

**‘THIS IS FOR ALLAH’
PREVENTING ISLAMIC EXTREMISM**

**IDEOLOGY AND TERROR:
UNDERSTANDING THE TOOLS, TACTICS, AND TECHNIQUES
OF VIOLENT EXTREMISM**

UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE
ON HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

TESTIMONY BY ASRA Q. NOMANI
FORMER WALL STREET JOURNAL REPORTER
COFOUNDER OF THE MUSLIM REFORM MOVEMENT

JUNE 12, 2017

‘THIS IS FOR ALLAH’

“This is for Allah,” a militant British-Muslim man recently yelled, before plunging a knife into the throat of an innocent Australian woman, Candice Hedge, 31, not far from London Bridge.¹



Those words underscore a tragic and brutal truth today. **We face an ideology of extremism from within the House of Islam.**

Why, 15 years after the 9/11 attack, haven't we found victory against terrorism? Why, after the killing of Osama bin Laden, haven't we declared Islamic terror dead?

It is because **terrorism is fueled by Islamism, an ideology of political Islam**, and we have wasted millions of dollars to design counternarratives without dealing with a very simple and fundamental truth. We must destroy and eliminate the *narrative* of Islamism. As author Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a target of wrath among Islamists, has put it: the ideology is put forward by *dawah*, or an “invitation” to its extremist form of Islam. Islamic extremism is not compatible with the 21st century. But it is a critical component of terrorism.

If you doubt whether Islamism is an extremist ideology, please recognize its central tenet: it seeks to overthrow our democracies to supplant them with Islamic governance and *sharia*, or religious law, which, importantly, *violates* United States law on multiple fronts.

Political Islam threatens life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the United States and globally. It even considers young girls attending an Ariande Grande concert “dangerous” because of the freedoms they are enjoying.²

¹ <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4593188/London-terror-survivor-relives-moment-throat->

This is not the interpretation of Islam that my parents, here with me today, taught in our immigrant Muslim family from India. But it is a very real interpretation of Islam promoted by state sponsors of extremism, including **Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Iran**, and their proxies. After the defeat of communism in the 20th century, the world today faces a new and growing threat in the 21st century—Islamism—and we must defeat it.

Thank you, Chairman Ron Johnson, Vice-Chair Claire McCaskill, and distinguished members of this Committee, for convening this important hearing. The attacks across the world in recent weeks, from Kabul to Manchester, London, Tehran, and too many other cities, underscore the urgency of this hearing.

As you have stated, Chairman Johnson, in introducing a hearing last year on the ideology of ISIS, “The goal of every hearing is to lay out a reality.” “Today’s hearing is...dealing with...the threat we face from Islamic terror. It’s a harsh reality. It’s one I wish were not true. It’s one I wish we didn’t have to face.”³

That day, in poignant testimony, ISIS victim Nadia Murad Basee Taha, a survivor of ISIS and a human rights activist, appealed to you, as she has to Muslim countries, to stop extremism within Islam. “It needs to be stopped as an ideology,” she told you.

Thank you, to the Committee, for standing with Nadia. Thank you for standing with moral courage and clear-eyed thinking to understand, define and implement the strategies and solutions we must put forward to defeat violent Islamic extremism.

² “The Top 3 Things ISIS fears about ‘dangerous’ women
<http://nytlive.nytimes.com/womenintheworld/2017/05/26/the-top-3-things-isis-fears-about-dangerous-women/>, accessed June 14, 2017.

³ Senate Homeland Security and Government Affairs Committee, “ISIS Ideology, June 21, 2016.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EsFGaFbsdqQ&spfreload=10>, accessed June 14, 2017.

I beg of you to remain steadfast. Too much blood has spilled in the name of Islam. We must support Muslim reformers and their allies who refuse Islamism.

ISLAMISTS ARE MUSLIM SUPREMACISTS

It is critical that we understand the ideology of Islamism, its purveyors, and its edicts so that we can remove the influence of its ideologues—historical theologians like Ibn Kathir and Ibn Tamiyyah, and modern-day clerics like Syed Qutb and Maulana Maududi, along with institutions, political movements, and public figures who advocate its beliefs. Just as we believe that we must challenge the rhetoric, ideology, and hate of white supremacists, we must recognize that Islamists are Muslim supremacists.

Unfortunately, **companies and institutions in the U.S., from Silicon Valley to the IRS, enable Islamists who promote ideologies that violate U.S. laws—and we support and enable the “honor brigade” that has emerged in our academic institutions, nonprofit networks, and media to issue soft propaganda to silence any criticism of Islamism.**

Internet companies, for example, should ban the ideologies of extremism – in any form -- and this should include working the algorithms they use to control search engine optimization. Instead, currently, simple Google searches of words like Islam, sharia, sex slaves, *jihad*, and *kafir* (or “unbeliever”), and age of marriage, elicit results that guide us to preaching by the most extreme of clerics, organizations, and individuals that advocate everything from child brides to anti-Semitism.

We face a cyber jihad. And *we* are enabling it. This must stop.

Islamism is a threat to our nation’s security.

Today’s radical interpretation of Islam is out of step with a positive, rational interpretation of Islam that can be put forward in the world. Born in the seventh century, Islam was a

progressive faith for its time and circumstances, while it was also born out of a tradition of military conquest. By the tenth century in the Middle Ages, when a rational school of thought called the Mutazalites existed, Islam was a religion of art, science, tolerance, high culture, and critical thinking, with Muslims charting new ground in technology, poetry, art, astronomy, and mathematics.

Over time, however, Islamic thought retreated from progressive thinking, and dogmatism usurped critical thinking. By the early 20th century, with the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire, a handful of radical thinkers took advantage of turmoil in the Middle East and undid the surviving remnants of progress and enlightenment in the Muslim world by promoting a belief system of rigidity, orthodoxy, and extremism that is antithetical to the positive values in Islam.

A political ideology emerged, called **Islamism**, that advocates for Islam in governance.

I was born in Bombay, India, to a mother who had to cover her face as a young woman because her family absorbed the *dawah* of ultra-orthodoxy. I first lived in Piscataway, New Jersey, as a girl and then our family moved to Morgantown, West Virginia, and it became my hometown. I live today in Northern Virginia and regularly traverse Route 7, sadly nicknamed “Wahhabi Corridor” for the string of Islamic stores, mosques, schools, and institutions that line the highway, pumping the strict Sunni teachings of Saudi Arabia and Qatar into America and the world.

I testify before you today as an investigative reporter, working for 15 years at the *Wall Street Journal*, a terrorism researcher, and an educator and subject matter expert who trains the military, diplomats and law enforcement officials in the fields of cross-cultural communications, propaganda, Islam and Islamic extremism. I also testify before you as a mother, a friend, and a concerned citizen.



Danny Pearl and Asra Nomani goofing off during a reporting trip of Pearl's to Karachi in November 2001.

IDEOLOGY AND TERROR

In the early 1990s, some two decades ago, a young British-Pakistani chess champion, Omar Sheikh, met extremist preachers at his local mosque in London and embraced their firebrand interpretation of Islam. He had dropped out of the London School of Economics, where he was a promising student. He journeyed to Bosnia to join his “Muslim brothers” in “the jihad.” That jihad led him, in early 2002, at the age of 28, to mastermind the kidnapping of *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl. Danny was kidnapped after he left a home I was renting in Karachi, Pakistan.

A week later, three militants, allegedly including Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the architect of the 9/11 attacks, brutally killed Danny, decapitating him and cutting his body into pieces.

After wiping the floor of Danny’s blood, the men unfurled prayer rugs toward Mecca, swept their open hands beside their ears and uttered the sacred words, “**Allah-hu akbar,**” “God is great,” that has become a battle cry for terrorists.

For a decade, I investigated the 27 men who were involved in Danny’s kidnapping and murder and learned each and every one of them was influenced by Islamist ideology.

Two years later, in the fall of 2004, several thousand miles away, a Dutch-Moroccan man, Mohammed Bouyeri, 26, stood at a street corner in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and shot Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh eight times with a handgun as Van Gogh bicycled to work. He had been indoctrinated to an extremist interpretation of Islam by a network of radicals in the Netherlands. "Have mercy!" Van Gogh cried, but the assailant cut Van Gogh's throat with a knife and tried to decapitate him, as had been done to Danny. He believed he was justified in the murder because of a film Van Gogh had co-produced with Ayaan Hirsi Ali. The film, called *Submission*, was about violence against women in Muslim societies. He attached a note to Van Gogh's body with a knife. It contained a death threat against Ayaan, along with general threats against Jews and the West.

