he did have two of these clocks, it would take a considerable amount of time to transfer the display from one clock to the other. Desoldering the display would make a good mess of the ribbon cable, since you cannot desolder all the joints at once. You would have to rip each little wire from the ribbon cable a bit to separate it from the heated joint, because as you can see, there is no room to maneuver. A look at the image, however, shows the ribbon cable unperturbed in such a manner.

Back when I did electronic repairs for a living, it would at least have taken an hour or two (and I wouldn't even have attempt it

[see more](#)

5 Share >



ProfElwood → Ichabod Crain · a year ago

Well, you are talking about a kid that can solder CPUs. I'm sure a ribbon cable would be a cake walk against skilz like that.

1 Share >



curiouiserandcuriouiser · a year ago

Ahmed: in middle school, they called me bomb maker.

Ahmed: in order to make it look less suspicious and less of a threat, I used a cable to latch the case.

Ahmed: the first teacher I showed it to said it looked like a bomb and told me not to show it again to anyone.

Ahmed: after that, during class, I plugged it in and set off the alarm.

Mr. President, do we really need more kids like Ahmed?

12 Share >



curiouiserandcuriouiser · a year ago

&

Share >



curiouiserandcuriouiser · a year ago

@

Share >



ProfElwood · a year ago

Does anyone edit Wikipedia? They have an article, but the reaction area doesn't include anything about the commercial origin of the clock.

2 Share >



Tina · a year ago

It's so frustrating that the media no longer tells the truth. People do not realize they are being brainwashed because they still think the media must have integrity. Honesty is not valued, only their agenda. So sad.

10 Share >



Jill Pearson · a year ago

Hypothetically, what could Ahmed have put together from scrap in 10 or 20 minutes? Let's say some electronics guru is given a clock display, and then the rest of the the clock minus its display (but including the ribbon that will be attached to the display). Could s/he attach the display to the ribbon in 20 minutes? Will it work correctly even if the display is not from the same clock as the rest of the guts? Same question regarding the button board. The only other thing I can think of that Ahmed may claim he "put together" is attaching the transformer to the rest of the clock. I'm assuming that could be done easily in 20 minutes but certainly not something he would think anyone would be impressed with. But is there any reason why he would do this? There was already a battery backup. Is there an easy way to rig the battery backup to power the rest of the clock, even if he had to unattach it from where it was? Perhaps a 9v battery wouldn't be powerful enough though. But what about just attaching a battery pack with enough juice to power it? That seems it would be at least as easy if not easier (not to mention safer) than attaching a transformer. Then he also wouldn't have a power cord to plug in. Also, even in my house without any electronics tinkerers, we have dozens of old enclosed ac transformers we don't even know what they go to anymore. Couldn't he have used one of those too?

2 Share >



witnessstothecarnage → Jill Pearson · a year ago

Yes, he could have... in fact, that would have made it much less of a shock hazard.

Hang on to those "wall wart" transformers, at least for the next tinkerer you meet. You never know when they'll come in handy.

1 Share >



curiuserandcuriuser → Jill Pearson · a year ago

Perhaps someday someone will ask Ahmed to elaborate on what he means when he says that he built his clock from parts. Pretty simple question to ask him, yet no one ever does. He mumbles incoherently when asked about his other projects. I think we can all agree that he could not assemble a working device from separate parts in 20 minutes. Unfortunately I do not think this will ever happen. I am sure that his handlers vet any questions that he is asked at this point. There is too much to lose for too many. In two weeks, he will be at the White House. Will the President greet him and view his clock?. Not a chance. I also have to believe the Irving police dept have forensically examined every inch of that device which would be prudent in light of Ahmed's threat to sue the dept.

1 ^ v · Share ›



DrunkSpock ✓/Deplorable → Jill Pearson · a year ago

Battery backup only maintains the time and plays a low-volume alarm. Yes he could have used an external AC/DC converter, it would have been a lot safer for him to do so. Congratulations, you have more electronics savvy than 'Ahmed the Genius'. All of the parts in his clock appear to be verbatim, un-altered contents of the clock mentioned in this article. All he did was put it in a case to make it more concealable.