While geography, ethnicity, social status and ancestry separated these young men, something connected them: adherence to a violent, rigid, dangerous interpretation of Islam.

For both Ayaan and me, the trajectory of our lives was transformed by the murder of our colleagues and friends by adherents to radical Islam. We bear witness to the very real ideologies of Islam that not only motivated the killers of our friends, but also motivated the three men who spilled blood on London Bridge just last weekend.

As Ayaan argues in her new monograph, we face a well-funded, well-organized enterprise of "*dawah*," or proselytizing, of Islamist interpretations of the faith.

We face hard propaganda promoted by Islamist organizations in the world today: governments, including Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Iran; political organizations, including the Muslim Brotherhood, Jamaat-e-Islami, Tablighi Jamaat, Hizbut Tahrir; and terrorist organizations, including ISIS, or the Islamic State, al-Qaeda, Boko Haram, Al Shabab, the Taliban and Lashkar-e-Taiba, among so many others.

There are irrefutable, direct links between the ideology of Islamic extremism and terror.

Importantly, the ideology is supported by an “honor brigade”⁴ of soft propagandists who attempt to discredit anyone who talks about Islamic extremism with the smear of “Islamophobia,” arguing that Americans and others have an irrational fear of Islam. They conflate criticism of extremism with disparagement of the perceived “honor” of Islam.

This honor brigade includes a wide swath of state and non-state actors: Muslim organizations, including the **Council on American-Islamic Relations** or CAIR, the Muslim Students Association, Muslim Advocates, the Muslim Public Affairs Council; and the Islamic Council of North America. Their charges of “racism” and “bigotry” silence the kind of conversation that this hearing is allowing. Many of these organizations receive foreign funding from the governments that promote the ideology of Islamism. We need to get answers to some questions. How much foreign funding do they receive? What are the sources? And for what purpose?

As a Muslim, I testify before you that the link between the ideology of Islamic extremism and terror is real. It breaks my heart that it exists in the world today. I, along with the other founders of the Muslim Reform Movement, see it as our duty, as Muslims, not to make excuses or protect the “honor” of Islam, but make sure that Muslims act honorably in this world with an Islam of grace. Alas, the ideology of Islamism is growing. It must be confronted with urgency and purpose. It must be defeated.

⁴ https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/meet-the-honor-brigade-an-organized-campaign-to-silence-critics-of-islam/2015/01/16/0b002e5a-9aaf-11e4-a7ee-526210d665b4_story.html?utm_term=.67a4ab13ee83

TOOLS, TACTICS, AND TECHNIQUES OF VIOLENT EXTREMISM

IDEOLOGICAL TEACHINGS OF EXTREMISM THAT RAISE POLICY CONCERNS

What is so tragic is that *we* enable purveyors of extremist ideology. *We* give them the tools to spread their hate. *We* look the other way when our allies promote hate. *We* give Islamist groups tax-exempt status.

In his submitted answers to questions from this committee, Department of Homeland Security Secretary John Kelly said that when he was Commander of the U.S. Southern Command:

In open press reporting, and through interactions with Caribbean-based security forces, **we knew that there were a small number of radical mosques and clerics preaching the jihad to their congregations in the region.** We also knew via press reporting that a number of jihadists who were detained at the Caracas, Venezuela, airport had previously attempted to make their way to Syria. We estimated that over 100 foreign fighters from Latin America were already overseas and in the fight. **We knew that the radical websites were encouraging jihadist returnees to wage local jihad. We also knew that the same sites were encouraging local “lone wolfs” to act.**

Sec. Kelly noted that taking a position against “radical mosques and clerics” was not “popular in some parts of the government,” but he did, and he was motivated by the same objective that connects every member of the committee: protecting lives. He said:

Highlighting these threats within the interagency, as well as to the Congress, was not particularly popular in some parts of the government. **I received a good deal of criticism and pushback.** That said, it was the right thing to do, particularly given the amount of American and Western tourism in the region as well as the generally dedicated—but not particularly robust—security forces that provide public safety. Local governments and security force professionals welcomed our highlighting the threat. Within a year, the U.S. interagency was generally all singing off the same sheet of music.

It is worth noting that my relief at Southern Command recently has made the same points in the same way.

We must abandon political correctness and recognize that from London, England to Falls Church, Virginia, we have imams who are radicalizing members of their congregations. We must monitor mosques for radical preachings. We must particularly monitor mosques that receive funding from Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Turkey, Iran, Kuwait, or any Muslim Brotherhood sources.

Unfortunately, in American society, we have accommodated the promotion and advocacy of extremist ideas that violate our **laws** by Muslim preachers, teachers, ideologues, and activists. We give them entry into the U.S., allow them to stay in the U.S., and provide them government benefits. We have given purveyors of dangerous ideologies benefits, from tax-exempt status to the freedom to reach millions of people. And our Internet companies give them “virtual visas” into cyberspace.

All should be censured, banned, and prosecuted, when appropriate, for advocating the **violation** of U.S. laws.

The following are indicators of extremism within Islam, and we should not allow them from anyone, in *any* community. They are **techniques** by which extremists draw followers to their ideology. I am going to identify the **tools** that they use. And I am going to spell out their **tactics** for spreading their extremism.

HARD PROPAGANDA

5 IDEAS FROM ISLAMISM THAT RAISE POLICY CONCERNS

IDEAS ON THE CONVEYER BELT TO RADICALIZATION

1.

The ruthless ideology of Islamic extremism promotes jihad for a caliphate, a medieval tyranny of [sex slaves](#), [immolations](#) and [beheadings](#), that offers death to members of the LGBT community, Jews, Christians, atheists, Muslim reformers, U.S. servicemembers, and others.

After defeating Nazism and then Communism in the 20th century, the United States and the global community face a new and growing threat of Islamism. The military campaign to defeat Islamic extremism on the battlefield began in earnest following Osama Bin Laden's attack in New York on 9/11. We face a second front that global powers need to understand and defeat: the *ideology* of political Islam, with its objective of establishing a worldwide Islamic caliphate to challenge the West and our modern world, as embraced by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, leader of the Islamic State, and many others.

Ayaan identified a Salafi cleric from Saudi Arabia, Sheikh Ibn Baz, in her publication, *Words of Advice Regarding Da'wah: From the Noble Shaykh* (Birmingham: Al-Hidaayah, 1998), who promotes a dawah of jihad. His advocacy isn't in the history books. It is kept alive to this day by internet companies, including YouTube, which hosts sermons advocating for jihad, violence, and hate, including by radical cleric Anwar al-Awlaki, who has exerted influence in the network of mosques and Muslim organizations established by the first generation of Muslim immigrants in the West.

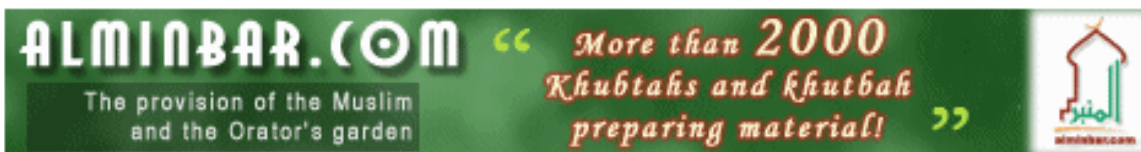
The cyber jihad has exploited YouTube. It has inspired terrorists, like U.S. Army Maj. Nidal Hassan, to become soldiers for Allah.

The screenshot shows the website IslamQA.info. The header includes the site name and the General Supervisor, Shaykh Muhammad Saalih al-Munajjid. Below the header is a navigation bar with a search icon. The main content area displays a question and answer. The question is: "12562: What is a 'right hand servant'? Does the owner of a 'right hand servant' have to be married?" The answer is: "What is a right hand servant? Do you have to be married to have one? How can you finalize it and get one and state this person as your right hand servant?" The answer is published on 2002-09-12. The answer text is: "Praise be to Allaah. Firstly: If Allaah enables the Muslim mujahideen to defeat kaafir enemies in war, then the men may be killed, ransomed, set free without ransom or enslaved. The choice between these four options is to be made by the ruler, according to what he thinks is the best course. With regard to the women, they become slaves and 'those whom one's right hand possesses' (described as a 'right hand servant' in the question). Male children also become slaves. The ruler shares out these slaves among the mujaahideen."

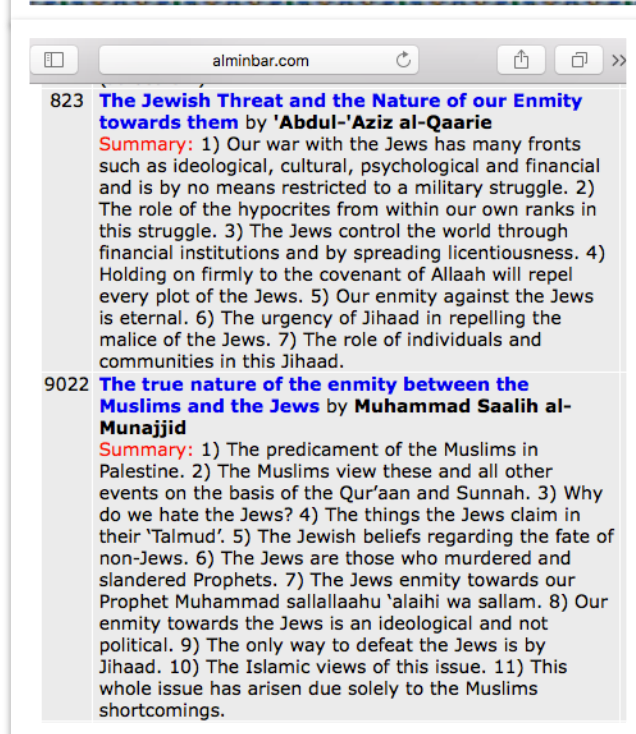
For example, Sen. John McCain, GoDaddy, based in Phoenix in your home state of Arizona, hosts a Saudi website, IslamQA.info, founded by a popular Saudi sheikh who promotes sex slaves as an Islamic right.⁵ He states further that women cannot travel without a male chaperone. The site demands that women and girls cover their hair, as well as their faces. It condemns Jews and Christians. He even states, "Male children become slaves."

Why is this website allowed to exist? If the Saudi government is serious about fighting the Islamic extremism it birthed, why isn't it shutting this site down? Why aren't we?

⁵ <https://islamqa.info/en/12562>, accessed June 14, 2017.



Please add these banners to your site and link to us!



GoDaddy hosts a website, AlMinbar.com, that also promotes radical ideology. Around the world, Muslim preachers download sermons published on the Saudi website, established in 1999, hailing itself as “the Orator’s Garden” and putting forth ideas about “unchaste women” as “worthless” and Jews as “treacherous.”

Some of its lessons: “The urgency of jihad in repelling the malice of the Jews.”⁶

Also: “Why do we hate the Jews?”

One sermon from AlMinbar.com reads:

Jihad will continue until Allaah brings victory.

I asked the government of Saudi Arabia in 2005 about this website. It refused to take responsibility and, to this day, its “more than 2000 khutbahs,” or sermons, from the “Orator’s garden” spread hate in mosques around the world.

6

<http://www.alminbar.com/searchresults.asp?Topic=%25&Keyword=jew&Khateeb=%25&City=%25&Khutbahno=%25&Submit.x=0&Submit.y=0&Submit=Submit>, accessed June 14, 2017.

YouTube, based in San Bruno, California, represented by Sen. Kamala Harris, hosts videos by radical al-Qaeda preacher Anwar al-Awlaki, ISIS, and Hizbut Tahrir, a global extremist organization.

Sen. Gary Peters, YouTube also hosts the preaching of an Arab-American preacher, Musa A. Jibril, who goes by the YouTube name, “Ahmad Musa Jibril,” based in Dearborn, Michigan, your state, pushing Salafi extremism and hate. Even after a 2014 local ABC investigation, Jibril continues to have his social media accounts.⁷

The preacher is tied to the radicalization of one of Saturday’s London attackers, a friend of the attacker told BBCNews Asia. His YouTube channel, [AhmadMusaJibril](#),⁸ has 16,000 followers.

The preacher is well known on YouTube for preaching sermons that appear to lionize Islamic terrorists fighting in Syria. The friend of the attacker was so concerned by his obsession with the preacher’s sermons, he notified British anti-terror police. A 2014 report by the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR) found that Jibril “adopts the role of a cheerleader: supporting the principles of armed opposition to Assad.” In April 2014, ICSR researchers found that 60 percent of foreign fighters in Syria followed Jibril on Twitter.

In a video, “The Only Path to Victory,”⁹ Jibril talks triumphantly about the flag of Islam flying over non-Muslim countries.

⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2GMGKLsV1qs&spfreload=10>, accessed June 14, 2017.

⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/user/AhmadMusaJibril>, accessed June 11, 2017.

⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2SMESW4vxQ0&spfreload=10>, accessed June 14, 2017.



Facebook doesn't do any better. It hosts a page by Tarek Mehanna, a U.S. citizen and Massachusetts native convicted of supporting al-Qaeda as a propagandist,¹⁰ in which he *continues* his anti-West, Islamist propaganda from inside a maximum security prison! In one recent missive, titled, "Fitnah," or "Chaos," he wrote, triumphantly, "The door to the Khilafah has been re-opened..." In another, he laments that he has been "removed from general population" for "radicalizing other inmates." In prison, he is restricted. On the internet, he has free reign to promote his propaganda throughout our society. How can it be true? We need to investigate.

¹⁰ <https://www.facebook.com/FreeTarekMehanna/posts/1235234593186842> accessed June 14, 2017.

2.

Islamism promotes the establishment of Islamic norms within existing states, including the advocating for *sharia*, or Islamic law, in governance, and the idea of Islamic supremacy.

Websites like IslamQA.info, AlMinbar.com, and HizbutTahrir.com, as well as many others, promote sharia in governance.



Hizbut Tahrir has websites for its international chapters, including its U.S. operations, Hizb ut-Tahrir America.¹¹ Its leaders spoke behind a podium in Lombard, Illinois, for example, for its “Khilafa 2017 Conference.” *Khilafa* is a reference to an Islamic caliphate. When GoDaddy registered this website in 2009, it began helping an extremist organization promote Islamist propaganda.¹²

To get around oversight in the U.S., the organization states that “Hizb-ut-Tahrir is a global Islamic political party working to resume the Islamic Way of Life by reestablishing the state

¹¹ <https://hizb-america.org>, accessed June 14, 2017.

¹² <https://www.whois.com/whois/hizb-america.org>, accessed June 14, 2017.

of Khilafah in the Muslim world. The party does not seek or attempt to establish the Khilafah in any of the western countries including the US. The party does not use or approve of militant means to achieve its goals.”¹³ But its goals are clearly to undermine U.S. allies, including Egypt, Pakistan, Jordan, and Bangladesh, where moderate voices of Islam are attempting to override extremists, and, inside our Muslim community, we know that its members have their eyes very much on the West, including the United States.

Last summer, I attended a meeting in Springfield, Virginia, of Hizbut Tahrir. At that meeting, in a conference room at the Comfort Inn, a unit of Choice Hotels based in Rockville, Maryland, young Bangladeshi-American men advocated for a global caliphate and the overthrow of the governments of Pakistan and Bangladesh.

When one man took issue with my recording the event (openly) on my phone, he ordered me to leave. I refused. We are not *yet* the Islamic States of America.

I would like to draw the attention of my senators, Sen. Tim Kaine and Sen. Mark Warner, to the activities of Hizb-ut-Tahrir. They stood in front of black flags emblazoned with the Islamic proclamation of faith.

Sen. Harris, Facebook, based in Menlo Park in your state of California, hosts the websites of Hizbut Tahrir, as well as the sites of the Muslim Brotherhood and countless other Islamist organizations that advocate for sharia law the United States and the overthrowing of democratic governments, including in the United States. On Facebook, for example, Hizb ut-Tahrir America is able to pump out its Islamist propaganda to 28,368 followers. Its simple theme is the creation of more Muslim supremacists.¹⁴

¹³ <https://hizb-america.org/press-release-20170423/>, accessed June 14, 2017.

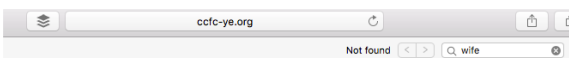
¹⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/HTAmerica/>, accessed June 14, 2017.

As a Muslim, I just cannot believe we allow these organizations to use public platforms to grow. It's almost like we have a death wish. Meanwhile, YouTube hosts Hizbut Tahrir videos, advocating for Islamist regimes.

3.

The advocacy of illegal acts of misogyny, including domestic abuse, wife beating, polygamy, forced headscarves, and insistence that Muslim women must be allowed to cover their faces in government offices and during official government business.