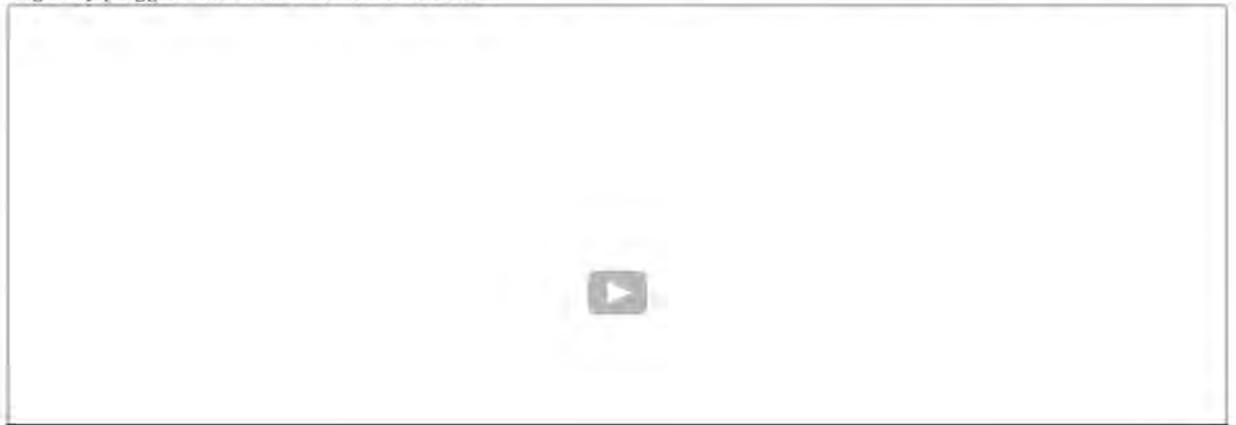
Then when he used it the next day, after carefully plugging it in and setting the alarm time, he tied the case shut with wire, despite not being able to see the clock display or use any of its buttons. Then, still plugged in, he hid this device in his possessions and waited for it to go off in the middle of English class. That's when it stopped being 'a clock' and became 'a hoaxbomb'.

2 ^ v · Share ›



Jill Pearson → DrunkSpock ✓/Deplorable · a year ago

From what I understand, small electronics devices like this digital clock almost always use DC current. I looked at the manual for this clock and it doesn't say. Does anyone know for sure? If it does run on DC, then this particular transformer not only steps down the power, but also converts it from AC to DC? Its that right? Here's a cute video of a girl converting a device that originally plugged into the wall to run on batteries.



see more

2 ^ v · Share ›



TaiFood → Jill Pearson · a year ago

CAUTION: Do NOT plug in an extension of the house electricity to wires meant for lower power DC (or even step down AC) voltage (what comes out of the plug-in as a big POP and potential fire and lethal shock hazard exists. It is not too far from putting a fork into the wall outlet)

The video you posted shows the OUTPUT of an AC to DC converter : AC (wall electrical outlet) to DC (battery power level input) converter (the plug-in)

Converts house electricity to whatever the output voltage (usually DC or battery compatible voltage). This oversimplification could turn HAZARDOUS very easily.

The use of a light bulb gives the kid in the video a lot of leeway since the DC voltage could light up most bulbs BUT that does NOT mean the wires are interchangeable for other converters or worse AC transformers.)

The small print text on the plug-in transformer is very important.

CAUTION: BARE WIRES...Do NOT plug in an extension of the house electricity to wires meant for lower power DC (or even step down AC) voltage (what comes out of the plug-in as a big POP and potential fire and lethal shock hazard exists. It is not too far from putting a fork into the wall outlet)

1 ^ v · Share ›



DrunkSpock ✓ Deplorable → Jill Pearson • a year ago

Ahmed is making it up as he goes. If he had any sense he would have used a microcontroller, like an Arduino, and a few LEDs, and a breadboard. And batteries, like you suggest. Or USB based powersupply. All of which would have cost less than the pencil case he bought expressly for this 'project'.