In the fall of 2003, outside my local mosque in Morgantown, West Virginia, the Islamic Center of Morgantown, officials of the Muslim Students Association distributed a book, called, *Women in the Shade of Islam*, by a Saudi scholar Abdul Rahman al-Sheha. I was shocked by the book's chapter on "Women's Beating."



Third and final stage: Beating without hurting, breaking a bone, leaving blue or black marks on the body and avoiding hitting the face, at any cost. The purpose of beating here is a disciplinary action and not retaliation or hurting by any means. It is to let the wife know that her behavior, conduct and attitude towards her husband are not acceptable. Beating, in this case, and according to Islamic teachings, is restricted and limited to be a form of treatment only. Beating a wife is not meant to be a form of humiliation, a form of forcing and compelling the woman to do things against her own will, or a means of hurting her physically. In fact, it is

116

Women in the Shade of Islam

reported that Ibn 'Abbas (رضي الله عنه), one of the leading companions of the Prophet (ﷺ) and a scholar of early Muslims, hit only with the (Siwak) the natural wooden root that is used for brushing the teeth. Islam forbids severe beating as punishment. This treatment is proved to be very effective with two types of women, as psychologists have determined:

The first type: Controlling or mastering women. These are the type of women who like to control, master and run the affairs of their husbands by pushing them around, commanding them and give them orders.

The second type: Submissive, or subdued women. These women enjoy being beaten. G. A. Holdfield, a European

When dealing with a "disobedient wife," a Muslim man has a number of options, the book says. First, he should remind her of "the importance of following the instructions of the husband in Islam." If that doesn't work, he can "leave the wife's bed." Finally, he may "beat" her,

though it must be without "hurting, breaking a bone, leaving blue or black marks on the body and avoiding hitting the face, at any cost."

Such appalling recommendations are inspired by as authoritative a source as any Muslim could hope to find: a literal reading of the 34th verse of the fourth chapter of the Qur'an, An-Nisa, or Women. "[A]nd (as to) those on whose part you

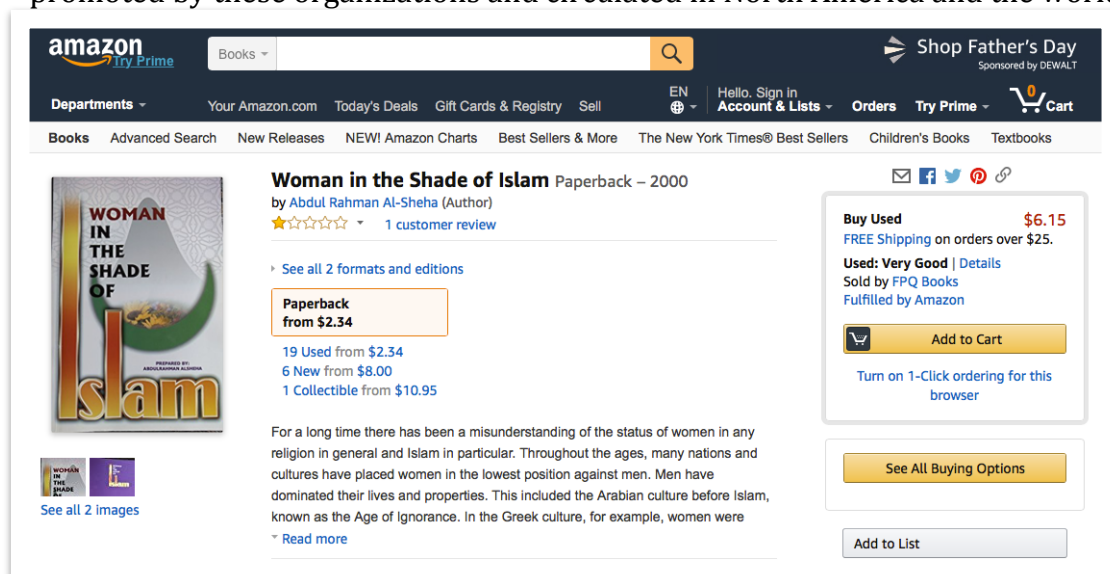
fear desertion, admonish them and leave them alone in the sleeping-places and beat them," reads one widely accepted translation.

The notion of using physical punishment as a "disciplinary action," as Sheha suggests, especially for "controlling or mastering women" or others who "enjoy being beaten," is common among Islamists. It is rejected by the Muslim Reform Movement.

But what is doubly troubling is that groups like the Muslim Students Association receive 501(c)3 status although they have promoted violence against women by distributing this book.

This is true of other Muslim organizations that receive non-profit status. For example, Sen. Rand Paul, at my mosque, an imam from your home state of Louisville, Kentucky, came across the border to West Virginia to preach that the disobedient wife can be beaten. The U.S. government gives that imam's mosque tax-exempt status as a 501(c)3.

I wrote about this book in 2006 in the *Washington Post*.¹⁵ Still, so many years later, it is promoted by these organizations and circulated in North America and the world.



¹⁵ "Clothes aren't the issue," by Asra. Q. Nomani. *Washington Post*. October 22, 2016. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/10/20/AR2006102001261.html>

Why is it that Amazon, based in Seattle, Washington, sells this, a Wahhabi/Salafi book that sanctions “women beating?”¹⁶ Why does an organization called the “Cultural Center for Foreigners’ Call,” based in Sana, Yemen, share a PDF of the book online?¹⁷ GoDaddy accepted the registration of this website in 2008¹⁸ and it has been disseminating its Islamist ideology undeterred ever since—with material advocating the *violation* of United States law. A simple Google search has led me to this page for 11 years.

There are other Islamist teachings that must face censure for their violation of U.S. laws. They include advocacy for marital rape. At a mosque in New Jersey, an imam taught the congregation a hadith, or saying of the prophet Muhammad, that “Angels will curse a woman who denies her husband sex,” and that it is religiously legal for a man to have sex with his wife without consent.

In addition, Islamist teachings advocate for polygamy, which is illegal in all 50 states in the United States. “Women in the Shade of Islam,” distributed by the Muslim Students Association, sanctions polygamy. HalalCo, a grocery store in the “Wahhabi Corridor” of Falls Church, Virginia, sells books sanctioning polygamy. Imams across the U.S. marry couples in polygamous relationships. Foreign students and others bring their multiple wives into the U.S. The same Saudi student who preached at my mosque in Morgantown, using the sermons of AlMinbar.com, telling the congregation to “hate those who hate the prophet Muhammad,” openly had two wives—in Morgantown. He was an officer of the Muslim Students Association. Another mosque leader had multiple wives, secretly marrying one without his first wife’s knowledge.

Of course, in the United States, women have a right to dress as they choose, unless they violate laws. Thus, if a woman wants to cover her hair, she has a right to do so. However, in

¹⁶ <https://www.amazon.com/Woman-Shade-Islam-Rahman-Al-Sheha/dp/9960800237>, accessed June 14, 2017.

¹⁷ http://www.ccfc-ye.org/sf/pubs/woman%20_in_islam.pdf, p. 115.

¹⁸ <https://www.whois.com/whois/ccfc-ye.org>, accessed June 14, 2017.

parts of our communities, there is also a veil being thrown over what is freedom and what is coercion.

In Missouri, a man was prosecuted for pulling his cousin out of high school by the hair because she didn't cover her hair.¹⁹

Sec. Kelly stated in his responses to questions from the committee that he did not accept gender discrimination against his personnel at Guantanamo Bay.

Adding insult to injury in terms of abuse from the detainees and their agents on the outside was the military commissions ordered discrimination based on gender directed towards my female personnel.

It is not right for Guantanamo inmates to disrespect women. We cannot accept the disrespect that comes from Islamist organizations and their demands. This most often involves the demand that women and girls cover their hair. Earlier this year, our U.S. chess champion, Nazi Pakidze, a grandmaster, missed the opportunity to battle in a world championship in Tehran, Iran, because the government of Iran demanded that every woman competing in the tournament cover her hair. Pakidze courageously refused and, in doing so, supported the women in Iran forced to live under rules that make it a crime to show their hair.

The face veil is not Islamically required, yet the extremist interpretation of Islam demands that women cover their faces. Halalco, the local Islamic bookstore off “Wahhabi corridor,” in Northern Virginia, sells a Wahhabi interpretation of the Qur’an, “The Noble Quran,” written and peddled by the government of Saudi Arabia. It has a horrible rewriting of a chapter and verse of the Qur’an.²⁰

¹⁹ <http://www.columbiatribune.com/5f48a9cb-4382-5442-937e-ad54f1c88855.html>, accessed June 14, 2017.

²⁰ https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2015/12/21/as-muslim-women-we-actually-ask-you-not-to-wear-the-hijab-in-the-name-of-interfaith-solidarity/?utm_term=.ff984cae4bda

A typical translation of 33:59 states,

“Oh, Prophet tell thy wives and thy daughters and the believer women to draw their jilbab close around them; this will be better so that they be recognized and not harmed and God is the most forgiving, most merciful.”

According to Arabic dictionaries, jilbab means “long, overflowing gown” which was the traditional dress at the time. The verse does not instruct them to add a new garment but rather adjust an existing one. It also does not mean headscarf.

Disturbingly, the government of Saudi Arabia twists its translation of the verse to impose face veils on women, allowing them even to see with just “one eye.”

The government’s translation reads:

“O Prophet! Tell your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers to draw their cloaks (veils) all over their bodies (i.e. screen themselves completely except the eyes or one eye to see the way). That will be better, that they should be known (as free respectable women) so as not to be annoyed, and God is most forgiving, most merciful.”

Disturbingly, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), a Washington, D.C.-based organization that has allied itself with Islamist causes and interests, has filed complaints and launched campaigns to defend the right of women to cover their faces on drivers’ licenses and in court business. We must investigate the foreign funding that organizations such as CAIR receive as they push Islamist ideas.

4.

The advocating of underage marriage.



In Michigan, the controversial Salafi cleric, Jibril, advocated for child marriage in a discussion in which he said the prophet Muhammad married his wife, Aisha, when she was nine years old—and that is a “*model*” to follow.

The video is titled, “We Are Proud of Our Prophet’s Marriage to Aisha.”²¹

In Australia, federal prosecutors arrested an imam for marrying an older man to a minor, even telling the new husband to provide the girl with “sex education.”

²¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L4UwflSMJTk>, accessed June 14, 2017.

5.

The advocating of female genital mutilation.



In a sermon captured on video, Falls Church, Virginia imam Shaker ElSayed preached that female genital mutilation is acceptable to avoid “hypersexuality.”²² Amid public outcry, his mosque, Darul Hijrah (which was attended by the 9/11 hijackers, and was led by imam Anwar al-Awlaki, and was the mosque of Maj. Nidal Hassan) only put ElSayed on administrative leave. The mosque sits right off of “Wahhabi Corridor.” Another imam quit in protest that the mosque board refused to fire ElSayed for his advocacy of female genital mutilation.²³ It continues to receive tax-exempt status.

Famously now, a minority sect of Islam, the Bohra Muslims, teach female genital mutilation, one of its adherents recently (and rightly) arrested by the FBI for the crime of cutting the clitoris of young girls.²⁴ They receive non-profit status in the U.S., while blessing FGM.

SOFT PROPAGANDA

²² <https://www.memri.org/tv/dar-al-hijrah-mosque-fairfax-virginia-fgm-prevents-hypersexuality>, accessed June 14, 2017.

²³ https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2017/06/09/imam-resigns-mosque-cleric-female-genital-mutilation-hypersexuality/?utm_term=.3a103e839cde, accessed June 14, 2017.

²⁴ <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3669425-Nagarwala-Complaint.html>

We cannot overlook the role of soft propagandists that give cover to Islamists.

Foreign state sponsors of Islamist ideology fund U.S. academic institutions, think tanks, and nonprofit organizations that provide cover for their extremist ideologies. An army of propagandists has emerged and grown, taking advantage of free speech in the West. The army consists of many second-generation members of the Muslim organizations put in place in the U.S. in the 20th century.

We must stop funding from Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Iran, and other fundamentalist Muslim states, to this army of soft propagandists. Hold responsible the think tanks, NGOs, and other groups that the Islamist powers fund to attack critics of extremism, stoking a culture of denial among Muslims, and pushing Islamism as a legitimate pathway. Muslim states, including Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Iran, support propagandists who exploit the unregulated space of the Internet to radicalize Muslims, defend their extremist views of Islam and keep Muslims focused on their grievances, rather than directing them toward constructive solutions. From the internet to popular media, evidence shows that foreign governments have provided financial support for NGOs, websites, media outlets, think tanks, and academic centers, as well as nonprofit groups that dismiss Islamic extremism or launch allegations of “Islamophobia” against critics of Islamic extremism. The impact has been to sow a culture of political correctness and to delay action on effectively countering Islamic extremism by making it so that public officials, law enforcement agencies, and citizens refuse to address the issues connected to Islamic extremism.

In 2005, the governments of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and other Muslim countries began to fund an ambitious offensive to establish beachheads in the West, promoting their conservative Islamist interpretations. They targeted elite schools, think tanks, and nonprofits. That year, Saudi prince Alwaleed Bin Talal signed a pact to pay Georgetown University \$20 million to rename its Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding after himself. The Center began aggressively protecting Islamists. Bin Talal also gave \$20 million to Harvard to establish a similar center at the Ivy League school.

The following month, after the Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten published cartoons of the prophet Muhammad, the heads of state from the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) met in Mecca to launch a 10-year plan to “defend the true image of Islam, to combat defamation of Islam.” Over the next year, OIC staffers at their headquarters in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, kept a tally of offenders, including the Charlie Hebdo cartoonists. By 2007, Qatar’s emir Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani announced he would fund a new Brookings center in Doha, penning an agreement with Strobe Talbott, Brookings’ president and former deputy secretary of state in the Clinton administration. In the years to come, the institution’s researchers wrote reports sympathetic to Islamism. The House of Thani paid for an academic chair at Georgetown University, which also established a campus in Doha. Qatar also established its media presence in the West, launching Al Jazeera America with second-generation Muslims as its hosts.

Recently, Jonathan Brown, a convert to Islam, subscriber to Saudi Arabia’s Hanbali sect of Islamic jurisprudence, and a professor at the Georgetown Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding (funded by bin Talal) was documented defending slaves and slave-holding as valid under Islam.²⁵ He was speaking at the International Institute for Islamic Thought (IIIT), off “Wahhabi Corridor,” in Herndon, Virginia.

A recent 990²⁶ tax document reveals the well-endowed IIIT had revenue of \$14 million. Of that, it received \$4 million in gifts, grants, and other sources. What are its funding sources? Are they foreign governments? We need to know, because it is a hotbed of Islamist thinking in America. Who were its grantees? One was Brown’s Georgetown University, which received \$750,000 for “program assistance.” Another was the controversial Council on American-Islamic Relations, which received \$4,040 for “program assistance.” The Imam Al-Kisai Institute of America, in Falls Church, Virginia, received \$363,500. The Islamic Society of North America got \$50,000. And here was a curious donation: \$500,000 to the Silicon

²⁵ https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2017/02/17/georgetown-professor-under-fire-by-conservatives-for-lecture-about-slavery-and-islam/?utm_term=.25dd299ca2ae

²⁶ <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3862905-IIIT-990-2015.html>

Valley Community Foundation. Turns out, the Silicon Valley Community Foundation supports the work of CAIR and other members of the “honor brigade” in America. It pumped money, too, into America’s religious studies programs, giving \$100,000 to Union Theological Seminary in New York. What was its money buying? These are questions that need to be explored.

American-Muslim organizations, including CAIR, the Muslim Students Association, the Islamic Society of North America, Muslim Public Affairs Council, Muslim American Society, and others promote soft propaganda, turning Muslims against the West and, especially during the Obama Administration, influencing law enforcement, intelligence, military, and diplomatic policies to the detriment of America’s national security. We must investigate their foreign funding. Through donations, which include foreign funding, CAIR and its officials makes sizeable political contributions to our lawmakers, including Minnesota Rep. Keith Ellison and many others.

In other cases, Muslims in Houston started a blog, MuslimMatters, to promote Salafi Islam and defame critics of Islamism. . Some adherents were later tied to terrorism, including the “Underwear Bomber.” On April Fool’s Day 2009, a band of American-Muslims secretly launched a propaganda site, LoonWatch, which attacks anyone discussing Islamic extremism—misrepresents their views and branding them a “loon.” Bloggers used fake names; one became “Garibaldi;” a fundamentalist blogger at MuslimMatters was also pseudonymously represented. He had been groomed as a “keyboard activist” at UC Berkeley, where a Palestinian anti-Israel activist and lecturer, Hatem Bazian, has been indoctrinating a generation of anti-West activists since the late 1990s. Another young propagandist went on to host a show on Qatar’s Al Jazeera and form a secret listserv, the “Muslim Justice League,” where the group argued Muslims are the “new blacks” and reformers are “Uncle Tom Muslims.” This network pushed out the “fake news” of an alleged anti-Muslim hate crime on the New York subway, in yet another example of how soft propagandists hijack the debate on Islam with their defamation machine.