It would have been much safer, more educational and contemporary (that 80s clock was made like something from the 80s), and this page and the anti-Ahmed community wouldn't exist. We'd all take one look at breadboard + microcontroller + low voltage and say 'oh I remember doing that when I was a kid'. I would be the kids staunchest defender.

Instead we have what appears to me to be a deliberate hoaxbombing (aka, terrorism), pawned off as 'misunderstood electronics enthusiast'. Actual electronics enthusiasts don't care for being associated with a kid intentionally terrorizing his high school, neither do peaceful Muslims (who, to their credit, immediately held a press conference denouncing the kids obvious hoaxbomb, in support of the Irving police/school board).

2 ^ v • Share ›



Carlos Garza → Jill Pearson • a year ago

some where on the circuit board there would most likely be a bridge rectifier done with 4 diodes. I don't remember the math but you would then take the swing out of the voltage by adding a capacitor to the board. Unless technology had changed since I was a child. But yea this kid gutted a clock and suck it in a case. If this were done on a bread board I would have been impressed as the kid is further along then I was at that age but considering that a lot of us used to tear apart old VHS systems clocks radios and put them back together to the point that the where still functioning I find it inflated for him to talk about his inventions. I was hoping he was using an arduino board or something to handle the mod 12 hour arithmetic. (I'm a software developer so I usually run to an ALU to solve problems rather than chaining logic circuits.) I would have been impressed if he was using NANDS and NOR gates to do this. But then I saw he wasn't even using a bread board and that all he really did was resolder the transformer onto a gutted out premade clock. But why does he still call it an invetion?

1 ^ v • Share ›



DrunkSpock ✓ Deplorable → Carlos Garza • a year ago

Hello. Just curious, why do you think he soldered on a power transformer? It looks like the original to me. Maybe I missed an indicator? None of that soldering work looks recent to me. I believe your analysis is otherwise pretty much spot on but I think it might be overly generous to attribute any of the soldering to Ahmed. Even if he did its still not fair for him to say 'I invented that', but I don't think he did even that much.

Have you seen the pictures of him holding a soldering iron up to another gutted appliance? He holds it like a knife, with his hand on the heating element, stabbing at the board. He's holding the board he's 'soldering' at an angle so the hot solder would be prone to run right off the board and into his hand 'downhill'. It's obviously a staged photo but what it indicates to me is the boy does not know how to use (or even safely hold onto) a soldering iron.

^ v • Share ›



Jill Pearson → DrunkSpock ✓ Deplorable • a year ago

Personally, I don't think he soldered anything. It's probably one of the reasons the family hasn't been so quick to pick up the thing from the police station. People will want to examine it. But I don't think the one photo we have of his device is high resolution enough to tell for sure. I'm trying to find out what anyone COULD have done in 10 or 20 minutes. Could he have attached the LED display to the ribbon in 20 minutes? And if so, would it work if it was meant for a different device? Could he have attached the transformer in 20 minutes? If so, would a real electronics hobbyist have found it just as easy, quick and simple and a lot safer to use batteries or wall wart? And if so, what I would really like is for someone who knows how to do these things to post a quick video showing how to remove the transformer from such a clock and make it run on batteries or a wall wart.

1 ^ v • Share ›



donw123 • a year ago

With all the tragedies at schools these days I think he should be prosecuted for this. I will be so glad when we get rid of P.C. king obama.

5 ^ v • Share ›



curiouserandcuriouser • a year ago

Thought it worth moving to top of the list because it is latest facts on subject of article: Ahmed's interview of 9/30:

<http://m.kiss925.com/2015/09/30...>

3 ^ v • Share ›



lchabod Crain → curiouserandcuriouser • a year ago

That was very interesting - thanks. At first I thought it was going to be a total pass for Muhammad, but to his credit, the interviewer

asked him the obvious questions - and Muhammad made the obvious lies in response. Beyond the fact that Ahmed sticks to the story that he assembled the clock from separate parts, he maintains the fiction that the school thought it was a bomb. In fact, it was made clear by the school and police from day one they thought it was a hoax bomb. I suppose that word - hoax - is not in Muhammad's vocabulary, that's all.