During former President Obama's tenure, Muslim special-interest groups won access to the White House. CAIR and Muslim Advocates, based in San Francisco, for example, successfully lobbied the administration to scrub FBI and Homeland Security counterterrorism training materials they considered "offensive" to Muslims. The Obama administration and its agencies deleted an estimated 870 pages of material from 390 presentations, including PowerPoints and reports describing jihad as "holy war" or portraying the Muslim Brotherhood as the Islamist organization that it is.²⁷

These organizations and others promote campaigns inside our Muslim communities, so that we do not challenge extremism but rather play the victim card and engage in a strategy of deflection. Unfortunately, in these polarized times, liberal organizations in the United States have allied with Muslim organizations and individuals who advocate Islamist ideas, including sexist interpretations of sharia.

²⁷ <https://www.muslimadvocates.org/letter-to-doj-inspector-general-on-use-of-fbi-training-materials/>, accessed June 14, 2017.

‘CIVILIZATION JIHAD’

Today’s jihad is rooted in a broader political movement that dates back to the 1920s.

After the birth of Islam in the 7th century, eight dominant madhhabs, or schools of jurisprudence, survived into the modern day. In the majority Sunni sect of Islam, practiced by about 1.2 billion Muslims, these madhhabs are: Hanafi, from which my family ancestry is rooted; Shaafi; Maliki; and Hanbali. Each school is named for a man.

It is in the Hanafi school that we have the intolerant school of thought called Deobandism that fuels the Taliban in Pakistan and Afghanistan. And it is in the Hanbali school that we have today the toxic ideologies of Wahhabism and Salafism that is the poison practiced by al-Qaeda, al-Shabab, al-Nusra, Boko Haram, and now the Islamic State, or ISIS.

More modern-day radicalization of Muslims has its roots in a long-range strategy dating from the 1920s. For Osama bin Laden, the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in 1914 marked the dawn of an era of “humiliation” for Muslims. By the 1920s, dictators were coming into power in the nations carved out of the Ottoman Empire. Over the subsequent decades, as the West confronted Nazism and then Communism, a generation of Muslims quietly crafted a plan to seize control of their countries: “Islamism,” or political Islam. In Egypt in 1928, Hassan al-Banna founded the Muslim Brotherhood with the goal of creating an Islamic caliphate. In India in 1941, Muslim scholar Syed Abul A’la Maududi established Jamaat Islami with ambitions to establish a caliphate in South Asia. In 1953, Palestinian scholar Taqi al-Din Al-Nabhani founded Hizbut Tahrir to create a global caliphate.

These groups spread Islamist propaganda with pamphlets, monographs, books, and cassettes. Then, in response to the Israeli defeat of Arab armies in 1967, the heads of Muslim countries met in Mecca in 1969 and created the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), with seemingly benign objectives, including “work for revitalizing

Islam's pioneering role in the world," "support the struggle of the Palestinian people," and "defend the true image of Islam, to combat defamation of Islam," according to its mission statement. These objectives today have dangerous manifestations with the evangelism of extremist interpretations of Islam, the emergence of an anti-Israel militancy, and the murder of innocents, like the *Charlie Hebdo* cartoonists, in the name of defending the "honor" of Islam.

In the 1960s, Muslim immigrants, including my family, arrived in the West. Many, like my parents, were drawn by the values in the West that they wanted to emulate and nurture in their families. Others brought the political ambitions of the Muslim Brotherhood, Jamaat Islami, Hizbut Tahrir, and OIC. This first generation established a foothold for Western radicalization by creating groups to advance Islam in the West, starting with the Muslim Students Association (1962) and the Islamic Circle of North America (1971). A 1982 document written by Muslim leaders called for "the establishment of an Islamic state" and "*jihad*." The Islamic Society of North America (1982) was launched that same year, followed by the Muslim Public Affairs Council (1988). In 1991, Muslim leaders issued a document that outlined a "stable Islamic Movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood" and a "Civilization-Jihadist Process" with the U.S. as a "settlement" for the *jamaat*, or Islamic community. Soon after, CAIR was founded in 1994. While seemingly innocuous, these organizations have established beachheads in the United States for fundamentalist interpretations of Islam that consider headscarves mandatory for women, demand forced segregation of genders at public events, and discourage cooperation with U.S. law

enforcement, including the FBI.

Pledge of Allegiance

Islam discourages acts of reverence to anyone or anything but God. Some Muslims may be hesitant to recite the pledge of allegiance. This, however, should not be taken as a sign of disrespect to the symbol of the nation. Many Muslim parents teach their children to stand up but not to recite the pledge. Federal and state laws prohibit public schools from forcing students to recite the pledge or penalizing them for refusing to do so.

In one recent document, "An Educator's Guide to Religious Practices," CAIR even promotes the orthodox interpretation of Islam, pressed by Islamists,

asserting that some children will not stand for the Pledge of Allegiance.²⁸ In the Muslim Reform Movement, we promote loyalty to country.

For these past 50 years, fundamentalist, radicalized Muslims have enjoyed virtually unfettered expansion in the West. In the U.S., U.K., France, Belgium, Spain, Norway, Netherlands, Canada, and other countries in the West, the Muslim Brotherhood, Jamaat Islami, Hizbut Tahrir, OIC, and other groups have promoted extremism. After the 1979 Iranian Revolution brought clerics from the Shia sect of Islam to power, the government of Saudi Arabia flexed its muscles, funding Qurans, madrassa networks, mosques, and other propaganda channels to sell its extremist version of the Sunni sect to the world. Qatar emerged in the 1990s to challenge Saudi hegemony over Muslims. Between the two nations, their propaganda contributed to the rise of Sunni militants in Pakistan, the Philippines, Somalia, Indonesia, Nigeria, and other countries. Iran funded radical Shia groups.

Then on September 11, 2001, the “Civilization-Jihadist Process” took a dangerous turn. The hijackers, operational chiefs, and supporters of 9/11 had all been radicalized by the extremist interpretation of Islam, targeting Muslim minds aggressively since the 1970s. Henceforth, its ideologues would exploit Western civil liberties and the culture of “political correctness” to expand their influence and impact.

Muslims in the United States number now about three million people. It is just a tiny fraction of America’s population of about 320 million, but somehow Muslim leaders had gotten non-Muslim Americans to trend #IAmAMuslimToo and don American flag headscarves.

Today, in our world, we are in the midst of a fierce ideological war that is being waged in mosques, schools and universities, governments, civil society, the media, and other key

²⁸ <https://www.cairoklahoma.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/CAIR-Oklahoma-Educators-Guide-to-Islam-Handbook.pdf>, accessed June 14, 2017.

institutions in democracies and societies around the globe. In cyberspace, an increasingly insidious platform for the spread of jihad, a network of cyber jihadis share their toxic ideologies, like an airborne virus, penetrating borders easily, lowering defenses against Islamic extremism and its dangerous implications.

In cyberspace, terrorist incitement has entered a new phase that no longer relies on individual, face-to-face motivation and recruitment. Instead, bankrupt ideas spread through a cyber jihadi network of websites, blogs, chat rooms, and social media sites such as YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter, in support of a campaign not well understood or penetrated.

Fifteen years after the 9/11 attacks, too many Muslims today deny the issue of Islamic extremism with polemics like “Islam is a religion of peace.” We deflect from serious truths about Islamic radicalization, argue that Americans and others have an irrational fear of Islamic extremism, and demonize anyone who talks about Islamic terrorism as an “Islamophobe.”

To me, it is not “Islamophobia,” or an irrational fear of Islam, to be frightened of Islamic extremism, but rather a *rational* fear of an interpretation of Islam, taking innocent lives from Dhaka, Bangladesh, to Columbus, Ohio. Instead of saving face, we Muslims need to do something that even children learn: own up. With honesty and pragmatism, we could then relieve the rational fears that others have of Muslims and make the world safer for everyone, including Muslims.

As retired Gen. John F. Kelly noted in his first appearance before Congress as Secretary of Homeland Security, the U.S. must confront the threat posed by “jihadi information warriors.” As he noted just last week, the battle has not abated.

The wide objective of the jihad is to encourage anti-Western and anti-secular government sentiments, steer publics away from confronting Islamic extremism, build a narrative of

Muslims as victims, and establish a global caliphate where they promote the supremacy of Islam in its most extreme form.

There is clear link between terrorist attacks and the hard theological and soft academic propaganda of Islamic extremist groups, Muslim state actors and their proxies. There are direct ties between terrorism and the ideological propaganda of states, organizations and other actors who export to the world extremist interpretations of Islam—including the Shia extremism of Iran and the ideologies of Sunni radicalization, known as Wahhabism and Salafism, promoted by Qatar and Saudi Arabia.

Muslim ideologues use free speech rights and other Western liberties along with the new freedoms of the internet to promote fundamentalist ideas, attack critical thinkers, challenge reform, and defend extremists, enabling terrorist networks. Understanding the adversary's strategic goals and operations is key to making the West and secular governments safer and ultimately defeating efforts to promote an "American intifada" here in our country and throughout the West.

‘WOUND COLLECTORS’

Islamists collect grievances – no matter what we do. So don’t build strategy based on the false myth that, if we do x, we’ll have extremists hate us more. They will not stop hating us.

Last year, Hasan Hassan, coauthor of “ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror, testified to a Committee hearing on the ideology of ISIS that the terrorist group feeds upon a narrative of “victimization,” arguing there are “traitors and apostates in our midst.” This is the same approach that the hard and soft propaganda of Islamists adopt in America.

In 2005, Joe Navarro, a former FBI special agent, coined the concept of terrorists as “wound collectors” in a book, *Hunting Terrorism: A Look at the Psychopathology of Terror*, which incorporated years of experience analyzing terrorists worldwide from Spain to today’s Islamic movements. He wrote that “terrorists are perennial wound collectors,” bringing up “events from decades and even centuries past.”

He noted: “Their recollection of these events is as meaningful and painful today as when they originally took place. For them there is no statute of limitations on suffering. Wound collection to a great extent is driven by their fears and their paranoia which coalesces nicely with their uncompromising ideology. Wound collecting serves a purpose, to support and vindicate, keeping all past events fresh, thus magnifying their significance into the present, a rabid rationalization for fears and anxieties within.”

This phenomenon extends to the larger Muslim community, where there are wounds expressed in living room debates that earn many Muslims status as “couch jihadis,” as one U.S. law enforcement official referred to them in conversation with me. I grew up eavesdropping on these “couch jihadis” in the men’s sections of our dinner parties. Indeed, Mr. Navarro, told me, “Collecting wounds become cultural” for communities worldwide. Clearly, knowing a community’s wounds is important to understanding its history, Mr. Navarro said, but he noted, “The beauty of extremism is that it doesn’t allow forgiveness.”

In the Muslim community, you could spin a wheel and pluck from a number of grievances that would have as much relevance today as when it was first experienced. I call this a “circle of wounds” that very much express themselves in our Muslim communities.

I list eight grievances here, *exploited* by militant groups to radicalize:

1. Wars in Iraq, Afghanistan
2. Post-9/11 "War on Islam"
3. U.S.-backed dictators
4. Crusades
5. Colonialism
6. Fall of Ottoman Empire
7. Israel, Kashmir, Bosnia
8. 'Islamophobia'

It has become popular to say that we should accommodate every demand of a Muslim organization otherwise we will “help the terrorists,” but they will always find a grievance to exploit. That is their technique for radicalization.

In the years since 9/11, the Muslim community has launched obtuse public relations campaigns that don't address issues of radicalism head-on, but rather focus on these perceived wounds. Speaking as a journalist, this is a disastrous PR strategy, whether it's expressed by Union Carbide following the Bhopal, India disaster or by Muslim organizations following the 9/11 attacks.

This strategy expresses itself in Muslim communities worldwide, leading outsiders to ask frustrated questions such as, “Why doesn't the moderate Muslim majority speak up against extremism?” Often, many Muslims think they are speaking up, but they don't realize their statements are filled with denials and deflection.

Studying the response of Muslims to difficult issues from the House hearings on radicalization to the presence of Osama bin Laden in Abbottabad, Pakistan, near the nation's capital, I've identified four elements typically found in the Muslim community's leaders and citizens as they attempt to save face:

- Denial: Outright denial of the problem.
- Demonization: Employing this approach, it's common to attempt to discredit others.
- Deflection: Diverting the discussion, most often to grievances and wounds.
- Defensiveness: Framing the discussion as an attack on the entire culture and religion.

This dynamic expresses itself in a self-perpetuating circle of denial that feeds anger, frustration, hurt -- and radicalization. It's on us in the Muslim community to inspire our communities to healing and positive action not wound collecting.

WHAT CAN WE DO?

We must wipe out the Islamist narrative, especially when it violates laws and corporate policies.

While governments, law enforcement agencies, intelligence officials and others have well-established programs to monitor and counter the hard propaganda of al-Qaeda and ISIS, not enough has been done to identify and counter the “soft” propaganda that tills the field for extremists, especially here in the United States. These “soft” propaganda campaigns are propagated by a stealth network of activists, bloggers, academics, and others who act as foot soldiers in this ideological war, fueling grievances against the West, running interference for extremists, giving cover for fundamentalist governments, radicalizing and recruiting youth to the global jihadi terrorist cause, and ultimately hijacking Islam in the West. And yet, for the most part, the individuals, organizations, and financing behind this cyber jihad are seldom identified and rarely held accountable.

Free speech rights in the United States correctly protect citizens from infringements on their free speech by government. In the course of business, companies have terms of contract that restrict speech. We can and must put pressure on companies to stop the propagation of Islamist ideologies. We must block sites.

In the GoDaddy terms of service,²⁹ the company states that users must comply with “all applicable local, state, national and international laws, rules and regulations.” And that users “will not use this Site or the Services” for any activity that “is illegal, or promotes illegal activity,” nor any activity that “promotes or engages in...the exploitation of children” or “promotes, encourages or engages in terrorism, violence against people, animals, or property.”

5. GENERAL RULES OF CONDUCT

You acknowledge and agree that:

²⁹ <https://www.godaddy.com/agreements/showdoc.aspx?pageid=UTOS>

- i. Your use of this Site and the Services , including any content you submit, will comply with this Agreement and all applicable local, state, national and international laws, rules and regulations.
- ii. You will not collect or harvest (or permit anyone else to collect or harvest) any User Content (as defined below) or any non-public or personally identifiable information about another User or any other person or entity without their express prior written consent.
- iii. You will not use this Site or the Services in a manner (as determined by GoDaddy in its sole and absolute discretion) that:
 - Is illegal, or promotes or encourages illegal activity;
 - Promotes, encourages or engages in child pornography or the exploitation of children;
 - Promotes, encourages or engages in terrorism, violence against people, animals, or property;

No idea in the world encourages terrorism more widely than Islamist propaganda.

Similarly, Facebook has “Terms of Service”³⁰ that stipulate:

You will not bully, intimidate, or harass any user...You will not post content that: is hate speech, threatening, or pornographic; **incites violence**; or contains nudity or graphic or gratuitous violence.

Islamist propaganda incites violence and is designed to intimidate and harrass critics of Islamic violence.

Google, the parent company of YouTube, has a “hate speech” policy³¹ that restricts speech based on “race or ethnic origin,” “religion,” “gender,” “veteran status,” and “sexual orientation/gender identity.” It states:

Hate speech refers to content that promotes violence or hatred against individuals or groups based on certain attributes, such as: race or ethnic origin, religion, disability, gender, age, veteran status, sexual orientation/gender identity

Islamist propaganda expresses hate against all of these protected groups.

³⁰ <https://www.facebook.com/terms>, accessed June 11, 2017.

³¹ <https://support.google.com/youtube/answer/2801939>, accessed June 11, 2017.

Google also has a policy against “harmful or dangerous content.”³² It states:

Harmful or dangerous content

While it might not seem fair to say you can’t show something because of what viewers might do in response, we draw the line at content that intends to incite violence or encourage dangerous or illegal activities that have an inherent risk of serious physical harm or death.

As we have seen, Islamist propaganda incites violence and encourages practices that violate American laws.

³² <https://support.google.com/youtube/answer/2801939?hl=en>, accessed June 11, 2017.