3 ^ v . Share >



Bill S · a year ago

While you were picking on a 14 year old, the world has gotten much scarier. Have you been watching what is happening in Syria? Any of you going to join the military to defend us against a hot war?

^ v . Share >



witnessstothecarnage → Bill S · a year ago

Hey, Bill!

Ready to prove your previously stated credentials? Or, at least stop trying to derail this subject, and bury it in the same old shit you've been spewing?

You claim to be an Army electronics trainer. Can we, at least, see a bit of what you're "teaching"? Or, do you steal Valor as well as claim skills you refuse to demonstrate... while demeaning those of all your "opponents"?

Still ready to go for the "solder off".

1 ^ v . Share >



TJ Hooker → Bill S · a year ago

I have already been in the Military and was willing to defend this country, Still am...

That being said, YOU did not read the article...

4 ^ v . Share >



TaiFood → Bill S · a year ago

edited to remove unnecessary (snark)

2 ^ v . Share >



witnessstothecarnage → TaiFood · a year ago

Are you certain it was unnecessary?

;))

1 ^ v . Share >



TaiFood → Bill S · a year ago

@Bill S This discussion is just one of many in our attempt to salvage the well deserved reputation of America the Beautiful.

It is our attempt at patriotism, in my opinion..

The fact you still think we are "picking on a 14 year old" suffices to illustrate your inability to comprehend that fraudulent behavior should be exposed.

What is REALLY worth noticing is the lack of the main stream media to expose the fraud.

That is the scary thing which influences so many low information people.

6 ^ v . Share >



curiouserandcuriouser → Bill S · a year ago

If you think we will go to war because of Russian acts in Syria, you will believe anything, even Ahmed's story of persecution

4 ^ v . Share >



Jester → curiouserandcuriouser · a year ago

considering the relentless and reckless "poke the bear" regime change policies of our rogue administration have given Putin every excuse to consolidate his power in foreign strongholds and gain a major worldwide propaganda coup, considering the "good cop/bad cop" routine that plays out between the hawkish Democrats and the Rinos who are both beholden to the Military Industrial Complex, and considering the long fuse on the M.E. powderkeg is already lit, I give a 50/50 chance of formal conventional war with Russia in the next 3 years somewhere in the Middle East, likely the Levant.

2 ^ v . Share >



Jester → Jester • a year ago

Putin Has His Own No-Fly Zone in Syria

After years of debating a U.S.-led no-fly zone inside Syria to protect rebels and civilians, Vladimir Putin has established his own no-fly zone in a matter of days -- to protect his new base there.

<http://www.bloombergview.com/a...>



2 ^ v • Share ›



TaiFood → Jester • a year ago

Certainly something to watch BUT today we have a Commander-in-Chief who will never command respect so the vacuum created by leading from the rear is the reality that will need to be address by our next president.

What scares me is how far in the tank the main stream media yet somehow about half the country is somehow still informed. The (current) Democratic party focuses on the Electoral College wins so in the short term that needs to be balanced. I have not been able to see how the (current) party leader's rhetoric will be checked so I try as I can in venues such as this.

I mean pay attention to the topics that seem to demand impromptu reaction from the President: politicize tragedy via gun control, false bigotry claims via his Twitter post on our topic at hand, etc., and alarmist climatology.

Did you see the video of Israel's PM and the 45 seconds of silence at the UN? Now that impacted me very powerfully.

[I edited and inserted (current) plus some words for grammar on Oct 4 to note my concern for today's Democratic party message. Despite their historical pandering that might be used in the future to attack my claim of independent voting, yet principle wise I am for the type of government our founding father's had in mind, a constrained federal government with state's to act as the incubators of broad governance such as crime prevention etc.]