8 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FROM MUSLIM REFORM MOVEMENT:

1. The United States government must be persistent and clear about the ideological threat of Islamic extremism. Call it out, challenge the propaganda of jihad in cyberspace and elsewhere, and speak from a place of courage and truth.
2. Islamists are implementing an explicit strategy to exploit western civil liberties and values to promote their agenda and objectives. We must investigate, expose and blacklist all state and non-state sponsors of this *dawah*, including mosques, nonprofits, schools, think tanks, academic institutions and thought leaders.
3. Internet companies and social media companies must immediately stop enabling and spreading extremist propaganda. We must challenge, ban and eliminate extremist *dawah*, from the world, from the online cyberspace and multimedia universe to face-to-face communications.
4. The United States government must be clear in communicating that not *all* Muslims are extremists, but we must not be afraid to challenge the ideology of *some* Muslims who are. This means calling out, challenging and rooting out their messaging and their networks.
5. We must identify and hold accountable the networks of “honor brigades” within academia, civil society, the media, online commenters and others who attack those who challenge Islamic extremism. These attackers are not lone wolves, but members of well-established conservative Muslim groups. Not only does the honor brigade attack critics of Islam, it also serves as a pipeline to soldiers of the Cyber Caliphate, an emerging term for the Islamic State’s official propaganda arm.

6.

The United States must promote a public dialogue about the reforms needed in Islam that reject interpretations of Islam that call for violence, social injustice and politicized Islam. In absence of a genuine, sustained campaign against Islamic extremism, our institutions are at risk of infiltration and compromise.

We need to support the Muslim Reform Movement and reformers around the world.

7.

The U.S. government must engage with those Muslim states, including Saudi Arabia Qatar, Iran, Pakistan and others, to identify and hold accountable propagandists, including those that exploit western freedoms, including the unregulated space of the internet, to radicalize Muslims and defend extremist views of Islam. Putting pressure on Iran and Qatar are positive steps. We must do the same with Saudi Arabia. Since Saudi Arabia now claims to be against extremism, it must *scrub* the world of the dangerous, evil, dark Islamist propaganda that it has exported to the world.

8.

We must deny entry to individuals, including clerics, who advocate for the violation of U.S. laws. We must deny entry to the cyberspace to people who advocate for the violation of U.S. laws, and we must deny nonprofit status for organizations that advocate for the violation of U.S. laws.

This summer is the 70th anniversary of the *Foreign Affairs* publication of a cable, “the Long Telegram,” that former diplomat George Keenan wrote from Moscow to his bosses at the State Department about the looming threat of communism. In the Muslim Reform Movement, we are writing a second long telegram to outline our current threat—the scourge of Islamism—and the solutions we need to implement to defeat it.

Importantly, Muslim leaders, thinkers, activists and ordinary citizens, like [Omar Saif Ghobash](#), the United Arab Emirates ambassador to Russia, [recently told](#) CNN’s Christiane Amanpour, “We should be looking at the reality of Islam, as opposed to worrying about the image of Islam in the West.”

As we engage in a post-9/11 military campaign to defeat Muslim terrorists groups on the battlefield, we face, in tandem, a second front that Western powers need to better understand and defeat: the *ideology* of political Islam and its objective of establishing a worldwide Islamic caliphate to challenge the West, as embraced by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, leader of the Islamic State, and many others.

It is a political ideology within Islam that seeks political governance. And we cannot allow it to prevail.

Just as we defeated fascism and communism, it is time to defeat Islamism. In its violence, sexism, homophobia and hate, its values are not compatible with the 21st century. We must ban it in its Shia form, through the Khomeinism of the ruling government of Iran. And we must ban it in its Sunni form, as is appropriately happening with Qatar and the House of Thani ruling family, but must also happen with the Muslim Brotherhood and Saudi Arabia and its House of Saud.

Our lawmakers, policymakers and citizenry must stand up with moral courage so that our children can safely traverse this earth, bicycling, singing, dancing, living, working, breathing. We must see to it that our children do not inherit the suffering of our generation.

We must end the ideologies of Islamic extremism *now*. And support Muslim reform for peace, human rights—including women’s rights—and secular governance.

###

APPENDIX

DECLARATION OF THE MUSLIM REFORM MOVEMENT

PREAMBLE

We are Muslims who live in the 21st century. We stand for a respectful, merciful and inclusive interpretation of Islam. We are in a battle for the soul of Islam, and an Islamic renewal must defeat the ideology of Islamism, or politicized Islam, which seeks to create Islamic states, as well as an Islamic caliphate.

We seek to reclaim the progressive spirit with which Islam was born in the 7th century to fast forward it into the 21st century. We support the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by United Nations member states in 1948.

We reject interpretations of Islam that call for any violence, social injustice and politicized Islam. Facing the threat of terrorism, intolerance, and social injustice in the name of Islam, we have reflected on how we can transform our communities based on three principles: peace, human rights and secular governance. We announce the formation of an international initiative: the Muslim Reform Movement.

We have courageous reformers from around the world who have written our Declaration for Muslim Reform, a living document that we will continue to enhance as our journey continues. We invite our fellow Muslims and neighbors to join us.

DECLARATION

A. PEACE: NATIONAL SECURITY, COUNTERTERRORISM AND FOREIGN POLICY

1. We stand for universal peace, love and compassion. We reject violent jihad. We believe we must target the ideology of violent Islamist extremism in order to liberate individuals from the scourge of oppression and terrorism both in Muslim-majority societies and the West.

2. We stand for the protection of all people of all faiths and non-faith who seek freedom from dictatorships, theocracies and Islamist extremists.

3. We reject bigotry, oppression and violence against all people based on any prejudice, including ethnicity, gender, language, belief, religion, sexual orientation and gender expression.

B. HUMAN RIGHTS: WOMEN’S RIGHTS AND MINORITY RIGHTS

1. We stand for human rights and justice. We support equal rights and dignity for all people, including minorities. We support the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.
2. We reject tribalism, castes, monarchies and patriarchies and consider all people equal with no birthrights other than human rights. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. Muslims don’t have an exclusive right to “heaven.”
3. We support equal rights for women, including equal rights to inheritance, witness, work, mobility, personal law, education, and employment. Men and women have equal rights in mosques, boards, leadership and all spheres of society. We reject sexism and misogyny.

C. SECULAR GOVERNANCE: FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND RELIGION

1. We are for secular governance, democracy and liberty. We are against political movements in the name of religion. We separate mosque and state. We are loyal to the nations in which we live. We reject the idea of the Islamic state. There is no need for an Islamic caliphate. We oppose institutionalized sharia. Sharia is manmade.
2. We believe in life, joy, free speech and the beauty all around us. Every individual has the right to publicly express criticism of Islam. Ideas do not have rights. Human beings have rights. We reject blasphemy laws, which are a cover for the restriction of freedom of speech and religion. We affirm every individual’s right to ijihad, or critical thinking, and seek a revival of ijihad.
3. We believe in freedom of religion and the right of all people to express and practice their faith, or non-faith, without threat of intimidation, persecution, discrimination or violence. Apostasy is not a crime. Our ummah--our community--is not just Muslims, but all of humanity.

We stand for peace, human rights and secular governance.

Please stand with us!

Affirmed this Third Day of December, Two-Thousand and Fifteen

ORIGINAL SIGNATORIES:

- Tahir Gora, Author, Journalist, Activist, Toronto, Canada
- Tawfik Hamid, Islamic Thinker and Reformer, Oakton, VA
- Usama Hasan, Imam, Quilliam Foundation, London, UK
- Arif Humayun, Senior Fellow, American Islamic Forum for Democracy, Portland, OR
- Farahnaz Ispahani, Author, Former Member of Parliament, Pakistan, Washington, D.C.
- M. Zuhdi Jasser, President, American Islamic Forum for Democracy, Phoenix, AZ

- Naser Khader, Member, Danish Parliament, Muslim democracy activist, Copenhagen, Denmark
- Courtney Lonergan, Community Outreach Director, Professional Facilitator, American Islamic Forum for Democracy, Phoenix, AZ
- Hasan Mahmud, General Secretary, Muslims Facing Tomorrow, Sharia Expert, Toronto, Canada
- Asra Nomani, Journalist, Author, Morgantown, WV
- Raheel Raza, Founder, Muslims Facing Tomorrow, Toronto, Canada
- Sohail Raza, VP, Coalition of Progressive Canadian Muslim Organizations, Toronto, Canada
- Salma Siddiqui, President, Coalition of Progressive Canadian Muslim Organizations, Toronto, Canada