2 ^ v • Share ›



curiouserandcuriouser → curiouserandcuriouser • a year ago

And don't worry about poor Young Ahmed, he is in a big group hug with Qatar, CAIR, the Queen of Jordan, the Leader of Turkey, Mark Zuckerberg, Dr. Oz and President Obama. He is not concerned with us. I believe he is praying for us.

2 ^ v • Share ›



ProfElwood → Bill S • a year ago

We're picking on the jokers who made this kid into a symbol of oppression. How appropriate that it's all faked.

7 ^ v • Share ›



Jester → Bill S • a year ago

I will continue to defend against and expose buffoons like you who are attempting to soften up the country at home by supporting the fifth column trojan horse attacking good Americans from within. But I suggest you go ahead and lead the way and join one of the many gangs of roving Muslim thugs that our Muslim in Chief and his Secretary of Hate Hitlery Klinton has armed to the teeth and set against the Alawites in Syria. Enjoy the falafel and watch out for Putin's revenge.

2 ^ v • Share ›



DrunkSpock ✓ Deplorable → Bill S • a year ago

Too busy chasing the jihadists out of Texas to care about Russia bombing ISIS in Syria. Stay on topic please.

5 ^ v • Share ›



Jester • a year ago

Thomas Talbot, Principal Medical Expert, USC Institute for Creative Technologies, Talbot VR Consulting, previously with the Telemedicine & Advanced Technology Research Center of USC, the US Army Medical Corps, and the Irwin Army Community Hospital, who graduated from Wayne State University School of Medicine. He is an ARAB-American who on 9/18 created this youtube video that has received over 1 million views, 11,000 likes and 3300 dislikes, and generated 6200 comments.



He has since followed up with 2 videos entitled "Ahmed clock fraud, why I made the video", and "Ahmed Mohamed Clock Fraud, what was the Agenda". All short and worth viewing.

5 ^ v . Share ›



Ichabod Crain → Jester • a year ago

Not an invention? Then how 'bout when Ahmed taped a bunch of batteries together and thereby invented a battery pack? Are you gonna tell me that wasn't an invention either? I mean - who would have ever thought of that? This kid is obviously a genius!

4 ^ v . Share ›



DrunkSpock ✓/Deplorable → Jester • a year ago

<sarcasm>

Islamaphobic arab-american's?!? Nothing make sense anymore.

</sarcasm>

Seriously though what a great American, patriot, and philosopher.

Thomas 'Talbot - THANK YOU! Also the gracious hosts, the article author ('Anthony'), and the vigilant regulars.

(And Ahmed and his crappy hoax-bomb, for being the catalyst that brought us all together. That shock/fire-hazard wasn't totally useless after all!)

4 ^ v . Share ›



Jester → DrunkSpock ✓/Deplorable • a year ago

Have another couple shots of firewater Spock, yer on a roll today.

3 ^ v . Share ›



DrunkSpock ✓/Deplorable → Jester • a year ago

Cheers! I actually don't drink much, drunk vulcans are just the easiest way for me to explain what a Cynic is, in the classical philosophical sense. I find Diogenes of Sinope, one of the first Cynics, to be a source of great inspiration. Later, the Cynics evolved into other schools including the Stoics, and they were like real-life Vulcans.

If I said Cynics were like emotional Stoics, most people wouldn't understand that. But if you say 'drunk vulcan', it makes a lot more sense.

I do like chocolate though, which is the most intoxicating substance to a Vulcan, so it's close enough...

2 ^ v . Share ›



Jester → DrunkSpock ✓/Deplorable • a year ago

Ah, the mystery of the moniker unravels. Whatever mellows your edge without dulling it is just what Dr. Spock would order. Dark Chocolate or White? (I know, that was bad)

2 ^ v . Share ›



DrunkSpock ✓/Deplorable → Jester • a year ago

Definitely Nutella. Great in brownies and 'Dutch Babies'. ...so much palm oil though, I hear it's really bad for you.

^ v . Share ›



curiouserandcuriouser • a year ago

For your listening pleasure, here is Ahmed's latest interview. <http://m.kiss925.com/2015/09/3...>

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omarkos [↗](#) [curiouserandcuriouser](#) · a year ago

It's just oh so annoying how many times the DJ says "the teachers thought it was a bomb". Although we already knew from Ahmed's own accounts that no one ever actually thought it was a bomb, the school recently issued a press release trying to clear that misconception, up. But nobody cares. It doesn't fit the narrative that the teachers are a bunch of ignorant hick islamaphobe who can't even tell the difference between a BOMB and a CLOCK!

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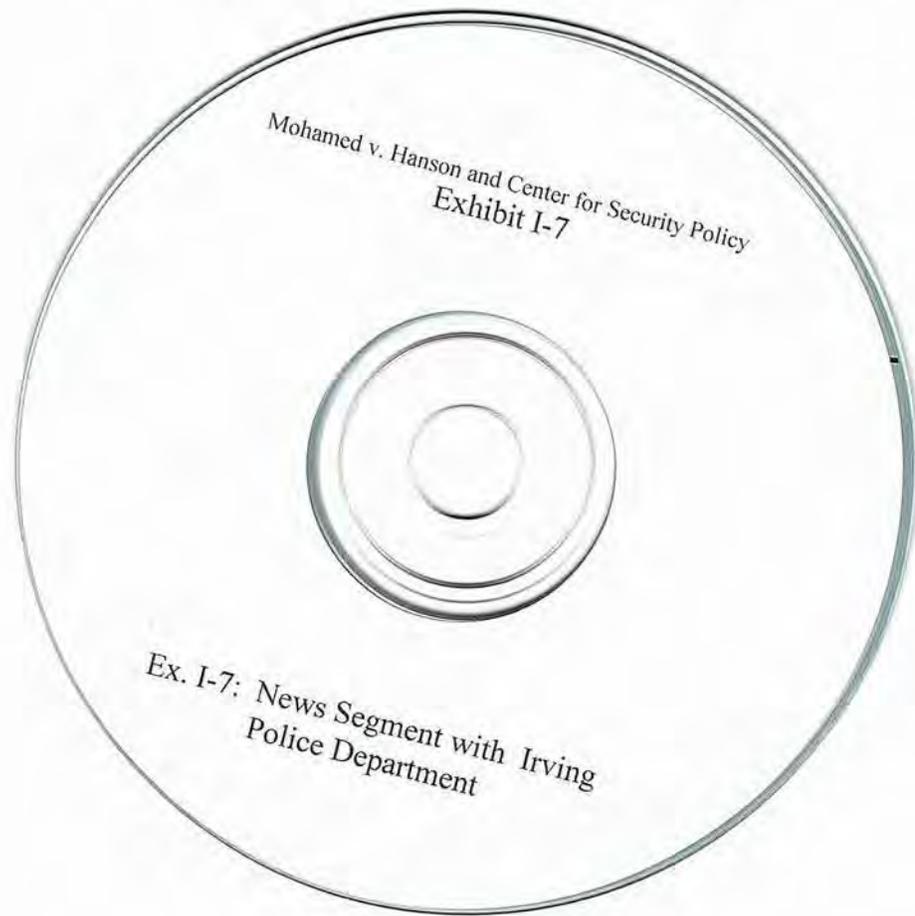
Exhibit I-6

(Compact Disc with Videos)



Exhibit I-7

(Compact Disc with Videos)



CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I, Pete Rowe, the below signed attorney for Defendants Jim Hanson and Center for Security Policy certify that on December 4, 2016, a true and correct copy of the foregoing motion entitled *Defendants Center for Security Policy and Jim Hanson's Motion to Dismiss Pursuant to the Texas Citizens' Participation Act, Chapter 27 of the Texas Civil Practices & Remedies Code* and the motion's appendix were served via electronic service on the below attorneys of record for all other parties to this action in compliance with Rule 21a of the Texas Rules of Civil Procedure. Service was effected on the following:

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